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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER;

OR, A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1796.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE Year 1796, of which we now preſent the History to the Public, was fertile in important events. The war, which, in the preceding campaign, had comparatively languiſhed, was, in this campaign, carried on with the greatest vigour, by the newly-choſen Rulers of France. By thoſe Rulers, a vast plan was formed, aiming at nothing leſs than the complete humiliation of the Emperor. Though the perfect execution of this plan was luckily prevented, they, nevertheleſs, reaped incalculable advantages, from that part of it which they were enabled to accompliſh. By the genius of the Archduke Charles, Germany indeed was ſaved; but, on the other hand, Italy was lost, by the combined want of means and of talent, in thoſe who were entrusted with its defence. The king of Sardinia, the Pope, and

ſome of the minor states, deſpoiled, and reduced to the condition of tributaries; the king of Naples compelled to ſue for a dangerous peace; the dominions of the Houſe of Austria irrevocably wrested from that Houſe; the foundation laid of an Italian republic; and an opening made for the ruin of the Venetian government; were the fruits obtained by the French, from their exertions in Italy. At home, the Directory ſucceeded in putting an end to the long and deſperate contest with the Royalists of Poitou.

Details of military operations are but too generally incorrect, confuſed, and conſequently unintelligible. In our account of the Campaign of 1796, it has been our endeavour to enable the reader to form a clear idea of the deſigns and movements of the contending armies. Every printed document which we could procure, has been conſulted, and much has been added from private information. We flatter ourſelves that the Narrative will be found to be perſpicuous and accurate; and we think that we may alſo ſafely affirm it to be more circumſtantial than any which has previouſly appeared in the Engliſh language. Should the

reader

reader chuse to trace on the map the marches and poſitions of the hostile forces, we trust that he will not find that we, like others, have committed ſuch groſs geographical errors, as to ſubstitute *Vienna* * in the place of *Vicenza*.

With reſpect to one great branch of the war against the French Republic, namely, the war maintained by the Royalists of Britanny and Poitou, little, or rather nothing, has been known in this country; though its extent and duration, the vigour with which it was ſupported, and the beneficial conſequences which, with proper care, it might have produced, render it worthy of particular attention. It has, however, been paſſed over, by former writers, almost or entirely without notice; and even the ſcanty mention which has been made of it, has been replete with abſurdity and falſehood. The history of it, which we commenced in the volume for 1794, is continued in the preſent volume, and will be completed in that for the following

* This curious blunder, which is to be found in *a* History of the year 1796, is faithfully transferred from what appears to have been originally a typographical error. The French printer inſerted *Vienne*, instead of *Vicence*; the English newspapers copied the mistake; and the *historian*, probably, copied from them.

following year. That portion of it which we have now given will, we trust, be found to poſſeſs no common ſhare of interest. It contains the whole of the contest in Britanny, including the British expedition to Quiberon, down to the cloſe of the year 1795, and the final struggles of the loyal party in the province of Poitou. The reader will here find the cauſe of the failure of the Royalist and Britiſh efforts fully and truly explained. In drawing up this part of our Work, we have had recourſe to a variety of printed authorities, and have alſo received an abundance of valuable information, from perſons connected with, or engaged in, the ſcenes which we have deſcribed. Among thoſe publiſhed documents, to which we are chiefly indebted for the detail of the Breton war, we must mention the Memoirs of that able and upright, but foully calumniated, nobleman, the Count de *Puiſaye*. From letters written by the late Mr. Windham, and ſome of his colleagues in office, and from ſeveral converſations with Mr. Windham himſelf, we are enabled to bear unequivocal testimony to the ſcrupulous veracity which is diſplayed in thoſe Memoirs.

The

The concluding diviſion of the Royalist history, which is reſerved for our next volume, will be written from a very large collection of original and authentic papers, none of which have hitherto been acceſſible to any writer, either Engliſh or French. Tranſlations of ſome important papers, relative to this ſubject, and to other branches of the French history, will likewiſe be given in our department of State Papers, for that volume.

The Narrative of the proceedings of the French legiſlature, and of the ſtruggles of the contending factions, during the year 1796, we have poſtponed till our next publication. To this poſtponement we have been induced by two weighty reaſons. In the firſt place, we are promiſed aſſiſtance from ſome gentlemen who bore a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſactions of that and the ſucceeding year; and, ſecondly, we are deſirous to preſent our Readers with a connected and unbroken view of French affairs, under the firſt period of the new government. That period compriſes the whole time between the installation of the two councils in October 1795, and the change which, by dint of the bayonet, a majority of the Directors effected, on the

the 18th of Fructidor, or 4th of September 1797. To break the Narrative into detached pieces, from a blind reſpect to ſtrict chronological arrangement, would be nearly as abſurd, as to print ſeparately the ſcenes or acts of a drama. From the tardineſs of our publication there reſults at least this one advantage, that we are not compelled to give our History to the world in disjointed ſcraps and fragments.

Before we proceed to make any further promiſes, relative to the future conduct of our Work, it may not be amiſs to ſay a word or two, on the ſubject of thoſe promiſes which we are determined not to make. We will not promiſe to write in ſuch a manner as to rival Mr. Burke. Deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the tranſcendent talents of that illustrious character, and of the comparative humbleness of our own talents, we will not, like others, tempt or provoke the laughter and deriſion of the Public, by a ludicrouſly vain annunciation of the ſplendid diſplay of abilities, which we are about to exhibit. Neither will we promiſe that, almost as ſoon as the year has run its courſe, the History of it shall iſſue from the preſs. Such histories may be a little more authentic than the Adventures

of

of Robinſon Cruſoe, or the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, and are only not ſo amuſing and inſtructive as thoſe popular productions. We have always, to uſe the words of Dr. Robertſon, believed that "an Hiſtorian ſhould "feel himſelf a witneſs giving evidence upon "oath," and are conſequently anxious not to give our evidence without proper enquiry into facts, and deliberation on their motives. Unfortunately, a knowledge of facts is not to be gained by intuition; and we are much diſpoſed to believe, that thoſe rapid writers, who pride themſelves on running a race with events, are not ſo much in the ſecret of courts and cabinets, as to be made instantly acquainted with every ſtate tranſaction, and its hidden cauſe.

For our own part, we can venture to promiſe nothing more than that we will continue to pay the ſame religious reſpect to truth, and to exerciſe the ſame industry in ſearch of facts, as we have uniformly hitherto done; and that we will taſk our powers of compoſition, ſuch as they are, to the utmoſt, to render THE ANNUAL REGISTER not unworthy of public approbation. We hope, too, that our readers will, ere long, have no reaſon to complain of our flowneſs. The

Volumes

Volumes for 1797 and 1805 are in the preſs; and others are in preparation. That for 1805 is ſo far advanced, that it will appear in the courſe of a few weeks; and that for 1797 will not be delayed beyond the month of January. Every exertion will likewiſe be made, to prevent the Work from being any further in arrear than is indiſpenſably neceſſary, to afford us an opportunity of procuring that correct information, which alone can give value and permanent exiſtence to our hiſtorical labours.

THE

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR, 1796.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Continuation of the Royaliſt War. The Breton, or Chouan, War. Origin of the denomination of Chouan. Character of the Count de Puiſaye. He takes refuge in Britanny, after the diſſolution of the Norman Confederacy. Alone, and a Stranger in the Province, he determines to endeavour to re eſtabliſh the Royaliſt Party, which had been broken up by the death of the Marquis de la Rouarie. Reaſons which induced him to hope for ſucceſs. Sketch of his Plan. Account of the Royaliſt Bands in the Foreſts of Britanny. M. de Puiſaye is invited to take the command of the Royaliſts in the Foreſt of Pertre. The Poitevin Army enters the Province He ſets out to join it, but is obliged to return. He aſſumes the command in the Foreſt of Pertre. Arrangements made by him. He narrowly eſcapes from the Republicans, who attack the place of his reſidence. M. Frigent arrives from England with offers of ſuccour, which the Count declines for the preſent. He is joined by ſeveral diſtinguiſhed Poitevin officers. Cruelties of the Jacobins in Britanny. They induce great numbers of the natives to take up arms, and put themſelves under his orders. He plans the ſurprize of Rennes. The Plan is fruſtrated, but he defeats the Enemy in two engagements. March of the Chouans through a conſiderable part of the Province. Their ſucceſs. On his return to his quarters he is defeated by the Republicans, though with little loſs. Death and Character of M. Focard. The Count removes to Bain, to organize the diviſion of that diſtrict. The Chevalier de Tinteniac arrives from England. Conferences between him and M. de Puiſaye. The Jacobin Government plans the invaſion of England. The plan is rendered abortive by the movements of the Royaliſts. Extenſive correſpondence carried on by M. de Puiſaye with the neighbouring Provinces. He extends his ſyſtem over

Britanny, and part of Anjou and Maine. Character of the Inhabitants of the Department of the Morbihan. Character of Georges, of Mercier, and of D'Allegre. Military Syſtem of the Royaliſts. Proclamation addreſſed by the Royaliſt Chiefs to the French People. Proclamation addreſſed by them to the Republican armies. Numbers of Deſerters join the Royaliſts. The Count reſolves to viſit England to ſolicit ſuccours. Arrival and Character of M. Cormatin, who is choſen Major-General of the Breton Royaliſts. Departure of M. de Puiſaye for England.

BEFORE we proceed to the checkered and eventful hiſtory of the current year, it will be neceſſary for us to continue the ſuſpended narrative of thoſe important events which, in the courſe of the momentous conteſt between the royaliſts and the republicans, took place in the weſtern provinces of France. In our volume for 1794,* we broke off at that period when, after the moſt aſtoniſhing exertions, and ſplendid victories, the great royaliſt army of Poitou was defeated, diſperſed, and almoſt annihilated, and from its ruin that of the very cauſe of royalty itſelf ſeemed to be immediate and inevitable.

Only the hiſtory of one great branch of the royaliſt war, namely, that which relates to the courageous efforts made by a part of the natives of Anjou and Poitou, down to the cloſe of 1793, has yet been given to our readers. Another, and not leſs important, diviſion of the war now remains for us to enter upon, ere we reſume the ſeries of events which occurred in Poitou, ſubſequently to the battles of Mans and Savenay. We allude to the conteſt which was maintained by the Bretons, and which was generally known by the name of the Chouan war.

It may, perhaps, not be unneceſſary here to explain whence the term Chouan derived its origin. The denomination of Chouans, given, in contempt and hatred, by the republicans to the Breton royaliſts, and which, as in civil wars has more than once happened, the royaliſts at length adopted as an honourable diſtinction, aroſe from a numerous loyal family, of the name of Chouan, which had taken refuge in the foreſt of Pertre. As the word Chat-huant, or owl, is pronounced by the peaſants of Britanny and Maine in the ſame manner as the name Chouan, the individuals of the Chouan family, in order to avoid being taken by ſurpriſe in the woods, adopted the cry of the owl as the ſignal of approach and call to each other. Theſe individuals, all of whom were known as honeſt men, the republicans falſely repreſented as aſſaſſins and plunderers, and then endeavoured to degrade the whole royaliſt party, by giving to it an appellation which was conſidered as infamous.

Britanny, as we have already ſeen † was the province choſen by the marquis de la Rouarie, as the

* See Ann. Reg. for 1794. Hiſtorical Article, p. 88.
† Ibid. Ibid, p. 6.

central

central point of that confederacy by means of which he purpoſed to reſtore to the royal government its legitimate rights. His unfortunate and untimely death cruſhed the ſcheme in its infancy, and involved in ruin the majority of its ſupporters. It was, however, reſerved for a nobleman not born in Britanny, nor connected with it by any ties of property or alliance, to tread in the ſteps of his gallant predeceſſor, and to rally the Bretons round the ſtandard of his dethroned ſovereign.

The man who, in defiance of the moſt adverſe circumſtances, had the noble hardineſs to attempt to carry into execution the plans of the deceaſed Breton chief, was not unworthy of ſucceeding that illuſtrious character. Born in the province of Perche, of an ancient family, which held a conſpicuous place among the French nobility, count Joſeph de Puiſaye was ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed by high birth than by thoſe advantages which he derived from nature and education. His natural talents, of no common order, had been cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity, and with a ſucceſs proportioned to the care beſtowed upon them. Well-informed, capable of laborious application, maſter of a ready and powerful eloquence, full of reſources, and never deſerted by his preſence of mind, nor diſcouraged by diſcouraging events, he ſeemed deſtined to be the leader of a party. To theſe mental qualifications he added ſome corporeal ones, which, though inferior, were highly uſeful. His manners were dignified, yet prepoſſeſſing, his perſon was graceful, and his ſtature was tall and commanding. To this muſt be added, that he was now in the prime of life, when all the faculties are in full vigour, and experience has taught wiſdom, without giving riſe to that timid caution which is fatal to ſplendid and generous enterpriſe. In his principles the count de Puiſaye was a zealous royaliſt, but he was not hoſtile to ſuch wiſe reforms as would have been equally beneficial to the monarch and the people. By the violent partiſans of a purely monarchical government he was bitterly reproached with being a warm admirer of the Engliſh conſtitution; a reproach which Engliſh readers will probably not conſider as affixing any ſtigma upon either the wiſdom or the virtue of the perſon againſt whom it was directed.

It was under auſpices apparently the moſt unfavourable that the count de Puiſaye firſt entered the province of Britanny. When, almoſt without a ſtruggle, the confederacy of the Breton and Norman departments in 1793, which he had hoped to render beneficial to the cauſe of monarchy, was broken up*, he was adviſed to retire into Britanny; which he accordingly did, with two intimate friends, M. Focard, and colonel le Roy. By thoſe who thus adviſed him, he was aſſured that, although the Normans had yielded, the Bretons would not fail to make a valiant reſiſtance to the jacobinical government. Seduced by theſe aſſurances he directed his ſteps towards Britanny; but, on his arrival, he had the mortification to learn that, except by a few ſcanty and ſcat-

* See Ann. Reg. for 1793. Hiſtorical Article p. 406.

August 1793 tered bands, all thoughts of reſiſtance had been diſcarded, and that the jacobins were in complete poſſeſſion of all the reſources of the province. The count himſelf has given an animated picture of his ſituation at this moment. Colonel le Roy had been fortunate enough to find a ſecure aſylum, and M. de Puiſaye was left with M. Focard, who could not endure even the idea of deſerting him. "The night being come," says the count, "we purſued our route, "and met our meſſenger about "half a league from Ploermel. "He came to tell us that this very "day a price had been ſet upon "my head, and that the proclamation, offering the reward, "was poſted all over the walls of "the town. Under pain of death "every one was forbidden to ſhelter us, and he was conſequently "directed to let us know that the "houſe which had been promiſed "to us, was no longer at our diſpoſal. Thus, behold me placed "in the midſt of Britanny, a "country which till now had been "totally unknown to me; diſtant "more than eighty leagues from "my own country, my family, "and my friends; proſcribed, and "an accurate deſcription of my "perſon ſent to all the poſts which "covered the high roads; having "no knowledge of the bye-roads; "and ignorant of the language "which was ſpoken by a part of "the natives. Wherever I turned my eyes or my ſteps I read "my ſentence; every where I "could expect to meet but with "certain death."

Surrounded as he was by perils on every ſide, the courage and ſerenity of M. de Puiſaye, remained, nevertheleſs, unſhaken. Fortunately, too, he was not deſtitute of pecuniary reſources. Foreſeeing the ſtorm which was about to burſt upon France, he had, before the downfal of the throne, ſold all his perſonal property, and he had now in his poſſeſſion a conſiderable part of the money produced by the ſale. Nor was he caſt upon a hoſtile or inhoſpitable land. In the vicinity of Baignon, a ſmall town between Ploermel and Plelan, on the road from Rennes to Breſt, he firſt found a ſecure place of refuge. Such was, however, the inceſſant activity of the republicans, that it was not poſſible to continue long in one ſpot without imminent danger. The count, therefore, was under the neceſſity of frequently changing his reſidence. In the courſe of two months he thus became acquainted with the greateſt part of the province. By the inhabitants, in all quarters, he was received, though a ſtranger and an outlaw, as a friend and brother. The moſt unlimited confidence was repoſed in him by the Bretons, and no efforts, however perilous to thoſe who made them, were omitted to enſure his ſafety. He ſoon diſcovered that a vaſt majority of the natives of the province were royaliſts, and that they ſtood in need only of a leader capable of calling them into action with wiſdom and energy. A very ſhort period had elapſed before he had connected himſelf with thoſe who had moſt influence in their reſpective diſtricts, eſtabliſhed a correſpondence of conſiderable extent, and contrived to procure the means of obtaining intelligence of the plans and movements of the

jacobin

Jacobin magiſtrates and generals. His own eloquence was of infinite uſe in rouſing the indolent, encouraging the timid, and raiſing to the higheſt pitch the enthuſiaſm of the bold. At length he reſolved to put to the trial the loyalty and courage of the Bretons. Independently of the hatred which they manifeſted againſt the republicans, there were other circumſtances which promiſed favourably to his efforts. Theſe were, the abſence in Vendée of a very large portion of the republican army; the peninſular form of the province; the magnitude of the population, conſiſting of two millions and a quarter of ſouls; the nature of the ground, which, interſected by rivers, and by large and numerous foreſts, affords a variety of military poſitions; the long extent of coaſt, and the proximity of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, by means of which England could with eaſe furniſh ſuccours of all kinds to the Bretons in arms.

The plan of the count was framed with conſummate prudence. Fully aware that any precipitate meaſures, which, by prematurely calling the whole of the royaliſt party at once into the field, might expoſe it to a complete defeat, would probably occaſion its diſſolution, and would certainly retard its ſucceſs, he determined to commence his operations by carrying on a kind of war calculated to weaken and diſpirit the enemy, and at the ſame time to prevent his own forces from ſuffering any ſerious diſaſters. This plan conſiſted in forming, on various points, battalions, called ſedentary battalions, which, always acting in ſmall bodies within their own diſtricts, ſeiſing every advantage reſulting from their local knowledge, and never hazarding a general engagement, were inceſſantly to haraſs the republicans, and compel them to diſſeminate their troops. This petty warfare, dangerous and toilſome to their antagoniſts, whoſe military ſkill it rendered uſeleſs, would accuſtom the peaſantry to combat, and would lay a ſolid foundation for the eſtabliſhment of a regular army. As the connecting link of theſe battalions, he reſolved to raiſe a permanent and active corps, of bold and enterpriſing men, proſcribed without hope of mercy as inveterate royaliſts, and having conſequently no reſource but in their own valour. With this corps he himſelf deſigned to maintain, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, a war of continual and deſultory attack. As ſoon as it entered a diſtrict it was to be joined by the ſtationary battalion of that diſtrict, which, on its departure, was immediately to diſperſe. Each battalion was thus, in its turn, to be called into action in one body. This organization was to be gradually extended, from diſtrict to diſtrict, till it ſpread over Britanny and the neighbouring provinces, and formed their population into a compact and diſciplined maſs, capable of aſſerting in the field the rights of the ſovereign, and of giving a deadly blow to the jacobin tyranny.

Such was the plan. To put it in execution it was neceſſary for the count to chuſe a portion of territory, neither ſo extenſive as to make communications difficult, and movements tardy, nor ſo circumſcribed as not to admit of ſuch

numerous and trivial inſurrections as would compel the enemy to weaken himſelf, by dividing his forces. The ſpot on which he at length fixed his choice contained the eaſtern quarter of the department of the Morbihan, and the weſtern, ſouthern, and north weſtern quarters of the department of the Ille and Vilaine.

It now only remained to procure that corps, at the head of which he himſelf intended to act. Fortunately, this was eaſy to accompliſh. In ſome of the immenſe foreſts of Britanny, there exiſted bands of royaliſts, who had fled thither to eſcape the rage of their perſecutors. The foreſt of Lorges contained one of theſe bands, which was commanded by Bernard de Villeneuve, and the foreſt of Fougères was the reſidence of another. But the moſt conſiderable was poſted in the foreſt of Pertre, which is ſeveral leagues in circuit, and is ſituated between Vitré and Laval.

The chief part of the royaliſts who inhabited the foreſts of Fougères and Pertre were men admirably calculated for the kind of warfare which the count intended to adopt. While the gabelle, or ſalt tax exiſted in France, ſalt was conſtantly ſmuggled from Britanny, which was not ſubject to the tax, into the neighbouring provinces. So ancient was the practice, that more than twenty thouſand families had never, from generation to generation, had any other means of living than what aroſe from this contraband traffic, which was not conſidered as in the ſmalleſt degree immoral. Every ſtratagem that could be imagined was put in practice, by the contraband dealers, to elude the vigilance of the innumerable revenue officers, employed by thoſe who farmed the produce of the tax. Dogs even were taught to convey burthens of ſalt from one place to another, to diſtinguiſh their purſuers at a diſtance, and to evade them by hiding in the woods. Theſe dogs were oppoſed by others, which the officers had trained, and battles not unfrequently took place between numerous parties of theſe ſagacious animals. Their maſters were, likewiſe, in a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility; ſcarcely a day elapſing without ſome blood being ſpilt in ſkirmiſhes between them. When the gabelle was aboliſhed, both the ſmugglers and the officers were ſuddenly left without ſubſiſtence. Great numbers of them were enrolled by the co-operators and agents of the marquis de la Rouarie; but, on the diſcovery of his plans, many of the inferior claſs, and the majority of their leaders, periſhed on the ſcaffold. Thoſe who could eſcape ſought refuge in the foreſts, where they were quickly joined by the perſecuted inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. The fugitives in the foreſt of Pertre were without a chief, the want of whom they ſtrongly felt, and, having heard that the count was in Britanny, they ſent deputies to requeſt that he would accept the command, a requeſt with which he gladly complied.

M. de Puiſaye was on the point of ſetting out to the foreſt, when he received intelligence that the Poitevin army had croſſed the Loire, and was then at Laval, on its road to Normandy. Convinced that an attempt to penetrate into Normandy could be productive of nothing but diſaſter, he haſtened to

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diſpatch a letter to the royaliſt chiefs, to diſſuade them from their project, and adviſe them to march againſt Rennes; a ſtep which he aſſured them would quickly put into their poſſeſſion the whole of Britanny. In their reply the Poitevin leaders earneſtly preſſed him to join them without delay. He, accordingly, with a few truſty friends, ſet out to Laval, a diſtance of ſixty leagues, through unfrequented roads. On his reaching Laval he had the vexation to find that the royaliſt army had moved onward to Fougères. Thither he followed it, but, before he could arrive there, it had proceeded to the Norman coaſt. As his ſole object was to prevent the chiefs from entering Normandy, it was uſeleſs for him to run any farther riſk; and he, therefore, with much difficulty and peril, returned to his former aſylum, where he ſtaid a few days, to recover from his fatigue, and prepare for additional dangers and toils. The labour which he had undergone was not wholly unrewarded. In the courſe of his journey his ſmall band received an increaſe of ſeveral able and gallant royaliſts. Among theſe was Laurent, a farmer's ſon, who, afterwards, as his domeſtic, or rather humble friend, ſignalized himſelf by an almoſt unparalleled fidelity, attachment, and zeal.

When, at length, M. de Puiſaye arrived at the foreſt of Pertre, he found that, out of ſix or ſeven thouſand men, which had previouſly compoſed the Chouan force, more than five ſixths had periſhed, fighting in the ranks of the royal catholic army, which they had joined in its progreſs through Britanny. Several hundreds, however, had returned to the foreſt, and ſmall parties were hourly coming in. The void which had been made in the corps, by the arms of the republicans, was rapidly filled up by their cruelties. The relentleſs perſecution to which the inhabitants of the vicinity were expoſed, compelled whole pariſhes to ſeek an aſylum among the Chouans. Every day, likewiſe, brought ſome ſtragglers, who had been ſeparated from the Poitevin army. Of proviſions the Chouans had an abundance; the neighbouring farmers gladly furniſhing them with whatever they ſtood in need of, that the remainder might be protected from the jacobin pillagers.

The firſt ſtep taken by the count was to provide for the better ſecurity of his troops, by ordering that the cabins in which they dwelt, and which were too widely ſcattered, ſhould be brought into a ſmaller ſpace. Theſe cabins were formed of long ſtakes, interwoven with branches, and covered with turf. He directed that for the future, each cabin ſhould contain ſeven perſons, one of whom was to be the leader of the reſt. To every ſeven cabins he appointed an officer, with the title of chief of a cantonment, ſeven of which cantonments were to be under the command of a ſuperior officer, called the chief of a diviſion. He alſo made a variety of other regulations, and drew up an oath, by which the Chouans bound themſelves to be faithful to their king, their religion, and their chiefs; to wage eternal war againſt the republican uſurpers; to protect perſons and property; to brave

every danger; and, even if led to the ſcaffold, to preſerve a profound ſilence as to thoſe ſecrets of their party of which they poſſeſſed any knowledge.

The jacobin rulers of France were not without alarm as to the conſequences which might ariſe from the inſurrection of the Chouans. They gave orders to general Beaufort to move from the camp of Mortain to Fougères, with five or ſix thouſand men, and ſeveral pieces of cannon, and to carry fire and ſword into the haunts of the Chouans. The general endeavoured to circumſcribe the royaliſts, by a chain of poſts, ſtrengthened with abbatis and redoubts, and he ravaged ſome of the villages, but he did not deem it prudent to venture into the foreſts which concealed his opponents.

The count had not been long at the head of the Chouans before his life was placed in imminent danger. That he might be more at leiſure to carry on his correſpondence, which, while he lived among his ſoldiers, was every moment liable to interruption, he choſe, for the dwelling of himſelf and his friends, at the diſtance of nearly a mile from the camp, a ſeparate cabin, which had formerly been occupied by two prieſts. To this he withdrew in the afternoon, and as, in front of it, there was a ſpace whence the wood had been cleared away, he directed that his diviſions ſhould march there in ſucceſſion, to perform their exerciſe. On the night of the twenty-eighth of November, having given orders to one of the chiefs to bring a diviſion to exerciſe in the morning, he, and his five friends, retired to reſt. He had been informed that the village of Pertre was filled with conventional troops, but this intelligence did not alarm him, as every precaution had been taken to guard againſt ſurpriſe, neither did he believe the enemy ſtrong enough to hazard an attack upon the camp. The republicans had, in reality, no intention of attacking the Chouans. Their ſole object was to ſeiſe the two prieſts, whom they believed to be ſtill reſiding in the cabin which was occupied by M. de Puiſaye and his friends.

Nov. 1793.

Before break of day the friends of the count were rouſed by the voices of a great number of perſons, who were approaching the cabin. Believing the voices, however, to proceed from the Chouan diviſion, which was under orders, they did not awaken M. de Puiſaye. They were ſpeedily undeceived. On opening the door, two of them, La Hechois and the elder La Maſſue, were ſeiſed by the collar. La Hechois inſtantly freed himſelf by cutting down his antagoniſt; La Maſſue who was unarmed, was liberated by a ſhot from the muſket of Focard, which laid the republican dead at his feet.

Ruſhing to the outſide of the cabin, Focard ſingly kept the aſſailants at bay, and gave time to his friends to find their arms and ammunition. "Let us charge," he cried, "they begin to give way." The republicans were, in truth, ſtaggered by a reſiſtance which was wholly unexpected. One of the royaliſt party, the younger La Maſſue, was already ſlain by the fire of the enemy; the remainder now ruſhed forth upon the

the republicans, who, thinking that they had been led into a ſnare by falſe information, were ſeiſed with a panic terror, and, after a few diſcharges, fled in all directions. La Hechois was pierced with a thouſand balls, and Focard was dangerouſly wounded. The ſurvivors penetrated with their bleeding companion into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, where, loſing their way, they wandered for five hours, before they could recover the path which led to their cabin. The count, being almoſt naked, was covered from head to foot with ſplinters and thorns. When they reached the cabin they found there the faithful Laurent, who, by a ſort of miracle, had been ſaved from death. He had been taken priſoner by the republicans as they were approaching the cabin, and was already placed on his knees, and the muſket levelled at his breaſt, when one of the officers ſtopped the execution, leſt the noiſe ſhould alarm the two ſuppoſed prieſts, and induce them to eſcape. The rapid flight of the troops, after their unexpected reception, did not allow them to think of murdering or carrying off their captive.

After having provided for the ſafety and cure of Focard, the count returned to his camp, where he was received with general and unaffected joy. On his return he found an envoy from Jerſey, with a packet, containing ſeveral letters, and the declaration recently addreſſed to the French people, by his Britannic majeſty. Among theſe letters was one from Mr. Dundas, and another from the marquis du Dreſnay, announcing that he had been appointed, by the French princes, to ſucceed M. de la Rouarie, as chief of the Bretons. In the letter of the miniſter, neither flattering commendations nor warm promiſes of ſupport were ſpared. The envoy, M. Prigent, alſo informed M. de Puiſaye that a Britiſh ſquadron was now lying in the road of Guernſey, which, on the firſt ſignal made by the royaliſts, would ſail for the coaſt of France, and land whatever ſuccours they might require. It was, he ſaid, only neceſſary to march three thouſand Chouans to the point where the landing was to be effected.

Gratified and encouraged as M. de Puiſaye was by this offer, he did not think that good policy allowed him to accept it at the preſent moment. He was not certain that, even were the ſuccour ſafely landed, he could prevent it from ſubſequently falling into the hands of the republicans, who, on his return to the interior of the province, might unite againſt him all the forces with which they had lately overthrown the royaliſt army of Poitou. Should he, at the very outſet of his intercourſe with the Britiſh miniſters, give them reaſon to believe that his party was too weak to accompliſh any beneficial purpoſe, they would be diſcouraged from affording any future aid, and he would thus be deprived of their aſſiſtance at a period when, perhaps, it might be productive of deciſive advantage to the royal cauſe. There was alſo another conſideration, which had great weight on his mind. He did not wiſh the royaliſt party to be regarded in any other light than that of a valuable ally, and he did not think it yet formidable enough to aſſume

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that character. He, therefore, with much reſpect and gratitude, declined, for the preſent, the Britiſh ſuccours; aſſigning as his reaſon that he could not guarantee their arrival in ſafety to their ultimate deſtination. At the ſame time, he deſired M. Prigent to aſſure the miniſters, that the knowledge which he had acquired of their friendly intentions would have the beſt effect upon the Bretons, myriads of whom it would ſtimulate to exertions which a fear of being left ſingly to encounter the enemy, had hitherto deterred them from making. He added that he would ſtrain every nerve to extend the royaliſt organization to the coaſt, ſo as to ſecure an uninterrupted correſpondence with the iſland of Jerſey, and that no long period would, he hoped, elapſe, before the loyal Bretons would be able to profit by the friendſhip of England.

In order to be more in the centre of his operations, M. de Puiſaye quitted the foreſt of Pertre, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the neighbourhood of Rennes. Here a circumſtance occurred which was highly favourable to his plans. A number of diſtinguiſhed officers, belonging to the Poitevin army, who had not been able ſince its defeat to return to Poitou, now joined him, and were diſtributed in various parts of the province to embody and train the royaliſt population. Among theſe were M. Foreſtier, who had ſignaliſed himſelf as ſecond in command of the Vendéan cavalry, the count de Bellevue, the chevaliers Chantreau and Cacqueray, and meſſieurs du Perrat, Guignard, de Poncet, Fabré, Brechard, Jarry, and Tuffin d'Uſſy, the latter of whom was a near relation of the gallant de la Rouarie. M. Brechard the count retained as his co-operator, in which quality he rendered eſſential ſervice, as he was acquainted with the buſineſs of the commiſſariate, and was likewiſe endowed with a ready perſuaſive eloquence, and great application.

The horrible cruelties which, towards the cloſe of the year 1793, were hourly committed by the jacobins, ſoon furniſhed the royaliſt officers with an abundant ſupply of recruits. Through every part of the province ſlaughter raged with unremitting and unrelenting fury. In Rennes alone, more than three hundred victims were ſlaughtered in one day, and their blood, mingled with the rain and the dirt of the ſtreets, covered the ſhoes and lower garments of the terrified and diſguſted paſſengers. The place of executioner in that city being vacant, the competitors for it were ordered to make a trial of their ſkill, and the moſt adroit and barbarous of them was elected, and carried in triumph to dine with the Conventional deputies. The guillotine, however, was ſoon found too ſlow in its operations, and the more rapid mode of ſhooting the priſoners in maſs was adopted. Similar ſcenes took place in almoſt all the other towns of Britanny. Thouſands of unfortunate beings dragged out a wretched exiſtence in caves under ground, or narrow niches made for them in walls, which they never quitted, except to take ſome nouriſhment, or to breathe a purer air, for a few minutes during the dead of the night. In theſe confined places, where they had not room to turn themſelves,

themſelves, numbers periſhed by ſuffocation. The jacobin ſoldiers and generals were not inferior in barbarity to their maſters. They ſpread deſolation and terror all around them, and ſome of the generals even carried their wantonneſs of cruelty to ſuch a length as publicly to offer a large reward to whoever would bring the convincing and horrible proof of having mutilated the perſon of a royaliſt.

Theſe dreadful enormities overawed the inhabitants of the towns, but they produced a very different effect upon the hardy peaſantry. The latter were exaſperated and driven to arms by them. Whereever the Chouan leaders turned their ſteps, they were greeted by the peaſants as friends and deliverers, and their bands received a daily and formidable acceſſion of ſtrength. Every one was eager to communicate to them the deſigns and movements of the conventional agents, while, on the contrary, not a man could be induced by thoſe agents to betray the ſecrets of the royaliſts. The compulſory requiſitions of young men for the republican armies, alſo contributed to augment the forces of M. de Puiſaye. Placed under the neceſſity of bearing arms, the youth of the province choſe rather to ſerve their rightful ſovereign than the uſurpers of his throne. Thoſe even who were chained and carried off to the frontiers, contrived to return home, and join the Chouan bands. The ſervices of the latter were rendered more valuable by their having been dragged from their native ſoil. Accuſtomed to marches and to fatigue, the returned peaſantry no longer felt that repugnance to loſe ſight of their pariſh ſteeple, which, in thoſe who had never quitted their own roofs, it was nearly impoſſible to ſurmount, and which often proved a ſerious obſtacle to the projected enterpriſes of their chiefs.

The univerſal hatred which the Bretons entertained of the conventional government, enabled M. de Puiſaye to procure intelligence, and to carry on a correſpondence, in all quarters. In every town of Britanny, Maine, and the adjacent part of Normandy, he had numerous partiſans, who made him acquainted with every incident that occurred. Over the whole of the country through which his ſyſtem was extended, a communication by couriers was eſtabliſhed, from town to town, and almoſt from farm to farm. Particular houſes were alſo ſet apart for the reception of letters, travellers, and recruits; and others, ſtill more retired, for the reſidence of the ſick and the wounded.

Before the ſpring of the year 1794, the royaliſt party in Britanny had gained ſuch ſtrength, that the count reſolved to venture upon an enterpriſe of far greater magnitude than any which he had hitherto undertaken. This was nothing leſs than an attempt to make himſelf maſter of the city of Rennes. That city was protected by entrenchments, and a garriſon of two thouſand men; but, with the aid of his numerous friends in the place, he did not doubt that his troops, having ſilently approached through unfrequented roads, would be able to carry it by ſurpriſe. The night on which an entertainment was to be given by the commiſſioners of the convention,

vention, and the ſtaff-officers of the Republican army, was fixed upon by the count for the accompliſhment of his ſcheme. Nine Royaliſt columns were to occupy the nine roads which lead to the city, while, at the head of the Chouans of Gravelle and Vitré, the beſt diſciplined of all the Breton diviſions, he himſelf penetrated to the ſpot where the commiſſioners and officers were carouſing. To endeavour to keep poſſeſſion of Rennes, was not his intention; he having judiciouſly determined that, till he had effectual means of defending them, he would never retain any of the towns which he might conquer, as his temporary retention of them would induce ſuch of the citizens as were his ſecret friends, to declare their principles; and, by ſo doing, expoſe themſelves to the republican vengeance. The time of his ſtay in Rennes was, therefore, limited to a ſingle night. In this time he meant to ſeiſe the jacobin civil and military officers, ſpike and throw the cannon into the river, carry off the ſmaller arms and ammunition, and reſtore to their liberty the impriſoned royaliſts.

Every thing at the outſet ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue to this daring enterpriſe. After a march of three nights, through fifteen leagues of almoſt impaſſable roads, the Chouan column joined M. de Puiſaye at la Pleſſis de Vern, not more than two leagues from Rennes, without having excited in the enemy the ſlighteſt alarm. The other columns alſo approached the ſcene of action with equal ſecrecy. They were, however, ordered to halt at ſome diſtance, and wait a ſignal from the general, which if they did not receive, they were to diſperſe, and return to their homes before the break of day.

Unfortunately, when the moment was almoſt arrived for its execution, this plan was fruſtrated by one of thoſe caſual circumſtances, which have ſo often diſconcerted the calculations of wiſdom and foreſight. Two cannoneers of Rennes, having ſtrayed into the wood of la Pleſſis de Vern, fell in with a party of fifteen or ſixteen Chouans, whom they deceived, by profeſſing themſelves royaliſts, and offering to return to the city, to procure a ſupply of cartridges, an article with which the Chouans were very ſlenderly provided. The count was not informed of this incident till the cannoneers were gone. When they returned with the cartridges, they were immediately ſecured. The count was well aware that it was now impracticable to make any attack upon Rennes; but he did not deſpair of drawing ſome advantage, even from the diſcovery which the enemy had made. He diſpatched orders to the columns on the right and left to join him, and to the other columns to retire to their homes. Scattering ſome ſmall parties in his front, to draw the aſſailants forward by a ſimulated flight, he poſted the main body of his column in ambuſh, behind the underwood of the foreſt. The republicans, to the number of ſix or ſeven hundred men, ſoon made their appearance, and fell completely into the ſnare which was ſpread for them. They were routed, ſuffered a ſevere loſs, and aban-

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doned to the victors their horſes, ammunition, and arms. As ſoon as the remains of the detachment reached the city, the drums were beaten, and the alarm bells rung. In order to enſure victory by dint of numbers, the republicans marched out the whole of the garriſon, to which they added an immenſe crowd of peaſants and citizens, better qualified to ſpread confuſion and diſmay among their friends, than among their adverſaries. This ſecond corps was not more fortunate than the firſt. Animated by their ſucceſs, the Chouans attacked it with ſo much fury, that it was entirely defeated; and ſuch was the ardor of the conquerors, that three hundred of them penetrated into Rennes along with the terrified fugitives. The count, however, did not think it prudent to puſh his advantage any further, leſt the routed troops ſhould recover from their panic, and diſcern the ſcantineſs of his force. He, therefore, called off the purſuers, and encamped, for the moment, in the vicinity of Rennes.

The following day the count was joined by the column on the leſt, which was commanded by Meſſieurs Foreſtier, la Maſſue and Grignard. The column on the right, not having received the order ſent, the preceding evening, by M. de Puiſaye, had diſperſed, according to the original inſtructions.

The reluctance of the royaliſts to move from their reſpective diſtricts, has already been mentioned. Such, however, was the enthuſiaſm excited by the recent double victory, that the two columns loudly declared their readineſs to follow the count, wherever he might think proper to lead them. This willingneſs of his troops, he loſt no time in turning to account. He was deſirous of trying the temper of the ſurrounding country, and alſo of perſonally extending his ſyſtem to the department of the Morbihan, in which he firſt found an aſylum, on his arrival in the province, and where the population was almoſt entirely compoſed of the partiſans of royalty. The preſent was as happy an opportunity as could poſſibly occur. Having given the Chouans a day's reſt, he, therefore, commenced his march.

During their progreſs, they had numerous ſkirmiſhes with the jacobinical part, (a ſmall part) of the national guards, and with the weak garriſons of the towns on their route. In all of theſe the Chouans had the upper hand. A more ſerious evil than theſe trifling encounters was the difficulty, not to ſay impoſſibility, of obtaining proviſions, to which they were at their outſet expoſed, but which they uniformly bore with the moſt praiſe-worthy patience. A decree of the convention threatened with death thoſe who left any article of ſubſiſtence in the houſes near which the royaliſt bands were expected to paſs; and the Chouans had likewiſe been painted in ſuch horrible colours to the ſimple country people, as ferocious robbers and murderers, that the villages and hamlets were generally deſerted, even by thoſe who were adverſe to the jacobin government. But this prejudice was ſoon removed. Several towns, confiding in their military force, ventured to reſiſt the entrance of the Chouans. They were carried by aſſault. Inſtead, however,

however, of ſuffering the puniſhment which uſually attends a fruitleſs oppoſition to ſuperior ſtrength, the inhabitants, no leſs to their ſurpriſe than gratification, found themſelves treated with the utmoſt kindneſs by their dreaded conquerors. A ſcrupulous reſpect was ſhown by the latter to the perſons and property of the former. Not an article was taken, which was not paid for at its full value. This exemplary conduct was ſeconded by the eloquence of the Count, who always aſſembled the towns-people, and explained to them the real views, ſentiments, and feelings, of thoſe whom he commanded. He, likewiſe, with equal policy and humanity, ſpared the peaſantry, who had either been ſeduced or compelled to appear againſt him in the field. Theſe juſt and generous modes of proceeding received their proper reward. Far from taking flight, the country people thenceforth haſtened to meet the troops of the count, and to laviſh on them every thing which their ruſtic habitations could afford. In all quarters new and ſtrenuous partiſans were gained to the cauſe of royalty.

The royaliſt column at length arrived in the department of the Morbihan, and halted at Baignon, the ſmall town which had originally afforded a refuge to M. de Puiſayé. The day of its arrival was a day of rejoicing. The tree of liberty had been cut down by the townſmen, as ſoon as they heard of the approach of the Chouans, and a bonfire was now made of it, round which young and old, women and children, danced, and uttered ſhouts of joy.

At this place the court was informed that a body of royaliſts, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, who wiſhed to join his ſtandard, was formed in the foreſt of Maulac, between Maleſtroit and Vannes. He was, in conſequence, preparing to advance to Maulac, when his ſcouts brought him intelligence that the enemy were moving in great force from all quarters, and that he was on the point of being ſurrounded. This intelligence was correct. The republicans had, indeed, the moſt urgent motives for putting a ſpeedy ſtop to his progreſs. As long as they could keep the diſaffected diſtricts without mutual intercourſe, and inſulated by large tracts of at leaſt neutral territory, ſo long had they little to dread from inſurrections, which, being only partial, could not be ſeriouſly dangerous. But they well knew that, if the barrier were once broken down, and the royaliſt poſts and communications extended regularly over the country, they had every thing to apprehend from a general riſing of the people.

Reſolved that their efforts ſhould not be fruſtrated through a want of troops, the republicans drew out the garriſons of Rennes, Montfort, Bains, Redon, and, in ſhort, of all the towns within reach, the jacobins, the national guards, and a levy of peaſants, the latter of whom were armed with pikes. This force was divided into ſeveral columns, which moved from all ſides towards Baignon, to envelope the royaliſt corps. As no time was to be loſt by the count, in breaking through the hoſtile circle, it became a ſubject of conſideration againſt what

what part of the circle the attack ſhould be directed. The great object of the enemy being to prevent him from penetrating into the interior of the Morbihan, he concluded that their principal ſtrength was in that quarter. In addition to this circumſtance, there was another, of not leſs weight, which rendered it prudent for him to direct the march of his troops back towards their native diſtricts. Should the Chouans be defeated, they would find it difficult to reach home through an unknown country, the inhabitants of which, too, uſed a different language; the low Breton being univerſally ſpoken in the department of the Morbihan. Nor would this retrograde movement be at all injurious to his plans, as he had already eſtabliſhed his line of communication, in the moſt effectual manner.

From a hill between Plelan and Baignon, the count, on reconnoitring, ſaw, at leſs than a quarter of a league diſtance, the junction of three republican columns, conſiſting of eighty horſe, and nearly four thouſand foot. With this body he determined to hazard a combat. The republicans, who did not imagine that their adverſaries were ſo near them, marched in diſorder, and without precaution. M. de Puiſaye allowed them to advance half way up the hill, and then ordered his men to attack with fixed bayonets. The Chouans, with loud cries, and without firing a ſhot, ruſhed forward upon the enemy. Their unexpected appearance, and the fury of the charge, ſo terrified the republicans, that they thought of nothing but a precipitate flight, during which they threw away their muſkets, ſtandards, and every thing elſe which could impede their eſcape.

Finding the Chouans highly animated by this ſucceſs, the count led them to encounter the columns which were advancing on the ſide of Ploermel. He occupied a ſtrong poſition, upon a height, on the verge of the foreſt of Paimpol. The enemy, however, having learned the defeat of the other columns, did not think proper to come to an engagement with the conquerors. The two parties watched each other till night, when the count, finding that the Chouans were nearly barefoot, and were deſirous of returning to their homes, continued, without any obſtacle, his retreat to Concoret, where he halted, to allow them a few hours repoſe. At Concoret, M. de Puiſaye was received with enthuſiaſtic joy, and found diſpatches, which had been left there for him by five deputies, ſent in the name of the royaliſt inhabitants of the department of the Morbihan, to declare their wiſh to ſerve under his command.

Having no longer any neceſſity to fight, nor any thing to gain by fighting, the count, on hearing that the republicans were again in motion, continued his courſe, by Montfort and St. Germain ſur Ille, towards the foreſt of Rennes. During the march, ſuch of the Chouans as were near their homes, were allowed to quit the diviſion, and return to their families. By this means the troops remaining with M. de Puiſaye, were reduced to nine hundred men when he arrived in the neighbourhood of the foreſt. Thoſe who continued with him had ſtill ſeveral extenſive heaths

to paſs, before they could reach Gravelle and Vitré, where their journey was to terminate. This ſpace, too, contained ſeveral pariſhes thoroughly tainted with jacobinical principles. By the time the column arrived near Liſſré, in the foreſt, the enemy, not leſs than ten thouſand ſtrong, were in arms all around, and every avenue was guarded with the ſtricteſt care. The alarm bell was ringing in all quarters.

In this ſituation, M. de Puiſaye had no other reſource than to repeat the experiment which had ſo lately been ſucceſsful Fortune, however, was not, in this inſtance, propitious. His column had ſuffered a ſtill further diminution, and thoſe Chouans who remained were exhauſted by fifteen days of inceſſant exertion. Before break of day the count made an attack upon the neareſt republican diviſion, but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, his ſoldiers became diſheartened, and, in ſpite of his efforts and prayers, betook themſelves to flight, nor was it poſſible to bring them back to the combat. Their loſs was forty men, among whom were four gallant leaders, the chevaliers de Troroux, Tuffin d'Uſſy, Poncet, and Fabré. Luckily, the enemy, fearful of an ambuſcade, did not venture to purſue them.

The count was left alone upon a wide plain, and it was not till after he had ſeveral times been on the point of falling into the hands of his opponents, that he ſucceeded in reaching a ſequeſtered valley, where four or five hundred of the Chouans had been at laſt collected by their officers. Having ſecured a guide, capable of conducting the royaliſts through bye roads, to a ſpot where they might ſafely diſperſe, M. de Puiſaye now gave the chiefs inſtructions for their future conduct, took leave of them, and departed with M. Jarry, to organize the diviſion of the latter in the vicinity of Bain, where he hoped to find M. de Foreſtier, and Duperrat, who had been ſeparated from him in the courſe of his recent march. After a toilſome journey on foot, of more than thirty leagues, the count and his companion arrived at the place of their deſtination. They had the ſatisfaction to find that the two miſſing officers were already there.

The trifling check which the Chouans ſuffered, was of no conſequence, further than the loſs of brave men with which it was attended. From their march through the province, the happieſt effects reſulted to the royal cauſe. New partiſans were gained, the old ones were animated, prejudices were removed, communications were opened, and the royaliſts were rendered warlike, and inſpired with a confidence in themſelves, while their adverſaries, on the other hand, were taught that thoſe whom they had depiſed, as mere wandering and lurking outlaws, could become truly formidable in fair and open conteſt.

By the count, however, theſe advantages were bought at a dreadful expence to his feelings. The deareſt friend of his boſom, the companion of all his labours, was one of the victims. This was James Focard, who, as we have ſeen, accompanied him into Britanny, after the diſſolution of the Norman confederacy. Focard was brought

brought up to the profeſſion of medicine, and having been called from Paris to attend the count, whoſe phyſician he was, he determined never more to quit him, but to ſhare all his perils, though he well knew that, ſhould he be taken by the republicans, death would inevitably be the penalty of his attachment to his friend. With a generous and affectionate heart, he poſſeſſed a penetrating and cultivated mind, and a determined courage, which, though he was yet young, was tempered and controuled by a judgment of ſuch ſoundneſs as is rarely to be met with even in perſons of riper years. Such was the man whoſe loſs M. de Puiſaye had now to lament. While he made a ſhort halt in the foreſt of Rennes, where he was ſurrounded by the enemy, he diſpatched Focard and Laurent, to obtain proviſions, for the enſuing day, from a neighbouring village. Worn down by continual fatigues, the two meſſengers fell aſleep in the village, and, while they ſlept, their arms were taken from them by ſome of the peaſantry of the levy, who, however, did them no other injury. They were thus left defenceleſs, and the event was fatal. A patrole of regular troops fell upon them by ſurpriſe, as they were returning to their comrades. Amidſt a ſhower of bullets Laurent had the good fortune to eſcape unhurt, but Focard was compelled to ſurrender, and was carried priſoner to Rennes. It was in vain that the count tried every poſſible means to accompliſh his liberation. The gallant and unfortunate Focard was led out to death, which he faced with calm intrepidity, and the laſt words that he uttered were prayers for the happineſs of his ſovereign and his friend.

While the count de Puiſaye was engaged in organizing the diviſion of the diſtrict of Bain, the chevalier de Tinteniac arrived at the quarters of the count, on a miſſion from the French princes and the Britiſh government. In his performance of this ſervice, the chevalier had encountered infinite difficulty and danger. Believing the count to be in the neighbourhood of Vitré, he had firſt directed his ſteps to that part of the country, and, diſappointed there, had tracked at a diſtance the Chouans in their late march, and paſſed, with perfect ſafety, through the widely-ſcattered poſts and corps of the republicans, which were every where in motion to intercept the royaliſt army. Tinteniac, indeed, had been always more than commonly fortunate in his perilous journies. Though conſtantly employed, and though frequently ſurrounded, and ſeemingly cut off from eſcape, both in the field, and in houſes where his reſidence had been betrayed to the enemy, he had never failed to force a paſſage ſword in hand, and had never in all his numerous conflicts, received even the ſlighteſt wound.

The conferences of the chevalier and the count were long and intereſting. The former had hitherto been unacquainted with the vaſt magnitude of the reſources which Britanny was capable of furniſhing to the royal cauſe: the latter had remained in a happy ignorance of the deſpicable intrigues which, to the injury of that cauſe, were carried on, out of the kingdom, by ſome of the partiſans of royalty.

The count, among other things, could not help expreſſing his ſurpriſe that he had not been joined by any of thoſe gentlemen, who, after the death of their great chief, the marquis de la Rouarie, had effected their eſcape into foreign countries; and he ſtrongly depicted the benefit of which their talents, their influence, and their local knowledge, would be productive to the royaliſt party. Fearing that a repugnance to combat, in their native province, under the orders of a general and of officers who were not natives of Britanny, was the cauſe which deterred them from coming forward, he declared the readineſs of himſelf and his officers to yield up their ſtations to thoſe who had a natural claim to be the leaders of the Bretons. Tinteniac, however, aſſured him that the expatriated Breton officers were incapable of being actuated by ſuch pitiful motives. They had an ardent deſire, he ſaid, to ſhare the glory and the perils of their countrymen, and the major part of them had taken up their reſidence in Jerſey, that they might be enabled the more eaſily to reach the French coaſt; but their ardour was rendered of no avail by particular circumſtances. The Britiſh government had reſolved to raiſe regiments of emigrants, and, in conſequence of this, the perſons who were to head the new regiments, eager to procure their recruits as ſpeedily as poſſible, ſecretly threw obſtacles in the way of thoſe who wiſhed to quit the iſland, for the purpoſe of joining the royaliſts. But theſe obſtacles would, he added, be immediately removed, if the count would requeſt the Britiſh miniſters to give the neceſſary orders.

The conduct of the marquis du Dreſnay, whom the French princes had appointed as ſucceſſor to de la Rouarie, was the next ſubject of diſcuſſion. Six months had elapſed ſince the marquis firſt announced his appointment; and he had yet given no ſigns of life. While thoſe of whom he was the nominal head, were every day contending in arms with the enemy, he remained at his eaſe in Jerſey. It was neither proper nor poſſible for M. de Puiſaye to conceal that this ſtrange and unmilitary conduct had excited univerſal diſcontent. Tinteniac, in reply, ſtated M. du Dreſnay to be a man of honor and good will, but weak and with ſlender talents. Two things ſtood, he ſaid, in the way of his coming into Britanny, to aſſume the command. He had unwiſely quarrelled with, and diſguſted, the friends of M. de la Rouarie; and he was the colonel of one of the emigrant regiments now raiſing. The latter was the principal cauſe of his abſence; as it was more his intereſt to remain where his ſervices were to be paid, than to go where they muſt be gratuitouſly afforded. From ſuch a leader little could be expected. Nevertheleſs, M. de Puiſaye, to manifeſt his reſpect for the orders of the princes, cauſed M. du Dreſnay to be acknowledged as their head by all his friends who were preſent, and gave orders that the ſame acknowledgment ſhould be made, without delay, by the whole of the diviſions.

The chevalier was exceedingly urgent with the count to undertake

take a voyage to England, to ſolicit aid from the miniſters, whom he repreſented as often receiving ſuch perplexed and contradictory information on the royaliſt affairs, that they were at a loſs in what manner to act. A perſonal interview of an hour, between the miniſters and the count, would, Tinteniac ſaid, produce more beneficial effects than volumes of letters and memorials, or than all the efforts of the moſt zealous and intelligent envoy.

That a voyage to England would ultimately be politic, the count allowed, but he was of opinion that it ought not to be undertaken at preſent. With a becoming pride he declared, that both the intereſt and the dignity of the king of France required that the royaliſt party ſhould not be regarded by the Britiſh government in the light of an hired band, but in that of an ally, capable of rendering eſſential ſervice to England herſelf, in return for the ſuccours which ſhe might afford. Till, however, that party acquired a real weight in the political balance, it muſt never hope to be looked upon in that character. A very ſhort time would, he ſaid, bring affairs in Britanny to ſuch a ſtate as to put it in his power to claim for his ſovereign the alliance of England. A ſtill ſhorter time would, probably, elapſe, before he ſhould have an opportunity of convincing the Engliſh cabinet of the value of the alliance. The jacobins were now meditating an invaſion of the Britiſh iſlands. This project he would compel them to abandon, and would thus prove to England that the royaliſts of Britanny were ſufficiently formidable to be ranked among her allies.

It was finally ſettled that Tinteniac ſhould perſonally inform the French princes, and the Britiſh miniſters, of the ſituation of affairs in Britanny; that, as the pecuniary reſources of the count were nearly exhauſted, he ſhould ſolicit from the miniſters an aſſiſtance in money; and that he ſhould enforce, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the abſolute neceſſity of acting in future upon one uniform ſyſtem.

In order to teſtify to the chevalier at once the gratitude of the Bretons, and their moderation, the count, with the unanimous aſſent of the other chiefs, conferred on him previouſly to his departure, the rank of chief of diviſion. As Tinteniac was the ſenior colonel of all the Breton chiefs of diviſion, who had formerly ſerved in the regular army, his new rank gave him, of courſe, the command over them. He now took his leave of the count, promiſing to return when he had accompliſhed his miſſion, and to bring with him a number of officers, who were his friends, and who were eager to take a ſhare in this honourable conteſt.

The predictions of M. de Puiſaye, with reſpect to an invaſion of the Britiſh territories, were ſpeedily verified by the jacobin rulers of France. As early as towards the cloſe of the year 1793, the committee of Public Safety, and its military committee, were buſily, though ſecretly, employed, in concerting the plans, and making preparations, for a deſcent, which, they fondly flattered themſelves, would give a fatal blow to their moſt

hated and dreaded enemy. Their navy was yet untried, and, with infinite arrogance, they anticipated for it a ſplendid triumph over the navy of the "modern Carthage." "We ſhall ſoon," they exclaimed, "puniſh England, and avenge France."

Filled with theſe ideas, they preſſed forward the equipment of the Breſt fleet, conſiſting of thirty ſail of the line, and they formed, at Paramé, between Cancale and St. Malo, in ſight of the iſland of Jerſey, a camp of twenty-four thouſand choſen troops. Two of the conventional deputies, Ruamps and Billaud Varennes, were diſpatched to accelerate the preliminary meaſures. In a council of war, it is ſaid to have been definitively arranged, that Jerſey and Guernſey ſhould be the firſt objects of attack, and that, after their ſurrender, and the defeat or flight of the Engliſh ſquadron, an attempt ſhould be made upon the Iſle of Wight. It is, however, highly improbable that their views extended no further than merely to rending off theſe ſmall outlying portions of the Britiſh empire. The magnitude of the force, their obvious intereſt, their own lofty language, the ſanguineneſs of their hopes, and the internal ſituation of England itſelf, all compel us to believe that the armament was deſtined for greater purpoſes than the conqueſt of three comparatively inſignificant, though valuable, iſlands.

March 1794.

Some of the royaliſt chiefs were of opinion that it would be more wiſe to allow the expedition to ſail, and thus diſembarraſs the province of a powerful army, than by any previous hoſtile ſteps, to compel the jacobin government to relinquiſh its ſchemes of invaſion, and ſcatter the troops through Britanny, to hold the Bretons in ſubjection. M. de Puiſaye, however, though he was well aware of the momentary advantage which would reſult from the departure of the republicans, deemed it highly imprudent for the royaliſts to remain inactive at this critical period. If England, he urged, were vanquiſhed by the invaders, all hope would be extinguiſhed; for how could the Bretons expect to overcome thoſe by whom ſhe had been overcome; but, ſhould ſhe prove victorious, with what face could they, who, in the hour of danger, had made no effort in her behalf, apply to her for ſuccour. This, he ſaid, was the moment to prove, that the alliance of the ſovereign of France, even in his preſent unfortunate ſtate, could be ſerviceable to England. The arguments of the count were allowed to be irrefragable, and it was accordingly reſolved to fruſtrate the republican project of invaſion.

It now remained to decide upon the moſt proper mode of carrying this reſolution into effect. To call together the diviſions of the Lower Maine, and of the Ille and Vilaine, which were neareſt the ſcene of action, and to march them in a body againſt the republicans, would be an experiment fraught with danger. A defeat in a battle might produce fatal conſequences, or, at leaſt, ſpread diſcouragement among the Bretons. Beſides, the royaliſts had neither artillery nor cavalry, and, which was of far more importance, they would find it

it difficult, if not impoſſible, to procure ſubſiſtence for any length of time, when removed from their homes. Nor was this all. During their abſence, the conventionaliſts, who were now obliged to fight for every mouthful of food, and whoſe detachments were generally defeated, would ſweep off, without oppoſition, the produce of the country, and thus ſtarve at once the royaliſts in arms, and thoſe who were left behind.

A plan, leſs hazardous to the loyal Bretons, and more deſtructive to the enemy, was adopted by M. de Puiſaye. It conſiſted in holding quiet the country in the neighbourhood of the republican army, and forming, at conſiderable diſtances, diviſions of a ſufficient ſtrength to alarm the enemy, and oblige him to march againſt them. Theſe diviſions, however, were never to come to an engagement, unleſs under circumſtances which enſured their ſucceſs. They were to diſperſe on the approach of the hoſtile forces, and others were to be called out at twenty or thirty leagues from the ſpot, in order to haraſs the republicans by keeping them in continual and fruitleſs motion. During the march of the latter, they were to be inceſſantly annoyed, on their flanks and rear, and expoſed to ambuſcades and ſtratagems, which, from the local knowledge of thoſe who practiſed them, could ſcarcely fail of being effectual.

This plan was executed with equal vigour and ſkill, and produced thoſe conſequences which the royaliſt leader expected. The republicans, conſtantly alarmed by inſurrections, were under the neceſſity of ſending detachments to quell them, and ſo frequently did the demand for freſh troops recur, that, by the beginning of the autumn, not more than three hundred men remained in the camp of Paramé, and all thoughts of invading and over-running England were thenceforth laid aſide.

Indefatigable in his exertions, M. de Puiſaye devoted every moment of his exiſtence to the cauſe which he had eſpouſed. Either the pen or the ſword was for ever in his hand. The correſpondence which he himſelf had to carry on in Britanny alone was immenſe. But this was not the ſole correſpondence in which he was engaged. He kept up a communication with Paris, Normandy, and the Southern Provinces, and procured the means of obtaining intelligence from every part of France, where any diſpoſition was ſhown to throw off the heavy and degrading yoke of the jacobin oppreſſors.

For the toils which he underwent, the count found an ample compenſation in his rapid ſucceſs. By the middle of the ſummer of the year 1794, the royaliſt party had acquired an extenſion and ſtrength, which almoſt ſurpaſſed all that he had dared to hope.

The department of the Ille and Vilaine, which was the center of his operations, was completely organized; but the diviſions on the right and left of the river Rance were ordered not to make the ſlighteſt movement, as their committing hoſtilities would again draw the republican troops to the coaſt, and render difficult the mu-

tual intercourſe which was kept up between the iſland of Jerſey and the continent.

In nearly an equal ſtate of forwardneſs was the department of the Côtes du Nord, or northern coaſts, which extends along the Britiſh channel, from the bay of St. Malo, to that of St. Michael. The firſt bands of Chouans in this quarter were, as we have before ſtated, formed in the foreſt of Lorges, by Bernard de Villeneuve, the friend of la Rouarie. Villeneuve, however, who was ſingularly unambitious, had never extended, or ſeemed deſirous of extending, his efforts or his authority beyond the boundary of the foreſt. By the perſuaſion of M. de Puiſaye, the chevalier Charles de Boiſhardy, an officer of daring courage, and poſſeſſing great influence over the inhabitants of the northern coaſts, was induced to aſſume the command. His activity ſoon extended the royaliſt organization to the limits of his territory.

The friends of royalty in the department of Finiſterre, which comprehends all the weſtern extremity of the Breton peninſula, were not leſs numerous, though, from motives of policy, they were not yet called into action. Every thing was, however, prepared, to make their ſervices available, whenever the proper moment ſhould arrive.

But, ardent as were the generality of the Bretons in the cauſe of their ſovereign, in no quarter was greater ardour diſplayed than in the department of the Morbihan. This department, which takes its name from an arm of the ſea deeply indenting the coaſt, has a population of more than five hundred thouſand ſouls, deſcended from the unconquerable Veneti. Its inhabitants are bold, hardy, inured to fatigue, accuſtomed to live on coarſe and ſcanty fare, deſpiſers of luxury, and enthuſiaſtically attached to their uſages, laws, and religion. Their language is the Low Breton, entirely diſtinct from the French, and derived in part from the ancient Britiſh. Even before the period when the natives of Morbihan took up arms, the jacobin rulers of France had never been able to deprive them of their prieſts and religious ceremonies, nor to enforce among them the circulation of aſſignats, nor even of ſpecie bearing the revolutionary enſigns. The ſturdy peaſants kept guard round the churches, while divine ſervice was performed, and they refuſed to ſell their cattle to the jacobin commiſſioners, unleſs they were paid in money, ſtamped with the effigies of the kings of France. Officers alone were wanting to give effect to their loyalty and ſpirit. Theſe were at length obtained. For a ſhort time the count de la Bourdonnaye held the chief command, to which he was raiſed by the unanimous voice of his countrymen. But, on the return of the count de Silz to Britanny, de la Bourdonnaye, with that modeſty which almoſt always accompanies real merit, reſigned it to him, as better calculated than himſelf to fill it with advantage. The count de Silz had under him his brother, the chevalier de Silz, who could bring three thouſand men into the field,

field, the count de Boullainvilliers, Guillemotte, two gentlemen named Lantivy, Bonfils, Jean Jean, Berthelot, Robineau de St. Regent, d'Allegre, Georges Cadoudal, and Mercier, of Vendée.

The two latter officers, and especially Georges, became so distinguished among the royalists, that it may not be improper to enter somewhat more into their characters than into those of their colleagues. Georges, the son of a countryman, was scarcely more than twenty years of age, and had received rather an imperfect education, a misfortune of which he was fully sensible, and which induced him sometimes to place too much confidence in others, and too little in himself. Though his manners were not polished, he made ample amends for this defect, by the goodness of his heart. He possessed religious principles, a high sense of honour, a sound understanding, and a courage which nothing could dismay. When the royal catholic army traversed Britanny, he joined it at the head of a corps of the natives of the Morbihan, and fought with signal valour.

Mercier, though denominated Mercier of Vendée, was born in a town of Anjou, and was the son of a citizen. Few men had talents and virtues better calculated to inspire at once confidence, respect, and affection. Experience was all that he stood in need of to make him nearly perfect—for he had barely turned his eighteenth year. Yet, at this early period, he had an ardent mind, quick talents, and unusual penetration. Pious, benevolent, and candid, he was beloved in no common degree by all his companions. His military propensities and qualifications marked him out as born to shine in the difficult science of war. All his leisure moments were devoted to the study of tactics and fortification, and in his marches, journies, and combats, he missed no opportunity of applying to the ground, over which he passed, the maxims which he had learned. To the intrepidity of an old soldier he added that rarer gift, presence of mind, and a gaiety which never deserted him, even in the midst of adversity and danger.

Mercier joined the Poitevin army during its march through his native province, and he soon contracted a friendship with Georges. After the final defeat of the army, the two friends sought an asylum with the family of Georges in the Morbihan; but they could not elude the sanguinary vigilance of the republicans. They were seized, and sent prisoners to Brest. It was in the prison of that city that they became acquainted with a man well fitted to communicate to them that knowledge which circumstances had hitherto prevented them from acquiring. This was M. d'Allegre, a native of Marseilles, and rich planter of St. Domingo, whose natural talents had been sedulously cultivated by education, and who allied urbanity of manners, and benevolence of disposition, with firmness, spirit, activity, and fortitude. Foreseeing the utter ruin which impended over the colony of St. Domingo, he quitted the island with his family, and arrived in the south of France, at the moment when the inhabitants of Marseilles were arming against the convention.

Compelled, after the ſubmiſſion of the Marſeilleſe, to take ſhelter in Toulon, he was one of the committee which conducted the negotiation for putting the town into the hands of the Britiſh government. For this act he was outlawed by the jacobin uſurpers. He contrived, however, to reach Turin, whence he proceeded to London; but, anxious to bring his family alſo to a place of ſafety, he embarked in a defenceleſs veſſel, was taken by a republican privateer, and carried into Breſt. Being an outlaw, he was not entitled to a trial, and he was accordingly thrown into a dungeon, to wait the day of execution. In this dungeon Georges and Mercier were confined. Happily for them all, the downfall of Robeſpierre, which took place at this period, gave them a reſpite, and induced their keepers to allow them daily a few hours of air and exerciſe. This indulgence was turned to account by M. d'Allegre. He drew a plan of the interior of the priſon, and ſent it to ſome friends, who furniſhed him with the neceſſary means to enſure the eſcape of himſelf and his companions. During the night, the three priſoners broke their bonds, and directed their courſe towards the Morbihan, finding every where protectors and guides among the peaſants, by whom they were eſcorted, from cottage to cottage, till they ſafely arrived at the end of their journey.

Under theſe officers, and the others whom we have mentioned, ſuch rapid progreſs was made in arraying the department of the Morbihan, that, by the autumn of 1794, fourteen diviſions, conſiſting of as many thouſand men, were in arms, and above twenty thouſand more of the peaſantry waited only for arms to take the field with their comrades.

The country between the Loire and the Vilaine, from Chateau Briant to Nantz, comprehending the largeſt portion of the department of the lower Loire, was under the direction of the viſcount de Scepeaux, a zealous and gallant chief, who was aided by the chevalier de Dieuzie, Turpin, Moulins, Cacquereau, and many others. The diſtrict of the viſcount de Scepeaux was not confined within the limits of Britanny; it included all the ſouth of upper Anjou, as far as the river Sarte, and the borders of Maine.

The lower Maine had very early manifeſted its attachment to royalty, and the upper part of the province was now called into action by M. Triſtan l'Hermite, the friend of the count de Puiſaye. Among thoſe who diſplayed the greateſt zeal in ſeconding Triſtan l'Hermite was M. la Chandellier de Pierreville, an officer of little ſtature, feeble appearance, and delicate health, but gifted with an enterpriſing ſpirit, and an intrepidity which was not ſurpaſſed by any of his compatriots.

The whole of the royaliſt territory was organized by the count on one regular military ſyſtem. Each department was formed into ſeveral diviſions, commanded by a general, having under him chiefs of diviſions, who bore the rank of colonel. To each diviſion belonged a council, compoſed of ſix members and a treaſurer. Next in authority to the chiefs of diviſions were the chiefs of cantons, who ranked

ranked as majors, had a vote in the councils of the diviſions, and preſided over the parochial committees. Theſe committees conſiſted only of three members. The duty of the chiefs of cantons was to raiſe and train companies from the loyal peaſantry, and from thoſe ſoldiers, and young men of the requiſition, who abandoned the republican ſtandard.

The time was now arrived when having gained ſufficient ſtrength, M. de Puiſaye found himſelf at liberty to hold a more open and deciſive language to the enemy than he had hitherto done. Motives of policy, too, called upon him to ſpeak in a bolder tone. It was neceſſary for him to intimidate the jacobins, and thus check the cruelties which they exerciſed upon all whom they ſuſpected of favouring the Chouans. Nor was it leſs neceſſary for him to put an end to the irreſolution of thoſe who, royaliſts in their hearts, had not courage enough to avow their ſentiments, and hoped to eſcape from danger by preſerving a cowardly neutrality.

A proclamation was accordingly iſſued, addreſſed to the French people, and ſigned by the count de Puiſaye, and forty-three of the royaliſt leaders. Commencing with a forcible and juſt picture of the degraded and oppreſſed ſtate of France, it declared that the royaliſt party was at war with the uſurpers, and was determined never to lay down its arms till religion and monarchy were firmly re-eſtabliſhed. Solemnly calling round the ſtandard of their ſovereign all Frenchmen, and eſpecially the natives of Britanny and the neighbouring provinces, it announced the reſolution of the royaliſts to conſider as rebels, and to puniſh as ſuch, with death and confiſcation, not only thoſe who eſpouſed the cauſe of republicaniſm, but thoſe alſo who, wavering between two parties, dared to hope that they would be allowed to perſevere in an infamous neutrality. Friendſhip and protection was offered to whoever had the will and the courage to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny. The proclamation likewiſe authorized the opening of loans for the equipment of the troops, and forbade all tax-gatherers, and receivers of public money, to pay the ſums in their hands to any other perſons than the treaſurer and commiſſioners of the royaliſt army.

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Deſerters now beginning to come over in conſiderable numbers, the count and his colleagues addreſſed a proclamation to the generals, officers, and ſoldiers of the national guards, and of the republican armies. It was drawn up in a ſtyle admirably calculated to produce the deſired effect; a ſtyle of affectionate remonſtrance, ſtrongly depicting to them the diſgrace which they incurred, by ſuffering themſelves to be the inſtruments, dupes and ſlaves, of men covered with infamy, and guilty of the moſt horrible crimes. Not only pardon, and the retention of their preſent rank, but honours and rewards were held out to all who, quitting the republican banner, ſhould aſſiſt in reſtoring the ſovereign to his lawful rights. At the ſame time, to deter the republicans from perſiſting in the cuſtom of putting to death the Chouans, they were warned

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ed that they themſelves muſt not, henceforth, expect to receive that quarter which had hitherto been granted them.

The object of this proclamation was fully anſwered, as far as related to thinning the ranks of the Conventional army. The deſerters ſhortly became ſo numerous that the pecuniary reſources of the royaliſts were inſufficient to furniſh the neceſſary maintenance and pay, and many were, in conſequence, paſſed to their homes by the chiefs, with orders to wait there, till the moment arrived when they could be embodied and brought into the field.

During the period which had elapſed ſince the departure of the chevalier de Tinteniac, the count had received, by means of M. Prigent, ſeveral diſpatches, from Lord Balcarras, at Jerſey, with aſſurances of friendſhip and ſupport, but they were unaccompanied by any ſuccour, nor had he any intelligence from the chevalier himſelf, whom he knew to be in the Britiſh capital. The friends of M. de Puiſaye now began to preſs him to viſit London immediately, that he might confer with the Engliſh miniſters, and learn what aid the royaliſts might expect from that quarter. Nor was he averſe from complying with their wiſhes. His party had acquired ſuch weight, and had done ſuch ſervice to England, that he might well hope to negotiate for it upon honourable terms. He determined, therefore, to delay no longer; and accordingly ſet out on his journey towards the coaſt. On his way he was met by M. Prigent, who had juſt landed with letters from Lord Balcarras, the Duke of Harcourt, and the marquis du Dreſnay; and who likewiſe informed him that the che valierde Tinteniac and the Britiſh miniſters were anxious for his arrival in London.

With M. Prigent arrived three officers, meſſieurs Solihac and de Jouette, and M. Deſotteux de Cormatin. The fatally conſpicuous part which the latter was deſtined to act in the royaliſt affairs, renders it neceſſary that the reader ſhould have ſome knowledge of his character, and of his pretenſions to that celebrity which he afterwards unfortunately acquired. M. Deſotteux was the ſon of reſpectable parents, who were not of the claſs of nobles. Yet with that fondneſs for title which is the ſure indication of a weak mind, he aſſumed the rank of Baron, and denominated himſelf the Baron de Cormatin, from an eſtate which belonged to his wife. With ſome, though ſlender talents, with a merely ſuperficial knowledge, and with little penetration or judgment, he was preſumptuous, vain, obſtinately wedded to his own opinions, and immeaſurably ambitious.

M. Cormatin brought with him a recommendation from the French princes; and from the marquis de Bouillé, whoſe adjutant-general he had been, a highly flattering certificate of his military ſkill, and perſonal merits. Theſe teſtimonies in his favour, together with a deſire to manifeſt reſpect to the princes, and kindneſs to the emigrants, induced M. de Puiſaye to propoſe to the royaliſt chiefs that, duirng his own abſence, Cormatin ſhould take the command, as major-general of the Breton royal-

iſts

iſt army. To this propoſal they readily aſſented.

In order to lighten the taſk which his ſubſtitute was to perform, M. de Puiſaye eſtabliſhed a council, conſiſting of four chiefs of diviſion. The council and the new major-general both bound themſelves not to take any ſtep of importance, without waiting to receive the conſent of their abſent leader. They were inſtructed to extend as far as poſſible the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem, and, at the ſame time to remain wholly on the defenſive, avoiding all extraordinary movements or muſters of troops, which might alarm the republicans, and induce them to pour freſh forces into the province. Above all, he charged them to beware of doing any thing which could betray the ſecret of his voyage to England.

Having completed his arrangements, M. de Puiſaye, on the thirteenth of September, commenced his journey, in company with meſſieurs Prigent, Perſchais, Laurent, de Buſnel, and the counteſs Gouyon, a lady celebrated in Britanny, for her courage, talents, and ardent attachment to the cauſe of royalty. Betrayed by the cowardice of one of the emiſſaries of the Princes, and a price in conſequence ſet upon her head, ſhe was prevailed on by the count to ſeek a refuge in the iſland of Jerſey. The health of M. de Puiſaye was in a ſhattered ſtate, and the journey which he had to take was on foot, through bye-roads, impaſſable on horſeback. This, however, was not the worſt circumſtance which he had to encounter. This part of the country, in which, that his correſpondence might not be interrupted, he had not for a long while allowed his partiſans to fire a muſket, was now ſtrictly ſearched by the republicans, who had been alarmed by a ſkirmiſh, which, through the raſhneſs of M. Cormatin and his companions, took place when they recently landed. By the care of M. Prigent, the count and his party reached the coaſt without ſuffering any accident. Their vexations, nevertheleſs, were not yet at an end. The veſſel which was to receive them, had been compelled by the enemy to quit the coaſt before their arrival, and, they were under the neceſſity of croſſing the Rance, and proceeding along the ſhore to St. Briac, in the hope of finding a fiſhing-ſmack to convey them to Jerſey. Here again they were diſappointed. The republicans had ordered all the veſſels to be moored under the cannon of the forts. At length, after three days of anxiety, they found on the ſand a ſmall open boat, which had been allowed to remain there, as being too old for uſe. In this fragile boat, with a ſheet for a ſail, the party, which had by this time encreaſed to ten perſons, committed themſelves to the mercy of the waves. During the night it blew a ſtorm, which carried away their ſail, and put them every moment in danger of ſinking. At the break of day they landed on the Minquer rocks, half way to the iſland, and, their ſhattered veſſel not being able to proceed in ſafety with ſo heavy a burthen, M. Prigent was diſpatched to Jerſey, to procure aſſiſtance. The count and his friends finally reached Jerſey unhurt, whence, without allowing himſelf to think of repoſe, he almoſt immediately departed for the Britiſh metropolis.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

History of the war in Poitou and Anjou resumed. Situation of Charette, after the royal catholic army had crossed the Loire. He makes himself Master of the isles of Bouin and Noirmoutier. The wounded D'Elbée retires to Noirmoutier. Various actions between Charette and the republicans. Haxo, the republican general, begins to act with great vigour. He retakes the isle of Bouin, and closely presses Charette. Imminent danger and fortunate escape of Charette. The royalist chief is foiled in an attack upon Legé. Charette resolves to march into upper Poitou, and rally the royalists round his standard. He takes by assault the camp of Quatre Chemins. Obtains the chief command over the division of Joly. On his arrival at Maulevrier, he finds La Roche Jacquelin, who is just returned. He marches back to lower Poitou. Republican operations during his absence. Charette endeavours to join Le Cathelinière, but is prevented. Recapture of Noirmoutier by the republicans. Massacre of the garrison and death of D'Elbée and his friends. Fury of the Jacobins against the Poitevins. Vigorous operations commenced by the republicans. Plan of general Turreau. March of the infernal columns. Horrible devastation of the country and massacre of the inhabitants. Charette still keeps his ground in spite of the numerous armies which pursue him. Mode of warfare which he adopted. He is alternately victorious and defeated. He joins the column of Sapinaud, and cuts off the garrison of Legé. He loses the battle of the bridge of Noyers. Turreau, with a very large force advances against him, but is unable to bring him to action. La Cathelinière takes up arms, but is soon made prisoner and put to death. Various skirmishes. Battle of Venenceau, in which Haxo is entirely defeated, and slain. The republicans, dispirited by this defeat, abandon the territory of Charette and retire into cantonments. War in upper Poitou and part of Anjou. Struggles of the Poitevins after the royal catholic army had marched into Britany. Return of some of the royalist leaders, after the final defeats of Mans and Savenay. Narrow escape of La Roche Jacquelin. He and the other royalist chiefs collect the scattered remains of the Poitevin forces, and commence a desultory war. The inhabitants of upper Poitou are driven to arms by the barbarity of the Infernal columns. La Roche Jacquelin puts to the sword the garrison of Chemillé, and defeats the republicans in three battles. He is slain by an assassin. Stofflet takes the command of the army of Anjou. He makes himself master of Chollet, but is compelled to evacuate it by the arrival of succours to the republicans. The royalists lose the battle of Montrevault. The republican affairs decline daily. They are compelled to evacuate Chollet and Mortagne, and thus leave upper Poitou in the power of the royalists. Two new commissioners sent into Poitou, by the Convention, to terminate the war.

war. Abſurd and ineffectual meaſures reſorted to by them. Repeated victories gained by the royaliſts. Republican plan of reducing the royaliſts by the eſtabliſhment of entrenched camps. Compact entered into by the various royaliſt chiefs. Murder of Bernard de Marigny and Joly. The royaliſt armies march together, but, after being repulſed at Challans, they again ſeparate. Inactivity of the republicans. Military and civil regulations made by the royaliſt chiefs. Charette carries by ſtorm the camps of La Rouliere and Freligné. Cloſe of the campaign.

FROM Britanny, where the cauſe of monarchy was daily gaining ground, and the friends of that cauſe only waited the ſignal to take the field, we muſt now turn to Poitou and Anjou, where, notwithſtanding the deſtruction of the royal catholic army at Mans and Savenay, and the power and cruelty of their oppreſſors, the loyal natives ſtill, with undiminiſhed ſpirit, continued their reſiſtance to the jacobin government. Our attention is firſt called to the proceedings of Charette, after his compatriots in arms had croſſed the Loire, and, in an evil hour, directed their march to the Norman coaſt.

Miſled by that fatal ambition which induced him to view with envious eyes a ſuperior, or even an equal, in rank, we have ſeen * that Charette, in ſpite of the ſolicitations and offers of D'Elbée and Bonchamp, withdrew his troops from the royal catholic army, and refuſed to ſuccour that army in the day of its greateſt peril, when the co-operation of his forces would, in all probability, have enſured victory to the royaliſts, and freed, for a long time, the royaliſt territory from the devaſting and murderous attacks of the conventional invaders. On his retiring, however, into lower Poitou, he was not without rivals in that quarter, whoſe ſtrength and influence were nearly as extenſive as his own. Joly held the command over a large body in the diſtrict of Sables d'Olonne, and the chevalier la Cathalenière, one of the firſt movers of the Poitevin inſurrection, ruled the whole of the Pays de Retz, which comprehends all the country between the bay of Bourgneuf, the lake of grand Lieu, and the left bank of the Loire. The central part only of Lower Poitou was under the orders of Charette; but he did not deſpair of extending, ſooner or later, his authority to the other diviſions, and ultimately, perhaps, to the furtheſt bounds of the royaliſt provinces. Undoubtedly, neither Joly nor la Cathalinière was poſſeſſed of talents which could be placed in competition with thoſe of Charette. The winter campaign which the latter ſupported, and which we ſhall now proceed to deſcribe, furniſhes concluſive evidence that, inferior as he certainly was to D'Elbée, Bonchamp, or La Roche Jacquelin, his abilities were of no common kind, and fully entitled him to hold a diſtinguiſhed place among the leaders of the royaliſt party.

While the great maſs of the republican forces was employed in

* See Ann. Reg. for 1794. Hiſtorical Article, page 56.

combating

combating with the royal catholic army, and the Lower Poitou was, in conſequence, almoſt entirely neglected, Charette deemed the opportunity of making conqueſts too favourable to be loſt. The iſles of Bouin and Noirmoutier were objects of the utmoſt importance to the royaliſts, as they would afford the means of receiving ſuccours from England, and be places of refuge, ſeemingly inacceſſible, in caſe of diſaſter. The iſle of Bouin, which is about five miles long, and four broad, is ſeparated from the Continent, by a narrow channel, and from the iſle of Noirmoutier by a part of the bay of Bourgneuf, and a wide impracticable marſh called the Pays d'Anjoubert. Seven eights of the iſland is covered by ſalt pans, and it contains only one ſmall town. The iſle of Noirmoutier is twelve miles in length, but it is no where more than four in breadth, and in ſome places is ſcarcely a mile. In its narroweſt part it approaches very near to the continent, from which it is divided by a ſtrait, denominated the Fromentine entrance, which is fordable, if not dry, at low water. The iſland is extremely fertile, and has a population of ſix thouſand inhabitants. Except in its vicinity to the ſhore, it is every where ſurrounded by ſands and rocks.

Bouin having been reduced without difficulty, Charette directed his arms againſt Noirmoutier. Favoured by the inhabitants of the town of Barbatte, who guided his troops, he effected, during the night, an unreſiſted landing in the iſland with his infantry. The riſing tide prevented his cavalry from following his march. A ſlight reſiſtance was now attempted, by the detachments, at ſome of the batteries. They were, however, compelled to retire, and at break of day the garriſon ſurrendered, and were ſent to Bouin, as priſoners of war.

Charette immediately returned to the Continent, to procure a ſupply of proviſions, and the means of ſecuring his new conqueſt. At Touvois he met, borne on a litter, D'Elbée, who, having been mortally wounded in the battle of Chollet, was now coming to ſeek, in the territory of Charette, an aſylum, where he might breathe his laſt undiſturbed by the enemy. Charette recommended to him to retire to Noirmoutier, into which he threw a garriſon of eighteen hundred men, provided with whatever was neceſſary for the defence of the iſland.

Six weeks elapſed, during which the republicans, weakened by the march of the chief part of their forces into Britanny, were unable to make any ſerious efforts againſt the royaliſts of Lower Poitou. Frequent ſkirmiſhes, nevertheleſs, took place, with alternate ſucceſs. La Cathelinière was defeated at Port St. Pere, and Joly at St. Gilles ſur Vic, but the republicans gained nothing more from their victories than the barren honour of having beaten their enemies. Charette, meanwhile, was indefatigable in forming magazines, collecting reinforcements, and taking every precaution which could enable him to face the ſtorm, which he well knew would ſpeedily burſt upon him. In the beginning of December, he reſolved to ſend the chevalier la Roberie the younger to England, to ſolicit a prompt

aſſiſtance

assistance from the British ministry*. Unfortunately, it was not till towards the close of the month, that the royalist envoy could find an opportunity to proceed on his mission.

The

* The following memorial, which was presented to Mr. Pitt by the royalist envoy, will show the little degree of attention that was paid to the royalist party by the British ministers. The reader will see, not, perhaps, without surprise and indignation, that after the arrival of M. de la Roberie in London, a fortnight elapsed, during which he was unable to obtain an audience of the ministers, or even any notice of his dispatches. The memorial, which has never before been published, is translated from a copy given by M. de la Roberie himself to the late right hon. Edmund Burke.

Memorial presented to Mr. Pitt, January 22d, 1794.

"The undersigned, sent by the chiefs of the royalist army of La Vendée, left Noirmoutier on the 23d of last December, and landed at Fishgard on the 31st. Though charged with their dispatches, he, and all the crew of his vessel, were arrested on their arrival, in execution of the laws rendered necessary by the war. This untoward circumstance has occasioned a delay, which is unfortunate under the present circumstances. His dispatches transmitted to Mr. Dundas, procured his enlargement. He arrived in London on the eighth of January, and not having yet been able to obtain an audience from the ministry, and the ministerial departments having given him only vague replies to precise dispatches, every thing makes him fear, as to the fate of the royalist army, an indifference which is wholly contradictory to the declaration of his Britannic majesty, promising "safety and protection to all those who, declaring for a "monarchical government, shall shake off the despotism of a sanguinary anarchy." Surely it is not to abandon them to the cruelty of their enemies, that all Frenchmen have been invited to rally under the standard of an hereditary monarchy.

While at London no hope whatever has yet been given to him, he learns by the French papers, the capture of the island of Noirmoutier, the massacre of his friends, of his relations, of all those in short who had a right to reckon among their means of defence, those succours which he is commissioned to solicit for them. But notwithstanding this unfortunate event, all is not lost, and the undersigned owes it to the confidence reposed in him by those who sent him, to the faithful subjects of every country, and to himself, to fulfil his mission, without neglecting any means which may ensure its success.

The chevalier Charette is still in Poitou, at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, which would be instantly doubled, by a supply of muskets, ammunition, and officers. The coasts of that province, from Noirmoutier to Sables D'Olonne, are disposed to receive with eagerness the succours which may come to the royalists. There is also a spot, which the undersigned can point out, where transport vessels may land those which he requires. The timely arrival of these succours would reanimate the courage of the army of Poitou, too long abandoned, and facilitate to it the means of accomplishing more surely its junction, which has already been attempted, with the armies of Britanny and Maine, which may have received checks, may even be dispersed, but of which the elements, whatever the lying papers of the convention may say, can never be destroyed.

The first succours should be sent in small vessels of from seventy to a hundred tons burthen, drawing little water, because those vessels can more easily approach the shore, and likewise escape when chaced by ships of war. Besides, by sailing from the British channel, directing their course to the west, and then to the south, down to the latitude of the isle D'Yeu, which they will fall in with by tacking to the east, they may avoid, keeping always at a distance from the French coast, the ships and privateers which may be cruising there, except at the landing places, where it is only by chance they can fall in with any, since there are none stationed.

Seventeen of the most experienced pilots, still confined among the prisoners taken from their enemies the regicides, composed the crew of the vessel which brought the undersigned to England, and may render on this occasion the most important services. In the mean while he desires they may be set at liberty.

Lord

The republican general, Haxo, an officer of an enterprising spirit, who commanded in Lower Poitou, was extremely dissatisfied with the defensive warfare to which he was confined by the scantiness of his resources. Against Charette, whom, in particular, he was eagerly desirous to vanquish, he would have hazarded a desperate effort, even without waiting for additional troops, had he not been restrained by Carrier, who was then at Nantz. At length, having been strengthened by drafts from the neighbouring garrisons, he was permitted to indulge his wish for active hostilities.

It was early in December, that Haxo put his forces in motion, to advance against Charette. After a slight engagement at Beauvoir, in which his opponent had the advantage, Charette, prevented by the tide from reaching Noirmoutier, threw himself into the isle of Bouin, where he was speedily invested by the republican general. Haxo flattered himself, that his enemy was at length in his power.

Lord Moira continuing to menace the coast of Normandy, and occupying there the enemies forces, will facilitate the operations on the coast of Poitou, and soon put the royalists in a state to act in concert with him.

Honour, duty, and indignation, armed us against the tyrants of France. For a long time we saw victory fixed to our standards. During ten months, we alone have supported the monarchy in full vigour, on a part of its territory. We have never flattered ourselves that we could maintain our ground, without foreign aid; but our cause being the cause of all the foreign powers, we had a right to reckon on their support, and particularly on that of England, after the offers which were officially made to us, on its part, early last August.

The provinces in the vicinity of our armies, are desirous to join us, but without arms, without ammunition, they can only put up prayers for our success; and now that some reverses have destroyed our resources, and that the numbers of the enemy threaten to crush us, all those who wish to declare for the good cause, fix an anxious eye on the conduct of foreign powers with regard to us, and principally on the conduct of that power, which alone, from its local situation, is able to give us prompt assistance, to discover whether they must yield to the jacobin yoke, or whether they may indulge in the hope of breaking it.

The succours which the undersigned demands are urgent: without them we shall be overpowered by the republicans; with them we shall add to the hundred and eighty thousand men, which the war against us has already cost them, the destruction of the armies, with which at this moment they envelope us. We stand in need, as is explained in the dispatches delivered to Mr. Dundas, of arms, warlike stores, provisions, cloathing, shoes, iron, and French officers, chosen among the emigrant royalists, as all our armies sincerely desire.

If the government will indicate to us a port, where it wishes to send to us more powerful succours, we will make our last efforts to become masters of it, and to secure a point of disembarkation.

A favourable and speedy reply may yet avert the misfortunes which menace us. But, whatever that reply may be, the undersigned takes the liberty of requesting that it may be communicated to him without loss of time. He dares to hope that it will be conformable to the dignity, the generosity, and the promises of the English government. Should his expectation be disappointed, he will at least hasten to apprise his unfortunate fellow countrymen, that they have no longer any resource but in their own despair, and he may perhaps prevent the death of those royalists, who have not yet declared themselves, by letting them know, that all the world has abandoned them, and that they must bend their necks beneath the yoke of the regicide convention."

At

December 6, 1793. At break of day two columns attacked the iſland on the ſide of Beauvoir, while a third directed its route to the oppoſite quarter, to cut off the retreat of the royaliſt chief. This plan had nearly been crowned with ſucceſs. While Charette was engaged with the columns in his front, the third column had ſurpriſed and defeated the feeble royaliſt poſts, and was penetrating to his rear. There ſeemed to be no reſource left but to open a paſſage at the point of the bayonet, and he had already given orders to make the perilous attempt, when a peaſant pointed out to him a paſs, of two leagues in length, amidſt the marſhes, which was unknown to the enemy, and conſequently unguarded. Through this almoſt impracticable paſs, Charette, with infinite difficulty, led his infantry, conſiſting of two thouſand men. He was, however, compelled to abandon his cannon, ammunition, cavalry, proviſions, and baggage. Even yet he was delivered only from a part of the danger which threatened him: he was ſtill ſurrounded, though by a wider circle. Every avenue through which he could make his way into the interior was barred by ſtrong diviſions, ſtationed to intercept him. In this emergency, his ſoldiers, deprived of ammunition, and diſheartened by this defeat, were kept to their colours ſolely by his exhortations, and the firmneſs which he diſplayed. While he was heſitating on which ſide to turn his ſteps, two priſoners were brought in, who gave him information, that one of the republican poſts, of ſix hundred men, kept a negligent watch. Thither he marched, and ſo completely did he take the enemy by ſurpriſe, that not a man eſcaped; the charge made by the Poitevin bayonets being the firſt notice which they received of his arrival. This fortunate event not only opened his paſſage, but abundantly furniſhed him with horſes, ammunition, and arms. The neighbouring poſts haſtened to ſuccour that which was aſſailed, and a third ſharp, though ſhort, action enſued, in which the republicans were again defeated. After this conteſt, the royaliſt chief was ſuffered to continue his retreat, without further moleſtation.

In the foreſt of Touvois, Charette was joined by the diviſion of Joly, which had juſt routed a republican detachment. The two chiefs now thought themſelves ſtrong enough to attack the town of Legé, which was entrenched, and garriſoned by three thouſand troops. The aſſault continued for five hours, and the royaliſts were on the point of carrying the place, when a republican column came up from Palluau, and obliged them to retire.

In a council of war, which was held at Grand Luc, the royaliſt chiefs formed the bold reſolution of marching into Upper Poitou, to rally under their ſtandards ſuch of the loyal inhabitants as had not paſſed the Loire with the royal catholic army. The combined diviſions advanced as far as les Eſſarts without oppoſition. At a ſpot, however, called Quatre Chemins, or the four roads, where the high roads from Nantz to Luçon, and from Sables d'Olonne to Thouars, croſs each other at right angles, the republicans occupied an entrenched camp, from which it

was neceſſary for the royaliſts to drive their enemies before they could purſue their route. It was arranged, that the royaliſt army ſhould aſſault this camp, and that the attack ſhould be commenced by Joly, on the ſide of Sables d'Olonne, with the infantry of the vanguard, and a hundred horſe. The victory was ſecured to the royaliſts, with little trouble or danger, by a trivial incident. Joly, who, to deceive the enemy, had placed the three-coloured cockade in his hat, having, at the head of the horſe, left his infantry conſiderably behind, fell in with a republican battalion, the ſoldiers of which, believing that Charette had no longer any cavalry, miſtook Joly for an officer of their own party, and queſtioned him as to the arrival of reinforcements, which they were expecting to receive. "I "am now going to bring them up; "remain at your poſts;" anſwered Joly, with great preſence of mind, and immediately haſtened to join Charette, who was advancing towards the camp by the road of Luçon. When the Poitevins reached the entrenchments, they were miſtaken for the reinforcements, nor were the republicans undeceived till the muſketry and the ſhouts of the aſſailants convinced them of their error, when there was no time left to prevent it from being fatal. The works were ſtormed in an inſtant, the troops were either ſlaughtered or diſperſed, and a large and valuable booty became the prize of the victors.

From the field of battle the Poitevins proceeded onward to Herbiers, where a circumſtance occurred which proved extremely favourable to the views of Charette. Not leſs ambitious than that chief, Joly alſo was deſirous of obtaining the ſupreme command, and flattered himſelf that his recent ſervices would gain him the ſuffrages of a majority of the army. Not willing, however, to betray his deſigns, he propoſed that three generals ſhould be choſen, the principal of whom ſhould be aſſiſted by the advice of the others. The friends of Charette ſaw through the motives of Joly, and retaliated, by propoſing that whoever was willing to raiſe Charette to the ſtation of firſt in command, ſhould quit the room in which the council was aſſembled. Joly, harſh and paſſionate in his diſpoſition, and who had lately diſguſted his ſoldiers by an act of cruelty, ſoon found how little influence he poſſeſſed. He was left with his ſons and a ſingle officer, and Charette was proclaimed general amidſt the joyful acclamations of the troops.

Charette continued his progreſs till he reached Maulevrier, in the very centre of the territory formerly occupied by the royal catholic army. On his way he addreſſed a proclamation to the peaſants, calling upon them to join his ſtandard. The natives of Upper Poitou and Anjou, however, were averſe from following the fortunes of one whom they conſidered as a ſtranger, and againſt whom, not without reaſon, they felt ſomewhat of prejudice. Had they, indeed, laboured under no ſuch prejudice, there was a forcible reaſon to deter them from ſubmitting to the ſway of Charette. Their beloved and gallant leader, La Roche Jacquelin, was once more among them. On the ſame day that Charette entered

tered Maulevrier, La Roche Jacquelin arrived at that place. The two chiefs had an interview, which is faid not to have been fatisfactory to either of them; and Charette, knowing that it was in vain for him to attempt to rival the royalift generaliffimo, determined to withdraw from Upper Poitou, and return to his own territory. Unoppofed by the republicans, he reached the foreft of Touvois, where he difmiffed his army to enjoy a few days repofe, and gave orders to his officers to re-affemble the troops towards the end of December, for the purpofe of effecting a junction with La Cathelinière, and driving the republicans from Lower Poitou.

During the abfence of Charette, the republicans were not inactive. They made fome trifling incurfions into the diftrict occupied by La Cathelinière, and difperfed a few fmall bodies of royalifts, in the neighbourhood of Paulx and St. Pazanne. But the principal enterprife which they undertook was againft that portion of territory, which lies oppofite to, and in a manner covers from approach, the ifle of Noirmoutier, and which, from the fwampinefs of the foil, bears the name of the Marfh. This fpot is feveral miles in length, and contains one large village, and two or three fmall ones. It was attacked on the 14th of December, by five thoufand republicans, who made themfelves entirely maffers of it, after a hard conteft; and thus paved the way for an invafion of Noirmoutier itfelf, which they were not a little anxious to recover from the royalifts.

Towards the clofe of December, Charette again took the field, with the intention of joining La Cathelinière, and relieving Noirmoutier. By this time, however, the victories of the republicans in Britanny had enabled them to draw reinforcements from their armies in that quarter into Lower Poitou. General Turreau had juft been entrufted with the fupreme command in Poitou, and both the dread of the guillotine, and the hope of reward, combined to ftimulate him to vigorous exertion. To prevent the junction of Charette and La Cathelinière, General Carpentier was ordered to march againft the former, while General Haxo completed the preparations which he had long been making for a defcent on the ifland of Noirmoutier. While Carpentier was traverfing the country in fearch of Charette, the latter fell upon Machecoult, put the garrifon to the fword, and took a piece of cannon, feveral waggons of flour, and fix thoufand rations of bread.

At Machecoult, Charette determined to wait the arrival of La Cathelinière's diviffon. The enemy were too prudent to allow him time to receive the expected fuccour. Carpentier was ordered to advance by forced marches, and give him battle. Charette, on his fide, did not decline the combat. For awhile the royalifts maintained their ground with much firmnefs; but at length Charette, finding them too hardly preffed by the enemy, commenced his retreat, which he accompliffed without fuftaining any ferious loffs. On the following day, however, though a part of his foldiers had withdrawn to their homes, he returned to the charge, and a fanguinary conflict enfued. A diviffon of the enemy

at firſt gave way, and the royaliſts had reaſon to hope that victory would be the reward of their efforts. Order was, nevertheleſs, reſtored among the republican troops by the firmneſs of their officers, and the ſcale was ſoon deciſively turned againſt the royaliſts by a furious attack which a hoſtile column unexpectedly made upon their flank and rear. The Poitevins were broken, and driven from the field, with conſiderable ſlaughter. Charette himſelf, foremoſt in the fight, narrowly eſcaped from being killed or taken priſoner, both in this and the preceding action.

All dread of being aſſailed by the united forces of La Cathelinière and Charette, having been removed by the defeat of the latter, the republicans bent all their efforts to the recovery of the iſland of Noirmoutier. Carpentier was charged to watch the movements of Charette, and prevent him from menacing the rear of the republicans, while General Haxo, with four thouſand men, ſeconded by ſeveral frigates, ſloops, and bomb veſſels, effected a deſcent upon the iſland. The garriſon of Noirmoutier now conſiſted of about eighteen hundred men, with twenty pieces of cannon, and was commanded by Alexander Pinaud, Bernard Maſſip, and Benjamin Dubois.

The attack was commenced in the afternoon of the firſt of January, by a cannonade and bombardment from the ſquadron upon the royaliſt batteries. The commencement of their operations did not afford much encouragement to the republicans. So hot and well directed a fire was kept up in return from the batteries, that the frigate La Nymphe, being completely diſabled, was carried away by the currents, and ſtranded on the ſhoals and rocks. This diſaſter, nevertheleſs, did not damp the courage of the aſſailants. Early in the morning, three columns embarked from the main land, and ſucceeded in effecting a landing upon different parts of the iſland. They were ſhortly after joined by a fourth, which croſſed the Fromentine paſſage, on the retiring of the tide. All the batteries were turned and carried by the republicans, with a trifling loſs. The royaliſts, preſſed on all ſides, fell back to the town of Noirmoutier, under the walls of which they formed in order of battle, and ſeemed diſpoſed to make their opponents purchaſe their conqueſt dearly. This ſemblance of reſolution diſappeared as the republicans puſhed forward. Stricken with that panic terror which ſometimes ſeizes even the braveſt men, or, more probably, betrayed and diſheartened by concealed traitors, they began to parley, and, when ſummoned to ſurrender at diſcretion, threw down their arms, without firing or receiving a ſhot, though a thouſand examples might have taught them that their enemies were incapable of feeling pity, and their hearts ought to have told them, that, ſince eſcape was impoſſible, it was far better to periſh free in the field, than, loaded with chains, to ſuffer a diſgraceful and ſcarcely lamented death from the hands of an executioner.

No ſooner were the republicans in poſſeſſion of the iſland than fearing, leſt a ſingle victim ſhould elude their vengeance, they began a rigorous ſearch for thoſe unfortunate perſons, who had endeavoured

voured to conceal themſelves. Their ſearch was but too ſucceſsful. Great numbers of prieſts, of women, and of emigrants, fell into their mercileſs hands. In the melancholy liſt of captives were likewiſe ſeveral chiefs who had ſerved with diſtinguiſhed reputation in the royal catholic army. Among theſe was the gallant D'Elbée, who was confined to his bed by fourteen wounds, which he received in the battle of Chollet. His fate was ſhared by his wife, his friend de Boiſſy, and his brother-in-law Duhoux D'Hauterive.

By the ſanguinary zeal of the conventional commiſſioners, and their ſatellites, nearly two thouſand priſoners were collected together. No one, who was ſuſpected of having favoured the royaliſts, was ſuffered to remain at liberty. A few, and but a few, of the captives were daſtardly enough to endeavour to purchaſe their own ſafety, by becoming the accuſers of others. One of theſe was the baſe and cowardly Bernard Maſſip, who had been among the firſt to throw down his arms, and who hoped to ſave himſelf, by betraying a young emigrant, for whom ſome compaſſionate perſon had contrived to procure a ſafe place of refuge. Neither his double treachery, however, nor his imploring on his knees for mercy, could avert from him that puniſhment which he dreaded, and which he ſo juſtly deſerved.

At the ſight of ſuch a multitude of priſoners, even ſome of the republicans ſhrunk from the horrible idea of an indiſcriminate maſſacre, and began to plead for pardon to all except the leaders, and the moſt determined partiſans of royalty. But no moderate ſtream could ſlake the thirſt of blood which was felt by the conventional deputies, and eſpecially by the violent and implacable Bourbotte. When there was no longer any hope of obtaining uſeful information from the captives, a military tribunal, or rather the mockery of a tribunal, was eſtabliſhed, to give to murder the pretence of legality. Death was the only ſentence which it pronounced. The common priſoners were heaped together, and mangled and torn to pieces, by vollies of muſket and grape ſhot. The chiefs were ſacrificed with greater pomp. Already dying, D'Elbée was carried to the foot of the tree of jacobin liberty, and round him were ranged his friends and companions, Duhoux D'Hauterive, de Boiſſy, Alexander Pinaud, René de Tinguy, and Mark Anthony Savin. They fell by the fire of a company of grenadiers, and diſplayed, in their laſt moments, the ſame courage which they had always manifeſted at the head of their ſoldiers. Exhauſted by his bodily ſufferings, pierced to the heart by the ſeeming ruin of his party, and deeply indignant at the recent cowardice of the garriſon of Noirmoutier, D'Elbée, ſince his doom was ſealed by the ſurrender of the iſland, had looked on death as a bleſſing, but a tear had ſometimes eſcaped him, when he thought that a wife, whom he tenderly loved, muſt periſh with him. Perhaps with the humane intention of making the cloſe of life leſs painful, ſome of the mildeſt of the republicans held out hopes to him that Madame D'Elbée would be ſpared, and in theſe

hopes he found all the conſolation which he needed. Theſe hopes were illuſive. Madame D'Elbée was led out to execution, and died with the firmneſs which became the wife of ſuch a huſband. Madame Maurin, a friend, who had given her an aſylum, was ſhot at the ſame time, and behaved with equal fortitude. The only favour which the two friends aſked from their murderers was, that their lifeleſs bodies might not be expoſed to the brutal outrages of a licentious ſoldiery.

The return into Poitou of thoſe numerous armies which had been employed in cruſhing the royal catholic army, furniſhed the jacobins with the means of indulging, to the fulleſt extent, their boundleſs love of devaſtation and maſſacre. An amneſty was propoſed by a few moderate or politic individuals, but the very thought of an amneſty, or of indulgence of any kind, threw the jacobins into paroxiſms of fury. A propoſal to tranſplant republican colonies into Vendée, was received with almoſt equal abhorrence. In their inſane hatred they would, had it been poſſible, have blotted the country itſelf from the face of the globe. "There has not," exclaimed they, "been enough of burning in Vendée. The firſt ſtep which we ought to take, is to ſend there an incendiary army. During twelve months no man, no animal ought to be able to find ſubſiſtence upon that ſoil!"

It was in perfect accordance with theſe ideas that an extenſive plan of operations was framed by the republican general Turreau. To reſtore peace by making a deſert of the country, was the ſcheme of this new leader. This he purpoſed to accompliſh by cutting off entirely the communication of the royaliſts with England and Britanny; diſarming the neighbouring diſtricts to prevent the royaliſts from ſeiſing their arms; expelling from Vendée all the natives who had not engaged in the conteſt; removing the corn, the cattle, and other articles of ſubſiſtence, deſtroying every ſpot which could afford ſhelter or reſources to the enemy; drawing a chain of poſts, and entrenched camps round the ſcene of action; and, finally, keeping twelve ſtrong columns in continual, rapid, and widely-excurſive march, to carry fire and ſword into every corner of this devoted territory, without allowing the Poitevins a ſingle inſtant of ſafety or repoſe. Advancing from various points of the circumference, the twelve columns were to unite at Chollet, in the centre of Poitou.

Theſe columns received the denomination of the Infernal Columns, and never was title better merited, nor more emphatically deſcriptive. To the chiefs, who were worthy of commanding ſuch troops, orders of almoſt Spartan brevity were given. They were directed "to diſpatch all the "Vendeans with the bayonet, to "give to the flames, the villages, "farms, foreſts, copſes, and in "general every thing which could "be conſumed; to ſend before "each column forty or fifty pio-"neers, for the purpoſe of felling "the woods and foreſts, to ſpread "the flames; and to take all ſuch "ſecondary meaſures as circum-"ſtances might require." Only ten towns, thoſe of Saint Vincent, Argenton,

Argenton, Fontenay, Machecoult, Challans, Chantonay, Luçon, Breſſuire, Chollet, and St. Florent, were excepted from the dreadful liſt of towns and villages marked out for deſtruction.

Theſe exterminating columns were commanded by Generals Grignon, Huchet, Dufour, Amey, and Cordellier, men whoſe names it is the duty of hiſtory to preſerve, that they may be held up to the deteſtation of mankind. Whereever theſe monſters led their bands, the earth was reddened with blood, and the ſky with flames. The old and the young, the women and babes, the ſick and the infirm, all who did not take flight, periſhed in one indiſcriminate maſſacre. Even the republicans were not ſpared. On all ſides nothing was ſeen but conflagration. Populous towns and humble cottages were involved in one common ruin. With a malignity truly diabolical, the troops which compoſed the infernal columns delighted in tormenting not only their human victims, but the harmleſs and laborious animals which fell into their power. It was one of their pleaſures to ſet fire to the ſtalls of the oxen, and to liſten to the cries and roarings of the cattle which were ſhut up in the flames.

What were the effects produced upon the minds of the ſurviving Poitevins by theſe barbarities, we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate. At preſent we muſt follow the footſteps of Charette, who, inceſſantly purſued by nearly thirty thouſand men, ſtill maintained his ground in Lower Poitou, and ſeemed to acquire freſh ſtrength even from the defeats which he ſuffered. The reader, unleſs he is acquainted with the mode of acting adopted by Charette, will find it difficult to conceive how that chief was able, for ſeveral months, to make a ſucceſsful ſtand againſt his numerous and active enemies. No man ever better underſtood than Charette the duty of a ſkilful partiſan, or was more thoroughly maſter of that kind of warfare which has not unaptly been termed the tactics of flight. It might almoſt be ſaid of him, in the words of our great poet, that "he overcame by flight." Avoiding as much as poſſible all deciſive actions, he hung on the flanks and rear of the republicans, aſſailed them in difficult paſſes and defiles, deſtroyed their detached parties, and intercepted their convoys. He ſometimes ſeemed to accept the combat, and as ſoon as his antagoniſts had formed in order of battle, he diſbanded his troops, having previouſly ordered them to join him again at a diſtance of ſeveral leagues. The moment that to make incurſions, or obtain proviſions, the republicans again divided their forces, he fell upon them, and their inſulated corps were inevitably loſt. Frequently when they marched againſt him, believing him to be in their front, he had rapidly withdrawn, and was poſted in their rear. By this means he completely diſarranged, and ſet at nought, all the combinations and movements, however well imagined, of the various generals who were oppoſed to him, though none of thoſe generals were in want of forces, and ſome of them were undoubtedly poſſeſſed of conſiderable military talents.

From the commencement of January, Charette was inceſſantly in action. After having twice routed

the republicans at St. Fulgent, he was himſelf defeated there, in a third engagement. At Aiſenay, La Chambaudiere, and Brouzil, he was likewiſe unſucceſsful. Undiſmayed, however, by his reverſes, he was ſoon in a condition to take ample revenge. Having been informed that Sapinaud and ſome other chiefs were collecting a body of royaliſts in the vicinity of his diſtrict, he advanced to Chauché to join them, and fortunately arrived at the moment when their troops were flying in diſorder before the enemy. Three hoſtile columns were ſucceſſively attacked, and each of them was overthrown with great ſlaughter. The loſs of the vanquiſhed was not leſs than a thouſand men. No priſoners were taken by the enraged royaliſts. Following up his victory, Charette aſſaulted Legé, and drove out the garriſon, conſiſting of between eight and nine hundred men, who endeavoured to effect their retreat to Nantz. At the moment when they were hemmed in between two rivulets, which the winter rains had converted into impaſſable torrents, they were overtaken by their purſuers, and nearly the whole of them were put to the ſword. In this combat the three ſons of Joly were ſlain, one of them, and the beſt beloved, was killed at his ſide. Legé being rendered uninhabitable by the putrid effluvia of ſeveral heaps of dead bodies, which juſt before his arrival had been piled round the town by the republicans, it was ſoon abandoned by Charette.

Irritated by the victories of Charette, the republican commander in chief gave orders to General Duqueſnoy, to follow him with a ſtrong diviſion, and compel him to an engagement. Duqueſnoy came up with his opponent at the bridge of Noyers, near St. Colombin. Charette, who had with him about four thouſand men, reſolved to hazard a battle. The conflict was long and obſtinate. Three deſperate charges, made by the royaliſts, were with difficulty repulſed. At length the enemy having turned his flanks, Charette gave the ſignal to diſperſe, and, night coming on, the republicans were unable to purſue the fugitives. Five hundred of the Poitevins were left dead upon the field. Feb. 10.

This ſterile ſucceſs was not that which Turreau was deſirous to obtain. In the hope of gaining a more deciſive victory, he united his own diviſions with thoſe of Cordellier and Duqueſnoy, and advanced in perſon againſt Charette. He directed his courſe towards Grand Luc, where he believed his antagoniſt to be poſted; but Charette, with the rapidity of lightening, had already paſſed to his rear. By a haſty counter march he ſtrove to come up with the royaliſt chief, who, however, once more eluded him by ſuperior celerity of movement. Turreau, nevertheleſs, continued the fruitleſs chace, till he was compelled to deſiſt from it by the receipt of an order, which directed him to ſend five thouſand men to reinforce the republican army in Britanny. Charette, too, ſuffered, at the ſame period, a diminution of his forces, by the ſeceſſion of the troops which were under the command of Sapinaud.

A trifling diverſion was, on the other hand, made in his favour by the diviſion of the Pays de Retz, which

which now commenced hoſtilities. La Cathelinière, judging it imprudent to take the field before the ſpring, when he ſuppoſed the enemy would be called to the frontiers, had hitherto remained inactive, and would yet have continued ſo, but for the reproaches and entreaties of his ſubaltern officers. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in ſome of which he was victorious, he was dangerouſly wounded. The ſhot is ſaid to have been purpoſely fired by one of his own men, in revenge for his having ſo long delayed to lead his diviſion againſt the enemy. His death quickly ſucceeded this diſaſter. Having retired to a remote farm-houſe to be cured, he was taken priſoner by a republican party, carried to Nantz, and ſhot. The command of the Pays de Retz devolved on Guerin, who was devoted to Charette; and thus the latter chief became, in reality, the ſole maſter of Lower Poitou.

For more than a month, during which time he was often, when he diſmiſſed his troops to their families, left with only a ſmall band of faithful followers, and ceaſeleſsly purſued by the republican army, at the head of which was Haxo, his rival in activity, Charette not merely avoided receiving any ſerious defeat, but made his enemies ſuffer many ſevere loſſes. Five of the enemy's inſulated columns were routed, three of them in one day, with great ſlaughter. Theſe diſaſters, however, did but ſharpen the wiſhes of Haxo to take vengeance upon his adverſary. "I purſue him inceſſantly," wrote he in a letter to the Convention, "and "either he ſhall periſh by my hand, "or I will fall by his."

The day which Haxo ſo much deſired, and which was to accompliſh one half of his prediction, at length arrived. At Venenceau, near La Roche ſur Yon, he came up with the royaliſt chief. Charette was reſolved to riſk the chance of a battle. "Comrades," exclaimed he to his ſoldiers, "we have fled too long; to "day we muſt either conquer or "die." Drawing up his army in four diviſions, and ſeizing at the ſame time the heights, to ſecure a retreat in caſe of need, he waited the approach of the republicans. The conteſt was begun by the grenadiers and cavalry of the enemy, who preſſed forward with much ſpirit, though not in regular order. Their progreſs was quickly ſtopped by the determined courage of the royaliſts. The cavalry of Charette made a vigorous charge upon that of the enemy, and drove it back in confuſion upon the ranks of their infantry. At this moment alſo, the royaliſt leader extended the wings of his army to envelope his antagoniſts. The diſorder and panic occaſioned by this menacing movement, and by the broken cavalry, were fatal to the republicans. The grenadiers gave way, and their example was followed by the reſt of the troops. It was in vain that Haxo made the braveſt exertions to rally them, and bring them back to the combat; they were deaf to every thing but their fears. Deſerted by his men, and ſeeing ſome cavalry wheeling round to intercept his retreat, he was retiring, when a ball pierced his thigh, and killed his horſe under him. Finding that to eſcape was impoſſible, and ſcorning to ſurvive his defeat, he placed his back to a tree, and, wounded as he

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was,

was, defended himself with undaunted bravery. Charette, who admired his talents and spirit, gave orders to make him prisoner. The stubborn resolution of Haxo rendered it impracticable to yield obedience to these orders. He refused to surrender; and, after he had killed or wounded several who attempted to seize him, the royalists were reluctantly compelled to put an end to his existence. Haxo was of colossal stature and warlike mien, and, along with the praise of valour and military talent, he is said to have merited the still higher praise of being humane at a time when all his colleagues were notoriously infamous for the brutal ferocity of their conduct, and humanity itself seemed to be considered as an irremissible crime. It is a striking testimony in his favour, that he was almost equally regretted by his soldiers, of whom he was the father, and by the royalists, of whom he was one of the most ardent and formidable enemies.

The discomfiture of the republicans on this occasion was so complete, and their loss of such magnitude, that their spirits entirely sunk under the weight of the disaster. Relinquishing, for the present, the carrying on of offensive operations, they withdrew into cantonments, and abandoned to Charette the possession of that territory, for which, in spite of seemingly insuperable difficulties, he had perseveringly and skilfully contended during a campaign protracted through the long period of five winter months.

Turning, for the present, from the lower division of Poitou, we must now proceed to trace those equally important events, which, at the same time, occurred in the upper part of the province, and in that portion of Anjou which is situated on the left of the Loire. When, after the battle of Chollet, the royal catholic army passed the Loire, such of the royalists as remained behind were left without leaders capable of giving energy and unity to their efforts. Yet, notwithstanding this disadvantage, they were not inactive. Assembling in small bodies, of from three to five hundred men, they fell upon, and defeated, several detachments, harassed the republican posts, and carried off the convoys. Fortunately, their antagonists were too much weakened by the absence of the great mass of the Conventional armies, to undertake at this moment any vigorous operations. Emboldened by their success, they collected in larger numbers towards the latter end of November, destroyed three corps which were sent against them, and finally attacked adjutant-general Desmares, who was posted at Jallais with a considerable force. Though they were without a chief, they supported a contest of three hours; and, at length, finding their exertions fruitless, retired from the field without sustaining any serious loss.

Such was the situation of affairs in Upper Poitou at the epoch when the royal catholic army was entirely broken to pieces by the battles of Mans and Savenay. In a former volume *, it has been seen, that, when the royalists reached

* Annual Register for 1794, historical article, p. 85.

Ancenis,

Ancenis, their generaliſſimo, La Roche Jacquelin, Stofflet, and ſome other of their chiefs, committed themſelves on a raft to the mercy of the waves, in order to reconcile them to that mode of croſſing the river, and that a ſudden panic induced the royal army to fly from the town, and give up their deſign of repaſſing the Loire. As ſoon as La Roche Jacquelin and his companions landed, they were fallen upon by a republican detachment, and compelled to diſperſe. Accompanied only by a ſingle officer, La Roche Jacquelin wandered in the woods, till he was on the point of periſhing with hunger and fatigue. They at length reached a farm, which was inhabited by a royaliſt. Scarcely had they retired to reſt in a barn, when they were rouſed by the farmer, who intreated them to fly, as the enemy were arrived, and intended to ſleep in the barn. "My friend," anſwered the royaliſt chief, "we muſt have reſt, even "ſhould death be the conſequence. "Leave us then, and truſt to pro-"vidence for our preſervation." The republicans in a few minutes entered, equally fatigued; and, throwing themſelves on the ſtraw, ſunk into a profound ſlumber. At break of day, La Roche Jacquelin and his friend quitted the place undiſcovered by their dangerous companions. At length, having lived for ſome days concealed in the foreſt of Vezin, the royaliſt generaliſſimo gathered round him a few of his partiſans, and reached Maulevrier, at the moment when Charette entered that place with the forces of Lower Poitou.

When the arrival of La Roche Jacquelin became known, the Poitevins flocked with ſuch ardour to join his ſtandard, that he was ſpeedily at the head of between two and three thouſand men, already accuſtomed to brave every danger. Stofflet was hardly leſs ſucceſsful in his efforts to raiſe a diviſion. Other corps were formed by General Beauvais, by Bernard de Marigny, Berard, Prodhomme, and a number of chiefs, who had eſcaped from Britanny, after the deſtruction of the royal catholic army. Such of the ſoldiers too of that army, as had been able to find a ſhelter in the woods and marſhes on the right of the Loire, nightly procured the means of recroſſing the river, and rallying under the banners of their former leaders.

The republicans, now reinforced by the return of their armies from Britanny, were too formidable for the Poitevins to think of encountering them at preſent in a general engagement. La Roche Jacquelin, therefore, reſolved to carry on, during the winter, a war of chicane, which would haraſs and weaken the enemy, without ſubjecting his own party to any heavy misfortune. In this kind of war he was eminently ſucceſsful. The republicans, in the courſe of the month of January, were frequently defeated, and their convoys intercepted; while the royaliſts, on the other hand, though ſometimes worſted, did not ſuffer any diſheartening loſs.

The war, however, thanks to the barbarity of the republicans, ſoon aſſumed a more ſerious aſpect. Through their exertions, the ranks of the Poitevin army were ſwelled by thouſands of recruits, burning with indignation, and eager for revenge. It was upon Upper Poi-

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tou that the fury of the infernal columns was chiefly diſcharged. In their march, thoſe columns maſſacred thouſands of wretched victims; but tens of thouſands had the good fortune to eſcape to the foreſts; and there, driven from their burning homes, and deſpoiled of their property, had no other reſource than in arms. Their oppreſſors were not long before they received abundant proof to what wonderful efforts men may be ſtimulated by rage and deſpair.

While the columns were purſuing their deſolating march, La Roche Jacquelin, with twelve hundred men, penetrated between two of them, attacked Chemillé, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In conjunction with Stofflet and Bernard de Marigny, he then marched to Geſté, in the vicinity of Beaupreau. To this place he was followed by the republican army, under the command of General Cordellier. Three battles enſued, in all of which the royaliſts were victorious.

Theſe, however, were the laſt laurels gathered by La Roche Jacquelin. Death now put an end to his gallant career. About the beginning of February, having routed the enemy in a ſkirmiſh near Trementine, he was ſlain by the hand of a cowardly aſſaſſin, while he was purſuing the fugitives. A republican ſoldier, who, throwing down his muſket, had implored and obtained quarter from him, took up his arms when the general was paſſed by, and requited the mercy of his generous conqueror, by becoming his murderer*. His villainy did not go unpuniſhed, for he was inſtantly cut to pieces by the Poitevin troops. In La Roche Jacquelin, the royaliſts loſt a leader, than whom none more valiant, more accompliſhed, or more beloved, ever appeared at the head of an army.

On the death of La Roche Jacquelin, Stofflet, with the aſſent of the other chiefs, took the command of that part of the royaliſt forces, which bore the name of the army of Anjou. The new general ſignalized his aſſumption of authority, by gaining two victories over the republicans, at Coudrai-Montbeau, and making himſelf maſter of Beaupreau. He then, with four thouſand of his beſt troops, marched towards Chollet, which was occupied by the younger general Moulins, with five thouſand men, and three pieces of cannon. The republican outpoſts were ſurpriſed, the town was aſſaulted, and the garriſon was quickly thrown into diſorder, by the vigour of the royaliſt onſet. Though dangerouſly wounded, General Moulins exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to rally his ſoldiers. His efforts, nevertheleſs, were fruitleſs, and he was himſelf thrown from his horſe, and on the point of being taken priſoner. Preferring death to falling into the hands of his enemies, he drew a piſtol, and terminated his own exiſtence. While a detachment of the victors was purſuing the fugitives on the road to Nantz, General Cordellier arrived with his diviſion from

Feb. 10.

* It has been aſſerted, that La Roche Jacquelin fell the victim of his own raſhneſs, in preſſing forward to ſeize a republican, who was taking deliberate aim at him. This, however, is untrue. The account now given was communicated to the author, by one of the royaliſt chiefs, and may be relied upon as ſtrictly correct.

Geſté,

Geſté, and renewed the conteſt. Too weak to contend with the combined forces of the enemy, Stofflet evacuated the town, and retired to the heights of Nouaillé, about four miles diſtant, where he remained two days, without the republicans daring to advance againſt him.

In a few days, however, General Cordellier had an opportunity of wiping off the diſgrace which the Conventional troops had incurred by their defeat at Chollet. At Montrevault, near Beaupreau, a battle was fought between his diviſion and the forces of Stofflet. The conteſt was not terminated till the ſecond day, when the royaliſts were at laſt overcome, and ſuffered ſeverely. Several hundreds of them were left on the field, and many were drowned in attempting to ſwim over the river Erbre, into which they were driven. Among thoſe who fell in this battle was the Counteſs de Bruc, a woman of diſtinguiſhed courage, who marched at the head of the Poitevins, and was one of the foremoſt in the combat.

This victory was productive of no beneficial effect to thoſe by whom it was gained. Obliged to hurry from one poſt to the defence of another, haraſſed wherever they turned, and diminiſhed in numbers by daily and hourly engagements, the republicans rapidly loſt ground in Upper Poitou. Herbiers, Chantonay, and other towns, were ſucceſſively abandoned. On every ſide freſh armies of royaliſts ſeemed to riſe from the earth. Richard, with a formidable diviſion, made himſelf maſter of Ceriſais, and joined the army of Anjou. Bernard de Marigny headed a force of ſeveral thouſand men, denominated the army of the centre; and a ſecond army, of the ſame name, was commanded by Sapinaud.

Shortly after his defeat, Stofflet was again in a condition to reſume his operations, with more vigour than ever. Early in March, he reduced Breſſuire and Argenton le Chateau, and once more led his troops againſt Chollet, which was occupied by the columns of generals Huchet and Grignon. The republicans drew up in order of battle, on the heights near the town, but were in a ſhort time compelled to take ſhelter in the place, where they were inveſted by the Poitevin army. Alarmed for the ſafety of theſe diviſions, the Conventional commiſſioners gave orders for the evacuation of Chollet; and theſe orders were obeyed with ſuch precipitation, that immenſe magazines of corn, forage, clothes, and military ſtores, were left behind by the retreating troops. By the capture of Chollet, the whole of the territory under Stofflet was freed from the preſence of the enemy.

Bernard de Marigny was not leſs fortunate than Stofflet. He formed, in the beginning of March, the blockade of Mortagne, in which place the republicans had a garriſon of a thouſand men. So cloſe was the blockade, that the defenders of the place found it impoſſible to open a communication with the republican army. To heighten their diſtreſs, a convoy, deſtined for them, was taken under their walls by the royaliſt general; and the corps which eſcorted it, was completely deſtroyed. Bernard de Marigny now reſolved to make an effort

effort to carry the town by aſſault. He was, however, repulſed, after a conflict of ſeven hours. Undiſcouraged by this check, he ordered his forces to prepare for a ſecond aſſault, on the enſuing morning. But the garriſon did not deem it prudent to riſk the conſequences of a ſtorm. They quitted the place in the night, with the majority of the inhabitants, and were lucky enough to accompliſh in ſafety their retreat to Nantz. Mortagne was the laſt poſt which the republicans held in the interior of the royaliſt territory, and its loſs was a ſubject of great regret and indignation.

The jacobin government was not leſs ſurpriſed than mortified at theſe multiplied diſaſters. It found itſelf ſtill further than ever from the reduction of Poitou. In its ſpleen and anger, it did not heſitate to throw upon the ſhoulders of the generals the blame which belonged to itſelf. To that Convention, from which the ſhameleſs Barrere had ſo often called for laws of blood and fire againſt the royaliſts, he had now the audacity to talk of the bad effect which had been produced by burning farms and villages, and by the "barbar-" ous and exaggerated execution" of the decrees which he had himſelf propoſed. To remedy the evil, he demanded the appointment of two new commiſſioners, inveſted with unlimited powers to adopt whatever meaſures they might conceive to be neceſſary. Feeling, perhaps, a conſciouſneſs how ridiculous he muſt appear, in being thus compelled to announce the triumph of the royaliſts, after he had ſo repeatedly announced their extermination, he promiſed the Convention that he would not mention them again, during the whole of the campaign. This promiſe he religiouſly kept.

This alteration in the ſyſtem of the jacobin government, put a ſtop to the burning of houſes, and to the wanton maſſacre of females, children, and aged perſons. The tardy and compelled mercy now ſhown, excited, however, not the gratitude, but the ſcorn of the Poitevin royaliſts, who well knew that their own valour, and not the principles of their oppreſſors, had been productive of ſuch an aſtoniſhing change.

The rulers of France were not yet cured of the folly of fixing a day for the termination of the war. Their two commiſſioners, Hentz and Garreau, were ordered to put an end to the conteſt within the period of a month. The commiſſioners, on their ſide, were not backward in communicating ſimilar orders to General Turreau, and in threatening him with a perilous reſponſibility, in caſe of diſobedience. Unintimidated, nevertheleſs, by their menaces, he reſolutely anſwered, that it was impoſſible to accompliſh the deſtruction of the royaliſts in the brief ſpace of time which was allowed. Nothing ſhort of extraordinary means, and the moſt determined perſeverance, would, he told them, be required, to bring the war to a favourable concluſion. Theſe diſagreeable truths were heard with much indignation and diſguſt by thoſe to whom they were addreſſed.

Extraordinary means were certainly reſorted to by the commiſſioners, to effect their purpoſe. They iſſued a mandate, than which, madneſs, in its wildeſt mood, never imagined any thing more inſane.

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The natives of the royaliſt territory, of a territory nearly thirty leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and containing a population of ſeveral hundred thouſand ſouls, were commanded to quit the country, and retire with their property into the interior of France, under pain of being puniſhed as rebels. This mandate was treated with contempt by thoſe to whom it was directed. It had indeed ſufficient terror in it to drive from their homes nearly twenty thouſand inhabitants of the ſurrounding departments. A ſtep leſs abſurd was likewiſe taken by the commiſſioners. They offered pardon and reward to ſuch of the royaliſts as would betray their leaders; but their offers and their mandates were equally deſpiſed.

Depreſſed in ſpirit by their repeated diſcomfitures, and the melancholy proſpect of an interminable conteſt, the republicans ceaſed to act with their wonted vigour. Their operations were confined to a fruitleſs attack upon the Marſh diſtrict of Lower Poitou, to ſome trifling attempts againſt the royaliſt poſts on the bank of the Loire, and to an incurſion into the foreſts of Maulevrier and Vezin, where they burned alive the wounded royaliſts whom they found in the hoſpitals, which had been eſtabliſhed there, as being out of the reach of danger. On the other hand, they received ſeveral defeats. They were once routed by Charette at Moutier les Mauſai, and thrice by Stofflet at Fief des Houléries, Chemillé, and St. Florent.

Foiled in every mode of warfare which he had hitherto purſued, General Turreau gave up all thoughts of deſtroying the Poitevins by meeting them in the field. He reſorted to the plan of inveſting their territory by a circle of camps, ſtrongly entrenched and garriſoned. In proportion as the diſtricts round theſe camps were ſubdued, other camps, further advanced, were to be eſtabliſhed; and thus, ſlowly moving onward to the centre of Poitou, he hoped in time to reduce and hold in ſubjection the whole of the province. To keep up the ſemblance of offenſive warfare, two columns were to make inroads into the country occupied by the royaliſts, and the troops of the entrenched camps were ſometimes to ſally forth, and indulge themſelves in a little occaſional plunder and bloodſhed. This plan was grounded on the preſumed inability of the Poitevins to make themſelves maſters of any poſt which was defended by fortifications.

The royaliſt chiefs, on their ſide, ſeemed diſpoſed to draw cloſer the band of union between them, and to act more in concert than they had hitherto done. In a conference held at Jallais, between Charette, Stofflet, Bernard de Marigny, and other royaliſt leaders, it was agreed, that henceforth nothing ſhould be undertaken without the concurrence of the three armies, and that thoſe armies ſhould immediately commence their conjunct operations, by expelling the republicans from the poſts which they held on the left bank of the Loire. Till this expedition was terminated no diviſion was to be diſbanded, nor was any chief to be allowed to ſeparate from his colleagues. The limits of the territory belonging to each general were alſo definitively ſettled. This compact was ſworn to, and

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ſigned, by each of the contracting parties; and the puniſhment of treaſon was denounced againſt any one who ſhould be guilty of its violation.

Admirably calculated as this compact apparently was to ſtrengthen the royal party, the ſole effect which it produced, was the death of two of the warmeſt and moſt gallant friends of royalty. Some have aſſerted, and there ſeems but too much reaſon to credit the aſſertion, that the principal motive of thoſe who framed it, was the ſafe accompliſhment of their criminally ambitious purpoſes. Bernard de Marigny was its firſt victim. This chief, who was much beloved by the Poitevins, and by not a few was conſidered as the legitimate ſucceſſor of La Roche Jacquelin, is ſaid to have been looked on with a jealous eye, both by Stofflet and Charette, many of whoſe ſoldiers at times quitted them to fight under his banners. A pretext was ſoon found to get rid of a hated rival. Irritated by the unfair manner in which the commiſſaries of Stofflet diſtributed the proviſions, the troops of Bernard de Marigny retired during the night, and their General having hurried after them to bring them back, a haſty council was ſummoned, by which he was ſentenced to die, as a deſerter from his party. This iniquitous ſentence was executed, without his being allowed to ſpeak a word in his defence, or being indulged with a moment's reſpite; and he fell, aſſerting with his laſt breath, his innocence and loyalty. Richard and Sapinaud, the latter of whom was the friend of Charette, and devoted to him, took the command of the army of the center. Numbers, however, in revenge for the ſacrifice of their chief, refuſed to follow his ſucceſſors. It was not long before the fate of Bernard de Marigny was ſhared by Joly, and with equal injuſtice. Theſe two murders, for murders they muſt be called, fixed a deep and laſting ſtain upon the characters of thoſe, by whom they were at once inhumanly and unwiſely committed. No talent, no valour, can expiate the guilt of wanton bloodſhed.

The combined armies did not perform any of thoſe exploits which were naturally to be expected from them. Each of the two great leaders ſeemed to dread leſt his rival ſhould acquire an increaſe of reputation. After a trivial engagement on the banks of the Loire, they marched into lower Poitou, and attacked Challans, which was held by general Dutruy, with a very conſiderable garriſon. The conteſt was ſharp and long, and terminated in their being compelled to retreat, with the loſs of ſeveral hundred men. The Poitevin armies now ſeparated; each returning to its own territory.

A ſhort time before the battle of Challans, the chevalier Tinteniac, ſent by the Britiſh miniſters, arrived in the royaliſt camp. He brought with him, compliments, and promiſes of aſſiſtance; but nothing more.

The eſtabliſhment of entrenched camps was the laſt act of general Turreau, againſt whom the conventional commiſſioners entertained ſuch inveterate prejudices, that they procured his diſmiſſion. So inactive, however, were the republicans, ſubſequently to his departure, that even the name of the general

general who replaced him is unknown. Satisfied if they were suffered to remain unattacked, they no longer braved their enemies in the field. The royalist chiefs, meanwhile, neglected nothing, which in case of their being again attacked, could enable them to maintain the ground which they had won. They introduced a more regular organization into their armies; appointed commissaries to provide magazines; arrayed the population; formed a chain of posts, reciprocally supporting each other; and, finally, established a code of laws for both the military and civil government of the royalist territory. In making these various arrangements, Stofflet had the advantage of being assisted by Bernier, rector of St. Laud, a man possessed of all those qualities which are required to form the consummate statesman. He held the situation of commissary-general of the army of Anjou, and to the talents, exertions, and counsel of this ecclesiastic, Stofflet was indebted for a considerable part of his high reputation.

Two important victories obtained by the royalists, closed this eventful and glorious campaign. They were both gained by Charette. Among the numerous entrenched camps which the republicans had established, to hem in and harass the Poitevins, was one at la Rouliere, on the road from Nantz to Sables d'Olonne, and about ten miles from the former place. It was principally garrisoned by the national guards of Nantz, who sometimes made sallies, and carried off the produce of the harvest from the surrounding country. This thorn in the side of his friends, Charette determined to remove. In the beginning of September, therefore, he summoned several of his divisions to meet him at St. Philbert de Bouans, for the purpose of attacking the camp. Only the advanced guard of his troops arriving at the appointed time, and the other divisions being yet at a considerable distance, he came to the bold determination of attempting to carry the camp by surprise, with this handful of men. "My friends," exclaimed he to his soldiers whom he had assembled round him, "we shall have an easy victory; we have to fight with nothing but citizens, covered with silk and gold. The most valiant of you shall share all the plunder." Animated by their chief, the troops eagerly demanded to be led to the assault, without waiting for their absent companions. The signal being given, they rushed impetuously forward, and were fortunate enough to reach the scene of action, before the republicans had any intelligence of their approach. The entrenchments were forced in a moment, and the enemy, who had not even time to run to arms, fled precipitately on all sides, leaving an immense booty in the hands of the conquerors.

While the royalists were busy, in securing and dividing the spoil, a republican column from Montaigu unexpectedly appeared in sight, and placed them in a perilous situation. It was with some difficulty that their officers called off their attention from the booty, and collected a sufficient number to make head against the enemy, who were now drawing up their

forces for battle. At this critical moment, the royaliſt diviſions which had been left behind, including a body of cavalry, came up to their aſſiſtance. The republicans were attacked, routed, and purſued with a terrible ſlaughter, as far as the gates of Nantz.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Charette prepared for an enterpriſe of ſtill greater advantage, and more difficult execution. The camp of Freligné, between Legé and Machecoult, checked his movements, and interrupted, in ſome degree, his communications with that part of the country, called the Pays de Retz. This camp was far more formidable than that of la Rouliere. It was ſtrongly fortified, the works were palliſaded, it was ſurrounded by broad and deep ditches, and contained a garriſon of two thouſand well diſciplined regular troops, who had ſeen much ſervice, and were commanded by Prat and Mermet, two officers of acknowledged courage and ſkill.

Notwithſtanding theſe adverſe circumſtances, Charette, relying upon the valour of his troops, reſolved to hazard an aſſault, as he had neither time nor means for a ſiege, and there was no hope of falling unawares upon an alarmed and vigilant enemy. The Poitevins attacked the camp on three ſides, but, the works having been imperfectly reconnoitred, the principal attack was directed againſt the leaſt vulnerable quarter. The aſſailants, however, advanced with the utmoſt bravery to the palliſades, and, uncovered as they were, kept up at forty yards diſtance, a fire upon the enemy, for nearly an hour. They ſuffered ſeverely in conſequence; ſeveral officers were ſlain or dangerouſly wounded. The royaliſts were beginning to give way, when Charette hurried into the hotteſt of the fire, and, by his voice and example, reſtored the failing ſpirits of his ſoldiers. The combat was now renewed with more fury than ever. Prat having fallen, Mermet, on whom the ſole command devolved, made a ſally upon the royaliſts, but after having diſplayed an admirable degree of intrepidity and talent, he was killed, and his troops were driven in diſorder to their intrenchments. The republicans, nevertheleſs, ſtill defended their works, and, for a while, held the royaliſts at bay. At length, the latter broke in on all ſides, and a frightful carnage of the enemy took place. A number of the fugitives directed their flight towards St. Chriſtophe du Ligneron, but did not eſcape, for they there fell into an ambuſcade, and the whole of them were put to the ſword. The victory was not bloodleſs on the part of the royaliſts. Four hundred of them remained on the field, and twice that number were wounded. Few or none of the republicans were ſaved. The victors, after having removed their plunder, ſet fire to the camp. Among the victims who periſhed on this occaſion was one, whoſe filial piety deſerves to be recorded, and whoſe fate no one not wholly devoid of humanity can fail to deplore. This was the ſon of general Mermet, a youth of fourteen, who, during the battle, fought gallantly by the ſide of his father, and,

Sept. 15.

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when his parent fell, perſiſted in embracing the body, till both the living and the dead were enveloped in the flames of the burning camp.

CHAP. III.

The republicans reſolve to make peace with the royaliſts. Cauſes of their reſolution. Diſſentions among the royaliſts favourable to the deſigns of the republicans. Enmity of Charette towards Stofflet. He complains of the latter for not attacking the republican poſts. Iſſue of paper money by Stofflet. Charette prevails on the chiefs of the army of the center to join with him, in a manifeſto againſt Stofflet, on the ſubject of the paper money. Spirited reply of Stofflet. Rage of Charette. The republicans iſſue pacific proclamations. Theſe are followed by the publication of an amneſty, and a proclamation flattering the royaliſts. Theſe not ſucceeding, the republicans reſolve to make overtures to the royaliſt chiefs. Charette agrees to an armiſtice. Stofflet refuſes to hear of a treaty. Animated proclamation addreſſed by him to the republicans. Armiſtice agreed upon in Britanny, by Cormatin. Character of perſons acting as agents for the French Princes. Intrigues of the Spaniſh Government. Plan of bringing about a ſimulated peace, between the royaliſts and republicans, framed by the agents of the Princes. Charette and Cormatin are gained over to act according to their plans. Conferences for peace opened with Charette at la Jaunais. Cormatin is diſpatched from Britanny to diſſuade the Poitevins from peace, but acts in direct oppoſition to his inſtructions. Charette wiſhes Stofflet not to be admitted to the negotiation. It is, however, determined that Stofflet ſhall be invited. Stofflet declares openly that he will not conſent to treat, unleſs the reſtoration of monarchy be one of the ſtipulations. Diſſatisfaction excited among his troops by the conduct of Charette. Intrigues of Charette, to ſeduce the officers of Stofflet. Departure of Stofflet. Charette ſigns the treaty of peace. Terms of the treaty. Declaration of the royaliſt chiefs, ſolemnly recognizing the republic. Triumphal entry of Charette into Nantz. He viſits the club at Nantz. Joy of the Convention on the concluſion of the treaty. Vigorous meaſures adopted by Stofflet. The republican armies advance againſt Stofflet. Battles of Chalonne and St. Florent. The Breton chiefs declare their reſolution to break off the conferences if an armiſtice is not granted to Stofflet. He ſends two deputies to be preſent at the conferences in Britanny. Arts employed by Cormatin to effect his purpoſes. Conferences of la Prevalaye. Violent debates in the council which is finally to decide upon peace or war. Peace reſolved upon. Perfidious conduct of Cormatin. Terms of the treaty. Only a very ſmall number of the chiefs put their names to the treaty. Stofflet finding himſelf deſerted by the other royaliſt armies, concludes a treaty with the republicans. He determines to remain faithful to it, as long as the republicans do the ſame. Probable effects of the peace.

NEARLY two years of a deſperate and almoſt inceſſantly continued war, attended with the ſacrifice of between two and three hundred thouſand ſoldiers, and ſeveral millions of money, having failed to make any impreſſion upon the royaliſts of Poitou, and there being now the gloomy and diſheartening proſpect of a ſtill more difficult and dangerous additional war in Britanny, the rulers of France, however painful ſuch a change might be to their feelings, deemed it prudent to abandon the ſyſtem of coercion, and reſort to pacific meaſures. The tongue and the pen, they hoped, might ſucceed, where the torch and the bayonet had failed. It was, indeed, no longer poſſible for them to ſupport at once a foreign and domeſtic war. If they raſhly perſiſted in attempting to reduce the royaliſts by force, they muſt withdraw from the frontiers a part of their victorious armies, and thus not only relinquiſh their conqueſts, but give the coaleſced powers another opportunity of making the French territory itſelf the ſcene of hoſtilities. Should they even ſucceed in vanquiſhing their internal enemies, their triumph would be a loſing triumph, as it would be obtained at the expence of a large portion of the reſources of France, and would put into their hands nothing but a deſolated and depopulated country. Their ſucceſs, however, was any thing rather than certain. Poitou and Anjou, though much exhauſted, were ſtill in a condition to maintain a long and haraſſing conteſt. But, as we have already ſeen, it was not with the ſtrength of theſe provinces alone which they would have to encounter. Britanny was on the eve of riſing in arms. Formidable as were the reſources of the Poitevins and Angevins, thoſe of the Bretons were far more formidable. This new theatre of war, nearly two hundred miles in length, and more than a hundred in breadth, contained a bold and hardy population, equal in numbers to that of ſome independent and reſpectable ſtates, and poſſeſſed the great advantage of being approachable by the conventional armies only on a fourth of its frontier, while all the remaining part of that frontier was open for the reception of ſuccours. The republicans were aware, too, that ſuccours would not be withheld. They had, by ſome means, procured information of the reſidence of M. de Puiſaye in London, and likewiſe that England, ſlowly wiſe, had at length determined to make a vigorous exertion in behalf of the royal cauſe. In leſs than ten days from its taking the field, the combined royaliſt and Engliſh army might advance to within forty leagues of Paris. Theſe were the circumſtances which induced the rulers of France to ſacrifice their pride, and open a negotiation with the royaliſt party.

The moment of defeat, is not generally the moment when the defeated party can hope to negotiate, upon honourable and advantageous terms. In the preſent caſe, however, there were ſome circumſtances, which rendered the period not unpropitious to the republicans, for the accompliſhment of their purpoſes. The royaliſts,

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it is true, were victorious, and, had their chiefs been firmly united, the wily arts of the enemy would in all probability have been as ineffectual as his arms had been. But, inſtead of that cloſe and brotherly union, which was ſo neceſſary to the well-being of the royaliſt party, the two great leaders of the party in Poitou were animated by a ſpirit of envy and diſcord, which led each of them to regard the other as a deadly foe. In this unworthy conteſt much the heavieſt ſhare of the blame muſt be borne by Charette. It was by his unjuſt and immeaſurable ambition that the friends of the royal cauſe were prevented from acting in concert. Though Stofflet was one of thoſe who, with D'Elbee, originally formed the daring plan of rouſing the Poitevins to arms; though he was now the ſenior officer of the royal army; though he had held the rank of major-general of all Vendée, when Charette was only at the head of a diviſion; though his ſervices, and the ſuffrages of his countrymen, gave him an undeniable claim to be the ſucceſſor of La Roche Jacquelin; yet, in ſpite of theſe numerous titles which Stofflet poſſeſſed to the high rank which he held, Charette unſatisfied by the portion of authority which he had already himſelf uſurped, eagerly deſired to procure the ſupreme command, and thought that he had gained nothing, while there was any part of Poitou, which was not ſubject to his controul.

That animoſity againſt Stofflet, which he had hitherto confined to thoughts and words, at length manifeſted itſelf in acts of direct hoſtility. He who wiſhes to commence a quarrel is never in want of a pretext. As a prelude to matters of more importance, complaints were made by Charette, that the general of the army of Anjou did not drive the republicans from thoſe poſts which they held, on the left bank of the Loire. Theſe complaints came, indeed, with a bad grace from the perſon who had withdrawn his army into Lower Poitou, notwithſtanding it had been ſettled by the recent compact, that the armies ſhould remain united, till the complete expulſion of thoſe poſts to which he now alluded.

It was not to be expected that the breach between the two chiefs would not daily grow wider. An opportunity was ſoon found by Charette, to aim what he hoped would be a deadly blow againſt the authority of his rival. The extreme ſcarcity of ſpecie, which was felt in the territory occupied by the army of Anjou, had induced Stofflet and his council to ſanction the iſſue of notes to the amount of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. This new paper money, which was made payable on the reſtoration of peace, was deſtined to revive the internal commerce, liquidate the debts which had been contracted, and provide pay for the ſoldiery, and ſubſiſtence for the widows, orphans, and wounded. The circulation of theſe notes was enforced by the threat of fines and capital puniſhment, againſt whoever refuſed to receive them.

Conſidering, or affecting to conſider, this meaſure as a violation of the compact ſigned at Jallais, Charette haſtened to turn it to his own advantage. He called at Beaurepaire a council of the chiefs of his army, and of the army of the centre, over which

Dec. 6, 1794. alſo his influence extended. The firſt ſtep was to ſummon Stofflet, to appear and juſtify his conduct. Stofflet, however, was too wiſe to put himſelf in the hands of an enemy, deſirous of his ruin; and he, therefore, declined attending. Had he imprudently obeyed the ſummons, there is little doubt that he would have ſhared the fate of Joly and Bernard de Marigny. As any perſonal cenſure or violence was rendered impoſſible, Charette obtained from the council a ſort of decree, or manifeſto, addreſſed to Stofflet, and couched in the moſt haughty and offenſive language. Among other things it charged the latter with an infraction of the compact of Jallais, with deſpotic conduct, with a violation of his word, with a contempt of all principles of honour, and with having publicly declared that he carried on the war ſolely for his own intereſt. It ordered the paper money to be ſuppreſſed, pronounced the compact of Jallais to be henceforth null and void, and in terms indirect, but eaſily underſtood, ſtimulated the chiefs of the army of Anjou to throw off their obedience to their leader. That nothing of inſult might be wanting in this tranſaction, Charette, in publiſhing the manifeſto, affected to conſider Stofflet as a mere private individual, and not as the general of a royaliſt army. It was addreſſed "to Stofflet" alone, without taking any notice of the rank which he held.

This inſolent and impolitic proceeding, was reſented by Stofflet, with a proper degree of dignity. In his name, and by his orders, Bernier drew up an anſwer, which was as remarkable for eloquence and ſpirit, as the manifeſto was for rudeneſs and arrogance. Nor was it leſs ſatisfactory than eloquent. It vindicated Stofflet in the fulleſt manner, from all the calumnies which had been thrown out againſt him. Of theſe calumnies, the baſeſt was that which attributed to him the confeſſion that he carried on the war merely from ſelfiſh motives. "Such an avowal," replied he, "never came from my lips; the feeling which could prompt it, never exiſted in my heart; that heart is not degraded by grovelling ideas of intereſt. I have no treaſure, nor property, but my blood and my life, and, next to my God, thoſe belong to my King." With reſpect to the paper money, he proved that its iſſue had been ſanctioned, and even ſolicited, by thoſe very chiefs of the army of the centre who made it a ſubject of complaint. The letter cloſed with a friendly exhortation to a ſtrict union, and with a promiſe to fly to the ſuccour of his miſled accuſers, whenever they ſhould call upon him to do ſo; but at the ſame time, it ſtated his firm reſolution to retain that rank which had been granted to him by the confidence and affection of his fellow ſoldiers. With the letter was tranſmitted a reſolution of the military council of the army of Anjou, which bore ſtrong teſtimony to the merits of the general, and threatened with puniſhment thoſe perſons, who attempted to diſturb the harmony and good order exiſting in the territory over which he commanded.

Whatever effect this reply might have upon the minds of the other chiefs,

chiefs, it only ſerved to irritate ſtill more the paſſions of Charette. He propoſed the condemnation of Stofflet, but he was unable to procure the aſſent of his colleagues. He even carried his blind hatred to ſuch a length, as to determine upon marching againſt him, and trying to reduce him by force of arms; and this inſane purpoſe he would have carried into effect, had he not met with a vigorous oppoſition from many of the royaliſt leaders.

In this ſtate were the internal affairs of the royaliſts, at the period when their enemies began to think of accompliſhing by peace, that which they found themſelves incapable of accompliſhing by war. The firſt ſtep of the republicans was to publiſh proclamations, announcing that the Poitevins might get in the harveſt without fear of moleſtation. Theſe were followed by other proclamations, again offering pardon and reward to ſuch of the royaliſts as would betray their leaders. Neither the one nor the other were productive of any beneficial effect.

Finding that theſe meaſures were of no utility, the committee of public ſafety reſolved to make a ſtill further advance towards a peace with the royaliſts. Accordingly it obtained from the convention, a decree, offering an amneſty to all, without exception of the chiefs, who ſhould lay down their arms within the ſpace of a month. Several deputies were alſo diſpatched, to carry this decree into execution. At the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued, to induce the royaliſts to accept the offers which were made them. It was compoſed in that flowery and hyperbolical ſtyle, which characterizes and diſgraces ſo many of the French official documents. In ſpite of an affectation of dignity and authority, the fears of thoſe by whom it was penned were ſufficiently apparent. It talked of the valour of the "miſled children" of the country, and promiſed thoſe children an affectionate reception, in return for their friendſhip. England, now an object of dread to the authors of the proclamation, was pointed out to the royaliſts as the proper object of their hatred; and they were called upon, in conjunction with the republicans, "to carry a war of ex-"termination, with all its ſcour-"ges, from the banks of the Loire, "to the banks of the Thames."

Dec. 2.

The limited time being nearly expired, and neither the amneſty nor the proclamation having induced the royaliſts to manifeſt any deſign of carrying the ſcourges of war to the banks of the Thames, or even of diſcontinuing hoſtilities againſt the republicans, the rulers of France found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of either continuing the conteſt, or ſtooping to make a direct application for peace to the royaliſts chiefs: they choſe the latter part of the alternative. Towards the end of December, they diſpatched an emiſſary, to propoſe an armiſtice, and pave the way for a treaty with Charette. They were not ignorant of the diſſentions between this chief and Stofflet, and from theſe diſſentions they not unreaſonably expected to derive ſome advantage. Charette conſented to an armiſtice, and, in concert with the chiefs of

Jan. 1795. the army of the centre, diſpatched, towards the middle of January, Bejari and Debruc to Nantz, to receive the propoſitions of the republican deputies.

In their attempt to conciliate Stoffiet the deputies were unſucceſsful. He rejected their offers with diſdain, and replied that he would hold no parley but from the mouths of his cannon. This ſtep was followed by the iſſuing of an animated proclamation, addreſſed to the republicans, in the name of his council, calling upon them to teſtify the ſincerity of their wiſhes for peace, by "reſtoring to the "heir of the murdered Lewis his "crown and ſceptre, to religion "its ſolemnities and its miniſters, "to the nobility their property "and rank, and to the whole "kingdom, its ancient and re-"ſpectable conſtitution, freed from "thoſe abuſes which had crept into "it in troubled and unfortunate "times." No reconciliation, muſt, it declared, be hoped for by their enemies, unleſs theſe indiſpenſable conditions were previouſly performed.

In Britanny alſo, now the chief ſource of their uneaſineſs, the republicans diſplayed the utmoſt anxiety to bring about a treaty. The command in this province had for the laſt two months been held by general Hoche. Deceived by the ſeeming inactivity which the policy of M. de Puiſaye had preſcribed to the Chouans, the general at firſt conſidered their ſtrength as contemptible, and ſpoke of them in a tone of deriſion; but he was not long before he diſcovered his error, did juſtice to the wiſdom of the plan on which they acted, and was convinced that they ought to be conſidered as the moſt formidable enemies of his party. He was, in conſequence, ſincerely deſirous to prevent a war from breaking out in this quarter. General Humbert was accordingly ordered by him to procure an interview with the Chevalier Boiſhardy, who, next to the Count de Puiſaye, was the beſt known of the royaliſt leaders. This interview led to a conference at Montcontour with Cormatin himſelf, the reſult of which was an agreement for an armiſtice, which either ſide was at liberty to terminate, upon giving eight days notice.

To render comprehenſible the ſubſequent conduct of ſome of the royaliſt chiefs, it will, before we proceed further, be neceſſary to bring the reader acquainted with certain perſons, who, unfortunately for the French monarch, and the welfare not only of France, but of Europe, now began to bear too prominent a part in the tranſactions of the royaliſts. Theſe were men, ſtyling themſelves agents of the French princes; and having, in reality, obtained powers to act in that character. For the powers granted to them they were indebted to the weakneſs, and want of diſcernment, of the counſellors and confidental friends of the princes. Theſe agents poſſeſſed none of thoſe eminent qualities, which are indiſpenſably requiſite in men intruſted with the difficult miſſion of ſubverting one form of government, and eſtabliſhing another in its place. Theirs was none of that well-diſciplined judgment, which, undazzled by appearances, looks at a glance

a glance beyond the ſurface of things; none of that far-ſeeing and enlightened policy, which combines and arranges a variety of parts into one harmonious whole, and provides, as far as human wiſdom can provide, againſt future contingencies and diſaſters; none of that dignity and noble frankneſs, which gain partiſans, by inſpiring confidence, and compel even an enemy to pay the tribute of reſpect and applauſe. Inſtead of theſe, they brought to their taſk, a boundleſs vanity, which while it led them to think themſelves capable of performing miracles, made them the dupes of their watchful enemies; a vulgar cunning; a love of deſpicable intrigues; and a habit of attaching importance to thoſe miſerable trifles, and petty means, in which little minds delight, and which great minds deſpiſe. They had always in their pockets plans of counter-revolutions, which were to be carried into effect by armies hidden in the cellars and garrets of the metropolis. It was quite natural that ſuch beings ſhould wiſh to bring all the royaliſt leaders to act under their authority, and that they ſhould cheriſh a rooted hatred of thoſe who, with ſentiments and feelings more elevated than theirs, refuſed to ſubmit to their controul.

The Spaniſh government is ſtrongly ſuſpected of having, at this period, been engaged in carrying on a ſort of negociation, with ſome leading members of the convention; the object of which negociation was to pave the way for introducing to the throne of France, or at leaſt to the regency, the deſcendants of Philip the fifth, in prejudice to the rightful claimants. A Spaniſh commiſſioner at Paris, nominally for the exchange of priſoners, was the channel through which the buſineſs was conducted. To conceal this intrigue, the Spaniſh court, at the ſame time, profeſſed the moſt diſintereſted friendſhip for the exiled Bourbons, and the greateſt deſire of reſtoring Lewis the ſeventeenth to the throne; and its commiſſioner was inſtructed to hold out an offer of liberal aſſiſtance to the royaliſt party. The agents of the princes were in cloſe correſpondence with this commiſſioner, who, in furtherance of his real object, is ſaid to have betrayed their ſecrets to his conventional friends, of whom he, in his turn, was moſt probably the dupe.

It was finally arranged, between the agents and the commiſſioner, that the royaliſt chiefs ſhould be induced to conclude a treaty of peace with the republicans, in order to gain time for the execution of thoſe underhand manœuvres, of the effect of which the agents had ſo lofty an idea, and of which they believed themſelves to be perfect maſters. This treaty, the authors of the plan had no doubt they could eaſily find a pretext for breaking, whenever a convenient moment arrived.

The royaliſt chiefs had been hitherto preſerved from the peſtilential influence of theſe intriguers. Entertaining a moſt prudent regard for their own ſafety, the agents of the princes had rigidly abſtained from entering Britanny and Poitou, while there was a ſhadow of danger to encounter. The din of warfare had no charms for them. As ſoon, however, as the ceſſation of hoſtilities opened a ſafe road, they haſtened to exerciſe their talents on this new ſcene, and mould the royaliſt

royaliſt leaders and reſources to their own purpoſes. Rennes and Nantz became the centre of their operations.

Their ſucceſs was, perhaps, equal to their moſt ſanguine hopes. The credentials which they had received from the French princes ſufficed to introduce them to the royaliſt chiefs, and their arts and promiſes completed the reſt. It appears certain that Charette gave a ready aſſent to their plan of concluding a treacherous peace, and that the long-coveted dignity of generaliſſimo of the royaliſts, was held out to him by the agents, as the reward of his obedience. With equal facility they won over Cormatin to ſecond their ſchemes, and act under their orders. The lure is ſuppoſed to have been of the ſame kind with that by which Charette was ſeduced. It was the proſpect of obtaining the chief command in Britanny. Hitherto Cormatin had ſolicited, in the moſt preſſing manner, the Count to return immediately from England, and had breathed only war; but he now changed his tone, ſtrove by every means to protract the abſence of M. de Puiſaye, and determined to conclude a treaty with the republican deputies.

The caſtle of la Jaunais, a league from Nantz, was the place choſen for the meeting of the republican deputies and the Poitevin chiefs. The conferences were opened on the fifteenth of February. In the councils which, on this occaſion, were held by the royaliſt leaders, a wide difference of opinion, and much ill blood was manifeſted. Many of the moſt gallant of the chiefs were indignant at the idea of negociating, and ſtill more at the idea of formally acknowledging the republican government. Charette and his partiſans, on the contrary were loud and imperious in their cries for peace. The loudeſt and moſt active was Cormatin, who had been expreſsly ſent by the Breton chiefs to diſſuade the Poitevins from a treaty, and to declare that, even ſhould Poitou ſubmit, Britanny would ſtill perſiſt in ſupporting by arms the cauſe of its Sovereign.

It was not the wiſh, nor, in his view of things, the intereſt of Charette, that his rival ſhould be admitted as a party in the negociation. He was rather deſirous that Stofflet ſhould be reduced by the republicans, in which caſe he flattered himſelf, that all authority in Poitou would ultimately center in himſelf. Accordingly, when it was propoſed, in a council of the royaliſt chiefs, that Stofflet and his officers ſhould be invited to take a ſhare in the conferences, the partiſans of Charette ſucceeded in procuring the propoſition to be carried in the negative. The queſtion, however, being again put in a ſecond council, and ſome of the chiefs having had leiſure to reflect upon the diſgrace of betraying their friends, it was reſolved that Stofflet ſhould be requeſted to join the chiefs aſſembled at la Jaunais, and conduct the negociation on the part of the army of Anjou. This invitation was accepted by Stofflet, who immediately ſet out for la Jaunais, with a ſufficient number of friends to protect him from any meditated treachery.

Stofflet had no ſooner arrived at la Jaunais, than he frankly declared that he would conſent to no treaty

of peace, the firſt article of which did not ſtipulate the reſtoration of the monarch. This brave and loyal declaration immediately drew over to his ſide a number of royaliſt officers, who were indignant and diſguſted, that Charette and his friends had ſedulouſly avoided bringing forward any ſtipulation in behalf of royalty. It was in vain that theſe officers had urged, that common decency required that thoſe who had fought for the throne ſhould make at leaſt a demand of its re-eſtabliſhment, even though they had the certainty that their demand would not be granted. Their remonſtrances had been diſregarded, and themſelves treated with inſult.

The ſtrange conduct of Charette nearly proved fatal to him. Some of his officers having reſolved to put him to death, as a traitor, he narrowly eſcaped from becoming their victim; and ſuch was the general fermentation that he was compelled to hurry back to his head quarters, to pacify his troops, who were on the point of refuſing to acknowledge him any longer as their leader.

While, by his crooked policy, he was alienating from him the really valuable members of the royaliſt party, he did not neglect the means of ſeducing to his faction ſuch of the chiefs of the army of Anjou, as were capable of being influenced by deſpicable motives. His promiſes, and the gold of the republicans, which was laviſhed without ſtint, prevailed upon Trotouin, Julien Prudhomme, Renou, and ſome other officers belonging to Stofflet, to abandon their general, and accede to the treaty.

Charette was not long embarraſſed by the preſence of his rival From the fervency with which Cormatin puſhed forward the concluſion of peace, Stofflet had been led to believe that the Bretons had reſolved not to enter upon a war. He was now undeceived by M. Solihac, who had been choſen by the central council of the Bretons to accompany Cormatin to Nantz. It was with equal joy and ſurpriſe that he learned the real tenor of the orders which had been given to Cormatin, and which had been ſo ſhamefully diſobeyed. All his council participated in his ſatisfaction and wonder. The call was univerſal for an inſtant rupture of the negociation. Stofflet, accordingly diſpatched Berard to Nantz, to inform the deputies of the enemy, that they muſt ceaſe to inſiſt upon the acknowledgment of the republic by the troops under his command. Well knowing what their anſwer would be, he made preparation for his immediate departure from la Jaunais. As ſoon as Berard returned from Nantz, Stofflet ſprung on horſeback, called his friends around him, and waving his hat over his head, and exclaiming, "The King for ever;" galloped from the caſtle amidſt the cheering plaudits and acclamations of a croud of royaliſts, belonging to the armies of the center and of lower Poitou.

Every check upon him being now removed, by the abſence of thoſe who diſapproved his preſent meaſures, Charette did not delay to bring his negociation to a cloſe. In conjunction with the chiefs of the army of the center, he ſigned the treaty of peace with the republicans. Cormatin alſo, affixed his ſignature, but with the condition that

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as far as regarded Britanny the treaty ſhould be ſubject to the ratification of the chiefs of the Breton army.

It does not appear that this treaty was ever drawn up in a regular form. The conditions of it were ſcattered through ſeveral declarations, ſigned and publiſhed by the conventional deputies. Conſidered merely in an abſtract point of view, in which, however, it is manifeſt that they ought not to be conſidered, the terms were flattering and beneficial to the natives of Poitou. The free exerciſe of religion was allowed; all ſequeſtrated property was reſtored, even to thoſe Poitevins who were inſcribed on the liſt of emigrants; the young men of Poitou were exempted from being compelled to ſerve in the conventional armies; all taxes were, for the preſent, ſuppreſſed; ample ſuccours were promiſed, from the national treaſury, to rebuild the houſes, re-ſtock the farms, and repair, as far as poſſible, all the loſſes ſuſtained by the royaliſts; two millions of livres in ſpecie were to be paid to Charette and his colleagues to liquidate the expences incurred during the war; and a body of two thouſand men, kept up at the expence of the republican government, raiſed from the Poitevin forces, and bearing the name of territorial guards, was to be under the command of Charette, and his ſubordinate officers.

It has been aſſerted that, by ſome ſecret articles, the reſtoration of the monarch was ſtipulated. There does not appear to be the ſlighteſt ground for this aſſertion. It is true, that the conventional deputies promiſed the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid government, and it is not unlikely, that, to further their purpoſes, they made uſe of an ambiguous language, capable of being conſtrued in whatever manner was moſt pleaſing to their hearers. Further than this it is not probable that they would venture to go, and this would be amply ſufficient to delude men who were willing to be deluded.

The declaration of the royaliſt chiefs, announcing their acceptance of the treaty, bears evident marks of having been compoſed by the republican deputies, and the ſtrength of its expreſſions may juſtify us in believing that its framers ſaw through the motives which induced the royaliſt chiefs to conſent to a peace, and were anxious to bind them down by words ſo forcible and unequivocal, as to leave no room for evaſion, and to make any breach of the treaty, not only a breach of faith, but an act of rebellion. "We declare ſolemnly to "the national convention, and to "all France," ſay the ſigners of the declaration, "that we ſubmit to "the French republic, one and in- "diviſible, that we acknowledge "its laws, and that we enter into "a formal engagement not to vio- "late them." As if this were not binding enough, they add, after a promiſe to give up their cannon and artillery horſes, "we ſolemnly engage never to bear arms againſt the republic."

Nine days after the concluſion of the treaty, Charette, dreſſed in a blue uniform, adorned with a white ſcarf and plume, and mounted on a charger, made his triumphal entry into Nantz, amidſt the thunder of artillery, the ſound of martial muſic, and the ſhouts of an innumerable

innumerable multitude. He was followed by four of his principal chiefs. After theſe came a groupe of republican officers, and this groupe was ſucceeded by the ſtaff officers of Charette's army. The ſtaff of the republican army marched next, and this heterogeneous cavalcade was cloſed by a train of royaliſt cavalry, wearing the white cockade, national guards, wearing the three-coloured cockade, and two carriages decorated with the bonnet of liberty, and containing the conventional deputies by whom the pacification had been accompliſhed. The proceſſion moved ſlowly through all the principal parts of the city, and finally ſtopped at the manſion of the deputies, where a ſplendid repaſt was prepared. Notwithſtanding the brilliancy of his reception, Charette was evidently ill at eaſe. Though he ſtrove to diſguiſe his feelings, his countenance was often ſtrongly expreſſive of ſadneſs and regret. It ſeemed as if his mind was haraſſed by the conſciouſneſs of wrong, and by gloomy and prophetic forebodings, that his apparent triumph was but a prelude to ruin and death.

Thoſe who have once begun to tread the downward path of infin[illegible]y and deception, ſeldom have it in their power to avoid going further than they originally intended. Deſirous of obtaining every poſſible proof of his ſubmiſſion, the conventional deputies ſolicited Charette to pay a viſit to the popular ſociety of Nantz. There can be little doubt that a compliance with their wiſh muſt have been a painful ſacrifice for him to make. He nevertheleſs granted their requeſt. The democrats of the city ſaw with ſurpriſe Charette deſcanting in the midſt of them upon the neceſſity of union, concord, and an interchange of ſervices, between the citizens of Nantz and their neighbours of Poitou. A blended feeling of ſhame and indignation muſt doubtleſs have ariſen in his mind, if, while, he thus addreſſed them, he remembered how often they had branded him with the opprobrious names of villain and robber, and with curſes and vociferations poured forth their ſavage prayers for the ſlaughter of himſelf, and thoſe whom he commanded.

The happy cloſe of the negociation with Charette was announced to the convention, on the thirteenth of March, by Delaunay d'Angers, one of the negociators, and the news was received with an enthuſiaſtic joy, which plainly ſhewed how deeply intereſted that body felt itſelf in the concluſion of peace. The ſight of the royaliſt banners, which had been given up by Charette, raiſed the joy of the convention almoſt to frenzy. Nor in this is there any cauſe for wonder. The republican legiſlators had, indeed, had ſmall reaſon to hope, that they would ever ſee laid at their feet thoſe banners under which the royaliſts had ſo often been led to honour and to victory.

Stoſſlet yet remained unconquered and unſeduced. Confiding in the co-operation of the Bretons, he reſolved to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour, and to take an exemplary vengeance on thoſe chiefs, who, as the motives of their conduct were not known, were not unreaſonably conſidered as having baſely deſerted the royal cauſe. A council, conſiſting of fifty-four chiefs, which was held at Jallais, doomed

doomed Charette, Sapinaud, Cormatin, Julien, Prodhomme, and others, to death, as traitors to their ſovereign. Charette and Cormatin, however, were not acceſſible, and Sapinaud had the good fortune to eſcape from the troops ſent to ſeize him; but Prodhomme was taken, and ſuffered the ſentence which had been paſſed by the council. The aſſembled chiefs alſo addreſſed to the Poitevins and Angevins a ſpirited proclamation, calling on them to perſevere in their glorious efforts, and threatening with puniſhment whoever ſhould, in any manner, be inſtrumental in forwarding the republican projects.

The republicans, on their ſide, having increaſed their forces and their hopes, and diminiſhed thoſe of their antagoniſts, reſolved to puſh forward the war againſt Stofflet. Their deſigns were ſeconded by the diſhonourable conduct of Charette, who facilitated their march through the territory which he governed, and thus enabled them to envelope on all ſides the gallant army of Anjou.

From all parts the republican columns were put in motion, to penetrate into Anjou. Stofflet, nevertheleſs, continued to make head againſt his enemies with undiminiſhed courage. On neither ſide was any deciſive advantage obtained. A victory won at Chalonne by Stofflet, was counterbalanced by a defeat which he met with in the vicinity of St. Florent. The ſuperior numbers of the republicans would, perhaps, ultimately have triumphed, had not a ſtop been put to their progreſs by the vigorous intervention of the Breton chiefs, who, having learned the ſituation of the army of Anjou, threatened to break off their conferences with the republicans, if the troops ſent againſt Stofflet were not withdrawn, and an armiſtice granted to that general. This meaſure produced its intended effect. Hoſtilities were ſuſpended, and the royaliſt leader was invited to ſend deputies to negociate in concert with the Breton chiefs. As his envoys Stofflet choſe M. Palierne, and M. de Beauvais, both highly diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty and courage.

Cormatin, on his return to Britanny, had ſpared no exertions, and neglected no arts, to induce the Breton chiefs to lend themſelves to the furtherance of his deſigns. Though he had, in reality, thrown off the authority of M. de Puiſaye, he was well aware that it was only under his authority that he could exerciſe any influence in Britanny; and he, therefore, either himſelf forged, or obtained from the agents of the princes, forged powers in the name of the count. By his intrigues he drew over to his opinion, with reſpect to the policy of a feigned peace, a conſiderable number of his companions. Others, who deteſted the very idea of peace with the republicans, were not averſe from a continuance of the truce for the preſent, as by means of it they hoped to gain time for the arrival of their general and the ſuccours from England.

More than ſix weeks had elapſed ſince the concluſion of the treaty of la Jaunais, and the Chouans had not yet given any ſigns of their readineſs to accede to its conditions. The republicans mean while, were urgent for bringing matters to a concluſion. They carefully

ſhunned,

ſhunned, however, taking any ſtep which could give offence to the Chouans, and, in more than one inſtance, ſubmitted to the moſt humiliating conceſſions, that they might avoid a rupture. Hoche himſelf, little ſubject as he was to feel alarm, anxiouſly deſired to ſee the pacification concluded, and did not diſſemble to the committee of public ſafety, the dangers to be apprehended from a war with the Bretons.

The conferences were at length opened, at the Chouan camp of la Prevalaye, near Rennes. A hundred and twenty-five Chouan officers attended. When the terms were in part ſettled, the republican deputies propoſed that the ſignature of the treaty ſhould take place at la Mabilais, between la Prevelaye and Rennes. This place was choſen by them as being what they thought proper to conſider as neutral ground.

The council, in which the queſtion of peace or war was to be definitively ſettled, was held on the eighteenth of April. The debates were warm and protracted. Numbers were decidedly hoſtile to the concluſion of a treaty. Among its moſt ſtrenuous opponents, was M. de Beauvais, who delivered to the council a written opinion, forcibly pointing out the numerous deſtructive conſequences to which it would, in all probability, give riſe. Animated by a high ſenſe of honour, he alſo proteſted againſt a ſimulated peace, made with an avowed intention of being broken, as diſgraceful in the extreme to the royaliſt character. Nor did he content himſelf with a bare proteſt againſt the meaſure. He boldly declared, that M. Cormatin having, by his acceſſion to the treaty of la Jaunais, ſubmitted to the republic, was, thereby incapacitated from commanding the royal army; and he accordingly demanded his ſuſpenſion, till freſh inſtructions could arrive from the Count de Puiſaye. Cormatin, however, having ſecured the votes of a majority of the chiefs then preſent, the queſtion was ultimately carried conſonantly to his wiſhes.

The moment the votes were collected, and the deciſion pronounced to be for the concluſion of peace, and the acknowledgment of the republic, Cormatin drew his ſabre, ſolemnly ſwore to take up arms on the firſt favorable opportunity, and ordered that, till the period for action arrived, the Chouans ſhould preſerve their military organization, and yield to their chiefs the ſame obedience as they had hitherto done. His want of ſincerity was not unknown to the republicans. They had already found means to obtain ſatisfactory evidence of his intentions, and were determined to keep a ſtrict watch over him; and, at a convenient time, to inflict on him a ſevere puniſhment for the duplicity of his conduct.

The ſtipulated articles were a literal tranſcript of thoſe agreed upon at la Jaunais, with the ſingle exception of the ſum to be paid for the expences of the war, which was fixed at a million and a half of livres. The declaration of the chiefs contained likewiſe the ſame explicit promiſe of obedience to the republic, as that which was publiſhed in the name of Charette and his friends.

On the twentieth of April, both parties ſet their ſeal to the treaty.

At

At this important moment, Cormatin received a convincing and mortifying proof how little influence he poſſeſſed over the Chouans, and what were their real ſentiments, as to the ſteps which he had taken. Of a hundred and twenty-five royaliſt chiefs, no more than twenty-two could be prevailed on to put their names to the declaration, by which the republic was recognized; and ſome even of theſe were induced to ſubſcribe ſolely by the dread of being aſſaſſinated, in caſe they refuſed to give their ſignatures.

To this treaty the Viſcount de Scepeaux and his officers ſubſequently declared their aſſent.

Stofflet alone now remained in a ſtate of hoſtility with the enemy; but, on the return of his envoys from Britanny, with the melancholy news of what had paſſed, he was convinced that an attempt to continue the conteſt, unſupported by the other royaliſt armies, would only occaſion the blood of his countrymen to be ſhed, without being productive of any benefit to the cauſe of royalty. He, therefore, reſolved to negociate with the republicans. Eager to complete what they had ſo happily begun, the conventional deputies, however, rendered it unneceſſary for him to wound his dignity, by making the firſt overtures. They themſelves requeſted an interview, which he readily granted. It took place at St. Florent, on the ſecond of May, and the treaty was immediately concluded. Shamefully abandoned by his brother chiefs, and expoſed, as he conſequently was, to the combined attack of all the republican forces, Stofflet nevertheleſs, obtained the ſame terms as Charette had obtained in the moment of triumph. Ardently loyal as Stofflet was, he held his word to be ſacred, and he accordingly ſigned the treaty with a ſincere intention of keeping it inviolate, unleſs the republicans themſelves, by a breach of faith on their part, ſhould authoriſe him to conſider it as no longer valid.

Though, by dint of arms, and in ſpite of numberleſs diſaſters, to have compelled the republicans to treat on an equal footing with thoſe whom they had branded as rebels, and laboured and ſworn to exterminate, was doubtleſs highly honourable to the royaliſts, the pacification was, nevertheleſs, fraught with ruinous conſequences to the royal cauſe. The recognition of the republican government, however, that recognition might be ſimulated or diſguiſed, was in itſelf a circumſtance which could not fail to be productive of miſchievous effects, as it in ſome meaſure legitimated, in the eyes of the people, an uſurped authority, and furniſhed, to the luke-warm and to the indolent, a plauſible pretext for refuſing at a future time to draw their ſwords in behalf of their lawful ſovereign. But this was not the only evil reſulting from the peace. The peace inevitably weakened the bond of union between the royaliſts and their leaders. The latter could no longer claim that implicit obedience which had been yielded to them, when they were hourly expoſing their lives for their religion and their king. Nor, in the event of the renewal of the war, to which they looked forward, could they hope to rally round their ſtandard the ſame numbers as before.

It

It was manifeſt that the ſoftening habits of ſocial life, and the acquirement of freſh property, would render unwilling to take the field, many of thoſe who, while accuſtomed to a military life, and ſupported by the ardour of their paſſions and their zeal, were among the foremoſt to brave every difficulty and danger. The republicans, on the contrary, ſtill preſerved their force entire, and had now an opportunity of eſtabliſhing their communications, acquiring intelligence, making arrangements, and putting in practice all thoſe arts of ſeduction of which they were ſuch perfect maſters. Of theſe advantages they were thoroughly aware, and ſpeedily availed themſelves to the fulleſt extent.

CHAP. IV.

The Count de Puiſaye arrives in London, and has an interview with Mr. Pitt. He draws up a memorial, containing a ſtatement of the ſituation, the ſtrength, and the wants of the royaliſts. Second memorial and plan of attack. The Count de Puiſaye diſpatches M. de St. Morys to the Count d'Artois, and receives full powers from his royal highneſs. Favourable conference with Mr. Pitt. Many of the emigrants cabal againſt M. de Puiſaye. Second miſſion of M. de St. Morys to the Count d'Artois. Manufactory of aſſignats eſtabliſhed by M. de Puiſaye. He ſends Count Frotté to organize the royaliſts of Normandy. Slowneſs of the Britiſh miniſtry. Diſſatisfaction of the Bretons. The miniſters at length reſolve to ſend a formidable ſuccour to the royaliſts. M. de Puiſaye is deſirous to return with this favourable intelligence, but is withheld by the Miniſters. He diſpatches M. de Tinteniac to Britanny, and M. de la Roberie to Poitou, with the news. Death of M. de la Roberie. Earl of Moira appointed to command the Britiſh forces. Plan of ſeconding the expedition by the army of the Prince de Condé. Corps of officers formed to organize a Breton army. Intelligence received in England of the peace with the republicans concluded by Cormatin. The Britiſh miniſters reſolve not to ſend any Engliſh troops to Britanny, till the emigrants have obtained a footing in that province. M. de Puiſaye conſents to try the experiment of landing with the emigrants alone. Emigrant regiments recruited from the priſons. M. d'Hervilly appointed ſecond in command. Intrigues of the perſons acting as agents to the King of France. They prevail upon M. d'Hervilly to ſecond their plans. Meſſengers diſpatched to the Bretons and Poitevins by M. de Puiſaye. Emiſſaries of the agents prevail on Charette to remain inactive. Proclamation addreſſed by M. de Puiſaye to the French. Proceedings in Britanny. Aſſembly of royaliſt chiefs convoked at Bazougers. Folly of Cormatin. Cormatin and M. M. Jarry, Solihac and Dufour, are arreſted by the republicans. Maſſacre of the Chevalier de Boiſhardy and the Count de Silz. The expedition ſails from England. M. d'Hervilly refuſes to acknowledge the authority of the Count de Puiſaye over the emigrant regiments. The fleet

anchors in Quiberon Bay. Royaliſt officers come on board, and ſtate that the diſembarkation may be ſafely effected. Reſiſtance of M. d'Hervilly. Diſembarkation effected. Joy of the Bretons. Abſurd conduct of M. d'Hervilly, and of ſome of the emigrants.

WHILE, led aſtray by the fatal influence of vanity and want of judgment, Cormatin was deeply injuring the royal cauſe, the Count de Puiſaye was ſtraining every nerve to obtain the means of ſecuring its triumph. On the arrival of the Count in London, he was immediately admitted to an audience with Mr. Pitt, who gave him a flattering reception. At the cloſe of a long conference, it was agreed, that his reſidence in England ſhould be kept ſecret; that he ſhould, without delay, draw up a memorial, ſtating the numbers, the means, and the wants of the Breton royaliſts; and that an inſtant, though ſmall, ſuccour ſhould be ſent, to enable them to make head againſt the enemy, till more effectual meaſures could be taken in their behalf.

Highly animated by this favourable interview, the Count de Puiſaye prepared, in the courſe of a few days, the required memorial. It detailed, in the fulleſt manner, every circumſtance relative to the feelings and wiſhes of the Bretons; the plans, ſucceſſes, and reverſes of the royaliſts, from the time when they were called to arms by the gallant de la Rouerie down to the preſent period; their hopes, their ſituation, and their reſources; the ſtrength of the republican armies; and the auxiliary force which would be neceſſary to enſure the complete expulſion of the latter from every part of the province of Britanny. The ſtrength of the enemy he ſtated to conſiſt of only twenty thouſand troops, of which twelve thouſand were young men of the firſt requiſition, conſtantly ſeeking opportunities to deſert, and ready to range themſelves under the banners of royalty, as ſoon as it could with prudence be done. An army of ten thouſand Britiſh he repreſented as amply ſufficient to reſtore Britanny to its lawful ſovereign; and he indicated the points of attack, and promiſed that the diſembarkation ſhould be ſeconded by a general inſurrection along the coaſt, and by the immediate junction of a corps of ten thouſand Bretons. He recommended, however, as indiſpenſable to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, that it ſhould be undertaken before the ſetting in of the winter, even if a leſs force muſt, in conſequence, be employed.

The Count de Puiſaye was now introduced to Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas; and was requeſted to furniſh a ſecond memorial, containing all the details of a plan for an expedition. The requeſt was complied with in two days. This memorial was long, entered minutely into the ſubject, and diſplayed no ſmall portion of knowledge, and of military talent. Sailing with three Britiſh diviſions from Guernſey and Jerſey, while a fourth diviſion, conſiſting of emigrants, made a diverſion, by menacing the coaſt of the Morbihan, he propoſed to make good a landing at Plerin, Pleneuf, and Iffineac, in the bay of St. Brieuc; and thence rapidly to puſh forward in two columns to Rennes, by the

roads

roads of St. Jouan and Dinan, leaving behind, in advantageous poſts, ſmall detachments to ſupport the riſing of the peaſantry, and, in caſe of need, to ſecure a retreat. Of a reverſe, however, he felt little apprehenſion. The army, in four days after its diſembarkation, would, he calculated, arrive before Rennes, which, filled as it was with the partiſans of royalty, and protected merely by a few ill-conſtructed redoubts, would, probably, ſurrender without even an attempt at reſiſtance. The poſſeſſion of the capital of Britanny would be deciſive of the fate of the province, and would likewiſe put into the hands of the royal party, immenſe magazines of ammunition and proviſions, and a formidable train of artillery. After leaving an adequate garriſon in Rennes, the army was to divide into three columns of equal ſtrength; two of which were to occupy and entrench Fougerés and Vitré, in order to ſtop the enemy, and encourage the royaliſts, on the ſide of Normandy and Maine; and the third was to take the ſame ſteps at Rhedon, for the purpoſe of threatening Nantz, and opening a communication with the gallant Poitevins. By theſe means the Count de Puiſaye flattered himſelf that the republicans might, at leaſt, be held at bay, till the arrival in the ſpring, of ſuch a reinforcement as would ſtrike againſt them a terrible, and, perhaps, deciſive blow.

But it was not on force alone that he relied for his ſucceſs. He required, not leſs wiſely than humanely, that under the guarantee of his Majeſty, an amneſty ſhould be offered to all perſons whatever, as the reward of ſubmiſſion; that the ſoldiery ſhould preſerve a rigid diſcipline; and that for any injury done by them ample compenſation ſhould be made. Laudably mindful of his duty to his ſovereign, he likewiſe demanded that the province ſhould be taken poſſeſſion of in the name of the infant Lewis the ſeventeenth.

This memorial was accompanied by a letter to Mr. Pitt, requeſting that, whatever might be the deciſion of miniſters with regard to the expedition, it might, at leaſt, be prompt, to enable the Count to return to his expecting companions, with the promiſed ſuccour of money and arms.

The Count de Puiſaye alſo diſpatched M. de St. Morys to appriſe the Count d'Artois of the meaſures he had already taken, and to give aſſurances that he would not conſent to make any arrangement with the Britiſh miniſtry, without the certainty of obtaining its ſolemn acknowledgment of the King of France; a declaration that the Engliſh troops were to ſerve only as allies; that all conqueſts ſhould be received in truſt for his Chriſtian Majeſty; and that the means ſuitable to his rank, ſhould be furniſhed to Monſieur the Regent, to enable him to put himſelf at the head of the royaliſt armies. M. de St. Morys found the Count d'Artois at Arnheim, was admitted to an interview, and returned to England with an approbation, flatteringly expreſſed, of the count de Puiſaye's paſt proceedings, and with unlimited powers for the future.

In conſequence of his ſecond memorial, the Count was invited by Mr. Pitt to a conference with Lord Cornwallis. The reſult was

favourable to his object. In the course of the conference Lord Moira was mentioned as the probable commander of the forces in the projected enterprise.

The count de Puisaye was not long before he discovered that, in his present situation, he was exposed to circumstances far more painful to a noble mind, than the hardships of warfare, the perils of the field, or the prospect of a scaffold. The manner in which he was treated by the ministers, and the guarded secrecy and privacy which he preserved, excited the curiosity of many of the emigrants, and the jealousy and hatred of a still greater number. All the herd of intriguers, who speculated upon bringing about a counter revolution in the way most beneficial to themselves, or sought to procure a subsistence by a display of zeal in the cause of the Bourbons, were immediately up in arms against him, and spared no pains to dive into and thwart his plans, and blacken his character. In such persons this conduct was quite natural. They knew that they should not only gain nothing by his success; but that it would put an end at once to their consequence and their trade. This, therefore, they endeavoured to prevent, by circulating against him the darkest calumnies. They were joined by many well-meaning royalists, whose pride was wounded, either by his power being superior to their own, or by his prudently declining to admit them into his confidence. Others, though not with a criminal intention, were much more troublesome than his enemies. These were persons who, believing him to have unbounded influence, urgently requested its exercise in their behalf, or who importuned him to adopt or second projects which they had formed, and which vanity prompted them to consider as infallible in their operation.

M. de St. Morys was now again dispatched to the Count d'Artois. The object of his journey was fully accomplished. He brought back letters containing the Prince's sanction to all the commissions which had been, or might be, granted to the Breton chiefs, by the royalist committee and the Count de Puisaye; and likewise a solemn promise that all republicans who espoused the royal cause should be favourably received. The latter had been particularly requested by the Count de Puisaye, as being of the utmost importance, to extinguish that fear of royal vengeance, by which numbers of misled persons were prevented from renouncing their errors. On the Count the rank of lieutenant-general was conferred by his Highness, who again assured him that whatever engagements he might enter into, or measures he might pursue, should be fully ratified.

The Count, on his side, was not neglectful of the wants of the princes. The finances of the Count d'Artois, being, by the maintenance of his unprovided followers, entirely exhausted, the Count de Puisaye obtained for him a considerable sum from the British government. With a spirit and delicacy, however, highly praise-worthy, Puisaye did not receive the money as an alms, but as a subsidy advanced by one ally to another, in aid of a common cause.

The life led in the Britiſh capital by the Count de Puiſaye, was not leſs active, and was, perhaps, more laborious, than that which he had led in Britanny. With the miniſters, and particularly with Mr. Windham, in whoſe hands was now the chief management of whatever related to the royal party, he was compelled to have daily interviews. In addition to this he had an extenſive correſpondence to carry on with France, and with the exiled princes; numberleſs letters and memorials to anſwer; purchaſes of arms and other ſuccours for the royaliſts to ſuperintend; officers to chuſe, and diſpatch to the French coaſt; and emigrant corps to form; beſides a variety of ſubordinate objects to attend to, and the perfidious plans and ſuggeſtions of his enemies to diſcover and counteract.

Among the meaſures taken by the Count was the eſtabliſhment of a manufactory of aſſignats. The aſſignats of the convention had for ſome time been privately and clumſily forged in London, by ſeveral worthleſs emigrants, who tranſmitted them to France, where they were ſold at a low price, and produced the moſt fatal conſequences to their illiterate poſſeſſors. The wretchedneſs of the imitation, though not obvious to peaſants who were unable to read, expoſed the forgeries to inevitable detection, and their unfortunate owners to the penalty of death. To put an end to this deſtructive traffic, to provide for the wants of the royal and catholic army, to attach to the royal cauſe, through the influence of intereſt, number of luke-warm perſons, and to complete the downfall of the conventional aſſignats, the Count de Puiſaye conceived no means to be more effectual than the eſtabliſhment of a public and authoriſed manufactory of aſſignats, bearing all the external ſigns of thoſe iſſued by the uſurping government of France, and having a ſecret mark, by which, on the reſtoration of monarchy, the treaſury of the ſtate would be enabled to recognize them, in order to pay their value to the holders. This plan was accordingly executed, and was openly avowed by a proclamation in the name of the military council of the Breton army. The new aſſignats were quickly ſpread through Britanny and the circumjacent provinces; were ſought after with avidity, even by the jacobins; and the reſult was ſuch as had been expected by the framer of the plan.

Numbers of the gentlemen of Britanny, landed proprietors, were enabled, by the Count, to return to their eſtates. They were received by their tenants, the farmers, with a zeal and gladneſs, which was honourable to both parties. Theſe honeſt farmers had carefully ſaved, and now joyfully paid them, the difference between the real value of their rents, and that which they had been compelled to pay in aſſignats to the receivers of the convention.

It was not alone to the province with which he was immediately connected, that the indefatigable Puiſaye extended his care. To Poitou he ſent ſeveral officers of diſtinguiſhed merit. Normandy alſo was an object of his attention. That province growing hourly more repugnant to the republican yoke, he commiſſioned the young and ardent Count Louis de Frotté,

and the Marquis de Bellefonds and M. de la Roſiére, two brave and intelligent officers, to give extenſion and conſiſtence to the Norman inſurrection, and to connect it with the maturer inſurrections of Britanny and Maine.

Notwithſtanding the repeated and preſſing ſolicitations of M. de Puiſaye for a ſpeedy deciſion, and notwithſtanding the policy of acting with vigour and promptitude was abundantly obvious, four months elapſed before the Britiſh miniſters appear to have ſeriouſly determined upon making an effort on the ſide of Britanny. The Bretons, in the mean time, were loudly calling for the return of their leader; and they manifeſted, though in meaſured language, ſome diſſatisfaction at the tardineſs which England diſplayed, in affording them adequate aſſiſtance. The circumſtance of ſuccour having ſo long ſince been promiſed, could not, they told their general, but inſpire with diſtruſt a people tired of hoping. At length, however, in the beginning of February, M. d'Allegre having arrived from Britanny, charged by the Breton chiefs to preſs the departure of M. de Puiſaye, and obtain definitive information as to the deſigns of England, the miniſters thought proper to direct their attention towards the coaſt of France. After a long conference with M. de Puiſaye, it was reſolved to ſend a formidable force to aid the royaliſts, and this reſolution was communicated to them by letters from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham.

M. de Puiſaye ardently wiſhed to be himſelf the bearer of theſe happy tidings to his companions in arms. He felt that his protracted abſence might give riſe to injurious ſuſpicions; and he was, beſides, anxious to be on the ſpot, that he might put an end to the truce, which Cormatin had agreed upon with the republican generals. But as miniſters were averſe from his quitting England, until he could accompany the expedition, he was under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the idea, and committing the charge to others. M. de la Roberie and the Chevalier de Tinteniac were the perſons whom he ſelected. The former was no leſs beloved and truſted in Poitou, than the latter was in Britanny.

The two envoys were landed in ſafety on different points of the coaſt. But the fate of the gallant de la Roberie was truly lamentable. To evade the purſuit of the enemy, he, and thoſe who were with him, attempted to croſs a moraſs, but it not being firm enough to bear them, they ſunk, and unfortunately periſhed. The Chevalier de Tinteniac ſucceeded in reaching the place of his deſtination; and, with his accuſtomed activity, exerted himſelf to accompliſh the object of his miſſion.

Fourteen regiments, compoſed the Britiſh force, deſtined to act in aid of the loyal Bretons. The command was conferred on the Earl of Moira. This army, with a part of the French corps, was to effect the firſt landing, and was to be followed by the remainder of the emigrants, with the Count d'Artois at their head. The expedition was to be ſeconded on the Upper Rhine, by the army of the Prince of Condé, which was to attempt to penetrate into Franche Comté or Alſace, as ſoon as the

combined Engliſh and royaliſts had obtained a footing in Britanny.

To train the Bretons to regular warfare, and to raiſe from them an army of the line, conſtituted an eſſential part of M. de Puiſaye's plan. The late events on the Continent had driven to England for refuge a number of emigrants, capable of performing perfectly the duty of officers. At Jerſey there were likewiſe two bands of gentlemen, under the orders of the Prince de Leon and the Count du Treſor. M. de Puiſaye, therefore, propoſed to the government that two bands of a ſimilar nature ſhould be formed at Guernſey; and that each of the four ſhould be organized into a battalion of three hundred and twelve men, divided into four companies. The individuals compoſing theſe battalions were to ſerve, and to be paid, only as private ſoldiers till their arrival in France. They were then, according to their reſpective ranks, to be placed as officers in the royaliſt diviſions. The number thus raiſed was conſidered as fully ſufficient for an army of twenty thouſand men. With a reference to the ſervice for which they were intended, the denomination of "ſkeletons" was given to the battalions. The project was approved of by the miniſtry, and was carried into effect with promptitude aud ſucceſs. So eager were the emigrants to be employed in this manner, that more than thrice the number required made an offer of their ſervices.

While the preparations for the expedition were going forward, the Britiſh miniſters received intelligence of the peace concluded with the republicans by M. de Cormatin. This unfortunate news at once threw a damp upon their ardour. They did not, indeed, reſolve to give up all thoughts of making an attempt on the ſide of Britanny, but, with a cautious timidity, not, perhaps, dictated by wiſdom, they determined to withhold the Britiſh army, till ſuch time as it could be ſent without being expoſed to any riſk. Mr. Windham is believed to have been the only one of the miniſters who ſtill thought it adviſable to carry to their full extent the meaſures originally agreed on by the whole of the council.

In purſuance of this change, M. de Puiſaye was aſked, whether with a ſuccour of arms, ammunition, and money, and with the French regiments in the pay of England, and the battalions raiſed according to his ſuggeſtion, making together nearly four thouſand five hundred men, he could accompliſh a landing, and maintain his ground, in Britanny. For many and weighty reaſons he was deſirous of an auxiliary army. His whole party relied upon the preſence of an army; numbers had promiſed to join him only on condition of receiving ſuch ſupport; and the garriſons of the cities and fortreſſes would not, he knew, be willing to open their gates, except to a force capable of mediating for them with the royaliſts, and protecting them againſt the republicans. As, however, a negative anſwer would, perhaps, put an end to all hopes of aid from England, and as M. de Puiſaye had, beſides, no doubt that, by acting with vigour and promptitude, he ſhould be able effectually to open the way for the Britiſh, he unheſitatingly conſented to try the ex-

periment which was propoſed to him.

The point on which the diſembarkation ſhould be made now became the ſubject of diſcuſſion. The northern coaſt of Britanny was recommended by M. de Puiſaye. His friends in that quarter were more numerous, had been longer trained, and were perſonally attached to him, from his having conſtantly ſhared all their ſufferings and dangers. The miniſters, on the contrary, preferred the coaſt of the Morbihan. It afforded, in the bay of Quiberon, an advantageous ſtation for the fleet, and its proximity to the ſhores of Vendeé, would render eaſy a deſcent upon them, to aid Charette, in caſe the troops ſhould be repelled from the Breton coaſt. As a landing in the Morbihan was not without ſome advantageous circumſtances in its favour, the count readily yielded to the wiſh of the miniſters.

The troops which were ſelected to combat for the royal cauſe, were not the moſt proper that could have been choſen for that important ſervice. At the commencement of the war the emigrants, fired by enthuſiaſm, and anxious only to manifeſt their fidelity and zeal, cared little in what rank they were placed, ſo that an opportunity was given them of uſing their ſwords againſt their inveterate enemies. Even the flower of the French nobility gladly endured all the hardſhips and privations of private ſoldiers. But the baſe and cowardly manner in which the emigrants had been repeatedly abandoned to the executioner, by the allies, had, at length, taught them not to waſte their exertions, and hazard their lives, when neither advantage to their ſovereign nor themſelves could be obtained by their loyalty and valour. They were no longer ready to fill the humbleſt military ſituation, but ſought to obtain in rank, and its conſequent reſpect and emoluments, ſome compenſation for the riſk to which they were expoſed. This made it almoſt impoſſible to complete the French regiments in Britiſh pay. An expedient was, therefore, reſorted to, of a dangerous kind. The regiments were in part recruited from the priſoners of war, among whom there were ſuppoſed be many royaliſts; and little caution is ſaid to have been manifeſted in the choice of the recruits. Had theſe regiments been overawed by the preſence of a ſuperior Britiſh force, they might, perhaps, have been ſafely employed; but without ſuch a check, it was manifeſtly imprudent to place the fate of the expedition in the hands of men of at leaſt doubtful fidelity, whoſe treachery was ſure of receiving an ample reward, and would, in all probability, prove deſtructive to thoſe againſt whom it was directed.

As, even ſhould it be found impoſſible to diſembark the troops, M. de Puiſaye was fully reſolved to land and join his party, it was neceſſary to provide a ſecond, to aſſume the command, on his departure. The Count d'Hervilly, an officer of known courage, and well verſed in the theory of his profeſſion, but ungifted with genius, was propoſed by the miniſters, and accepted, though not without ſome reluctance, by M. de Puiſaye. This reluctance did not ariſe from any perſonal diſlike to M. d'Hervilly.

villy. It was occaſioned by the circumſtance of his having formerly excited ſtrong diſguſt in the Bretons, by the rigid execution of his military duty, at the period when the French adminiſtration no leſs iniquitouſly than wantonly and raſhly endeavoured to deprive the people of Britanny of the remains of their ancient and revered conſtitution. M. de Puiſaye feared that the remembrance of this conduct would prove injurious at a time when every thing depended upon affection and confidence. He yielded, nevertheleſs, to the deſire of the miniſters, and it was finally arranged that, as ſoon as the troops landed in Britanny, he ſhould aſſume the ſupreme command, but that as long as they remained on board, they ſhould be under the orders of M. d'Hervilly.

While M. de Puiſaye was exerting himſelf with the utmoſt vigour to enſure the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, ſome of his expatriated countrymen were equally active in their endeavours to render it abortive. Thoſe perſons, who by their intrigues, had contrived to obtain powers to act as agents, in the name of Lewis the 18th, and of whoſe exiſtence M. de Puiſaye was entirely ignorant, ſaw with infinite vexation, that the expedition was deſtined to a quarter, where it would neither increaſe their influence, nor turn to their private advantage. Their object, therefore, was to divert it to the coaſt of Poitou, where, from the aſcendancy which they had acquired over Charette, they hoped that it would be entirely under their own controul. To accompliſh this deſirable object no pains were ſpared. Meaſures were adopted to keep the royaliſts of Britanny inactive, and even to take away the life of M. de Puiſaye, on the pretence of his being a traitor to his ſovereign. Their maſter ſtroke, however, was their inducing M. d'Hervilly to act in furtherance of their plans. This they effected by raiſing in him a firm belief that only they were the confidential organs of the French monarch, and that his Majeſty was deſirous that the ſuccours ſhould be landed in Poitou, and not in Britanny. Thus miſled, he promiſed to aſſiſt in changing, if poſſible, the courſe of the expedition.

To prepare the royaliſts of Brittanny to receive the coming ſuccour, and thoſe of Poitou to make a diverſion, M. de Puiſaye diſpatched truſty officers to the council of Morbihan, and to general Charette. Unfortunately the meſſengers ſent by the Count to Charette were unable to reach him. It was ſtill more unfortunate that two of the intriguing agents, who had ſo far gained the good opinion of the Britiſh government, as to be entruſted by it with the commiſſion of ſtimulating him to take up arms, reached his camp in ſafety, and, inſtead of performing the taſk with which they were charged, miſrepreſented and calumniated in ſuch a manner the intentions of England, and of the Breton leader, and gave ſuch aſſurances that the ſuccours ſhould be turned from Britanny to Poitou, that Charette determined to remain in a ſtate of inaction.

Previouſly to his departure, M. de Puiſaye drew up a proclamation, to be publiſhed on his arrival in France. Breathing a conciliatory ſpirit, yet not deficient in dignity, it

it was well calculated to make proſelytes from the republican party. It was ſubmitted to the Britiſh miniſters, and met with their entire approbation.

We muſt now, for a moment, ſuſpend our narrative of M. de Puiſaye's proceedings, to relate the events which took place in Britanny, ſubſequent to the concluſion of the peace, or, more properly ſpeaking, hollow truce, between the republicans and royaliſts. Neither party was the dupe of this feigned pacification. The republicans continued to carry off by force the grain, and other property of the farmers; and the royaliſts continued to collect magazines, to wear the white cockade, and to make attempts, with no ſmall ſucceſs, to gain over to their cauſe the conventional troops. Bickerings and heart-burnings naturally ſoon aroſe between the two parties; and it was not long before the royaliſts ſuffered an injury, which ſtrongly excited their indignation. Triſtan l'Hermite and Geſlin, two of the chiefs who had ſigned the treaty of la Mabilais, were ſeized near Laval, dragged to that city, and maſſacred by the ſoldiers of the garriſon.

To arrange meaſures of defence, Cormatin convoked, at Bazougers, an aſſembly of the royaliſts chiefs. In this aſſembly it was determined, that the royaliſt bands ſhould remain on their preſent footing till the treaty was entirely fulfilled by their enemies. But the moſt fatal enemy of the royaliſts was Cormatin himſelf. Inſtead of preſerving a prudent ſilence with reſpect to his ſtrength and his projects, he frequently indulged himſelf in vaunts of his power, and threats againſt the republicans. He ſeemed to delight in betraying every ſecret which he ought to have concealed. Nor did he diſplay a larger ſhare of perſonal than of political prudence. Unlike Charette, who wiſely reſided in his camp, Cormatin took up his reſidence in Rennes, where he was at the mercy of his adverſaries. Thoſe ſharp-ſighted adverſaries vigilantly watched all his actions. Hoche, in particular, whom he had excluded from the conferences for peace, and by that means inexpiably offended, kept his eyes fixed upon him, and never ceaſed to denounce him as a traitor.

The republicans at laſt obtained written proof of his hoſtile deſigns. With his uſual imprudence, he addreſſed, to the Count de Silz, a packet, containing abundant evidence that he intended to recommence the war, as ſoon as his preparations were matured. The uſe which, in the ſuperſcription, he made of a prohibited title, gave the conventional commiſſioners a pretext for opening the packet. An order was inſtantly iſſued to ſeize him. Though his friends gave him timely information, he refuſed to avoid the danger; his vanity leading him to believe that the republicans would not venture to take a ſtep, which, in his opinion, would be the ſignal for their extermination. He was, in conſequence, arreſted at Rennes, with M. M. Solihac, Jarry and Dufour, and ſent to the priſon of Cherbourg. Many of the chiefs immediately fled; ſome from France, and ſome to their diſtricts, and the general council, eſtabliſhed by M. de Puiſaye, was thus broken up.

Unfortunately, not a few of the royaliſt chiefs were unable to reach

reach a place of ſafety. The camp of la Prevalaye was ſuddenly attacked by the republicans; and moſt of thoſe whom it contained were ſlaughtered. The Chevalier de Boiſhardy was the next victim. He was living quietly, under the faith of the treaty, when his houſe was aſſaulted by two hundred men, who cut him to pieces, and carried his head in triumph, on a pike, through the neighbouring towns. His death was ſpeedily followed by that of the Count de Silz, who, with thirteen others, was ſlain, in attempting to open a paſſage through a diviſion of the enemy. Such was the ſtate of affairs in Britanny, at the moment when the ſuccours, granted by Great Britain, were on the point of ſailing for the coaſt of France.

At length, on the ninth of June, the expedition put to ſea. The military force conſiſted of the regiments of D'Hervilly, D'Hector, Du Dreſnay, La Châtre, Rothalier, and a corps of French engineers. It was convoyed by three ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, under the command of Sir John Borlaſe Warren. On board the veſſels was a conſiderable ſupply of arms, ammunition, clothing, and ſtores, to equip the Breton royaliſts. M. de Puiſaye was accompanied by the venerable Biſhop of Dol, and by many emigrants of diſtinction. The battalions denominated ſkeletons, ſtill remained at the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey. It was deſigned that they ſhould follow the count to Quiberon, after having made a feint on the northern coaſt of Britanny. If, however, they received any propoſitions from St. Malo, in which town he had a party, they were to diſembark there, and join him in the interior of the province. But this he did not expect, as thoſe with whom he had carried on his negotiations had declared that he muſt be maſter of Rennes, before they could put him in poſſeſſion of St. Malo.

M. de Puiſaye had ſoon an opportunity to diſcover how little he was to rely on the cordial co-operation of M. d'Hervilly. At ſea he communicated to the latter the inſtructions, and letter of ſervice, which he had received from the Britiſh miniſters. They gave him, in language not eaſily to be miſunderſtood, the ſupreme command over the troops, in caſe of a landing being effected in Britanny. M. d'Hervilly, nevertheleſs, contended that this was not the caſe, and that he alone was reſponſible to government for the employment of the emigrant regiments. He likewiſe repeatedly expreſſed his diſbelief that the landing would take place upon the Breton coaſt. Dreading the conſequences of any apparent diſunion, M. de Puiſaye forebore to aſſert his authority, and endeavoured to attach M. d'Hervilly to him by friendſhip and confidence.

After a long and diſagreeable paſſage, the fleet on the evening of the 25th, anchored in Quiberon bay. Almoſt immediately on its arrival, the Count de Bois-Berthelot and the Chevalier de Tinteniac came on board, to inform M. de Puiſaye that every thing was prepared for the reception of the ſuccours. They brought with them a minute and accurate account of the ſtate and poſition of the few republican troops in the diſtrict, and alſo of the ſtrength of the batteries along the coaſt, the cannon of which, at any point which might be

be indicated, the royaliſts pledged themſelves to throw into the ſea. M. de Puiſaye, therefore, requeſted Sir John Warren to make the neceſſary arrangements for landing the forces ere break of day. But in this meaſure he was oppoſed by M. d'Hervilly, who declared that, as he was the reſponſible officer, he would not conſent to run the riſk of a diſembarkation, till he had himſelf previouſly reconnoitred round the bay, and thus enabled himſelf to form a proper judgment. It was in vain that M. de Puiſaye repreſented to him that implicit reliance might be placed upon the report of the two officers, and that nothing, in the preſent caſe, was ſo much to be feared as a loſs of time. D'Hervilly was immovable, and the count was compelled to ſubmit. Accordingly M. d'Hervilly, on the following morning, made, in a cutter, the circuit of the bay, with a teleſcope in his hand, and then returned on board. This ceremony was the more ridiculous, as from the nature of the ground, it was impoſſible for the reconnoitring general to perceive the enemy, even had they been encamped at an inconſiderable diſtance.

A council of war was now held. M. d'Hervilly confeſſed that every thing ſeemed favourable to the deſcent, but he ſtated, nevertheleſs, his reſolution to vote againſt it, becauſe appearances were often deluſive. At length, though not till he had ſtarted numberleſs futile objections, finding that he ſtood alone, he deſiſted from his oppoſition. The diſembarkation was reſolved upon, and M. M. Tinteniac and Bois-Berthelot were ſent back to put their diviſions in motion.

All the neceſſary preparations having, in the courſe of the night, been made, the troops, in two ſucceſſive diviſions, were landed, on the 27th, in the bay of Carnac. The garriſon of Carnac, conſiſting of not more than two hundred men, appeared on the ſhore, as the firſt diviſion approached it, and made a ſemblance of an intention to reſiſt. An irregular firing on the left ſoon, however, appriſed the Count de Puiſaye that a body of Chouans was at hand, and in purſuit of a routed enemy. It was the corps commanded by D'Allegre, which had defeated the republican troops ſent from Landevan and Auray. As this corps advanced the garriſon of Carnac took flight, and the emigrants diſembarked, without firing a ſhot. It was ſpeedily followed by the diviſions of Lantivy, St. Regent, Georges, Mercier, and others, the whole under the command of the Chevalier de Tinteniac and the Count de Bois-Berthelot. The royaliſts of the Morbihan had, on the preceding night, guarded all the paſſes which led to the coaſt, and had effectually prevented the junction of the Conventional forces, which were ſcattered in cantonments, at a diſtance from each other.

June 27.

The enthuſiaſm of the Bretons, on this occaſion, was unbounded. With loud ſhouts, and expreſſions of attachment to their religion and ſovereign, they hailed as liberators the diſembarked emigrants. Old and young, men, women, and children, up to their knees in the ſand, harneſſed themſelves to the cannon, and dragged them on ſhore. Many men ſwam to the boats, to aſſiſt in unloading from them the cheſts of ammunition and arms. From all

all parts of the country the peaſants flocked in crowds, bringing their cattle, and their carts filled with proviſions, for which they rejected indignantly every offer of payment.

D'Hervilly was apparently the only perſon who did not partake of the general joy. His feelings were of a very different kind, and, in the courſe of the day, he more than once manifeſted them in a manner which was both ridiculous and impolitic. M. de Puiſaye had directed that as faſt as the cheſts of muſkets were landed, they ſhould be opened to ſupply with arms thoſe royaliſts who had none, or who were badly armed. In the confuſion incident to ſuch a ſcene as the preſent, a cheſt belonging to the regiment of D'Hervilly had been opened by miſtake, and a part of its contents had been diſtributed among the eager Bretons. An emigrant ſerjeant having diſcovered the circumſtance, authoritatively endeavoured to obtain back the muſkets, and, as he was as ignorant of the Breton language as the Bretons were of French, a miſunderſtanding enſued; the royaliſts believing that there was an intention to diſarm them, and the ſerjeant miſtaking for groſs inſults their guttural expreſſions of ſurpriſe and anger. Informed of the diſpute, D'Hervilly paſſionately commanded the drums to beat to arms, and, under pretence that the Chouans meant to aſſaſſinate his ſoldiers, he deſired that the boats might be kept in readineſs to re-embark. Before, however, M. de Puiſaye could reach the place of conteſt the mutual error had been done away, and on the approach of the chiefs, they found that the ſoldiers and peaſantry had again mingled together, amidſt burſts of laughter, and loud acclamations of "Long live the King!" This was a new ſubject of diſpleaſure to M. d'Hervilly, who preſſingly requeſted M. de Puiſaye to put an end to the ſhouts and laughter, which, he ſaid, were ſubverſive of diſcipline. To this abſurd requeſt M. de Puiſaye, who well knew the impropriety of damping ſuch a noble warmth of mind, made the only proper anſwer, by waving his hat over his head, and joining in the cry of "Long live the King."

It might have been ſuppoſed that years of exile, of miſery, and, above all, of experience how little influence dreſs has upon the reſult of battles, would have taught every emigrant the folly of deſpiſing ſoldiers for not being tricked out in the gaudy habits of a parade. But, unfortunately, upon ſome minds even the ſevereſt leſſons of time and adverſity, produce no beneficial effect. As the Chouans marched in review before their returned leader, their tattered clothes and worn-out ſhoes, the honourable teſtimonies of their fidelity and ſacrifices, excited the laughter and ſcurrilous wit of many of the new comers. But, for this they were amply indemnified in another quarter. Their chiefs were preſented to Sir John Warren, by the Count, and met with that cordial reception which was deſerved by their loyalty and valour.

From theſe officers M. de Puiſaye learned that Cormatin had been arreſted, and the general council diſperſed, by the republicans. To prevent the dangers which might reſult from a want of concert and communication,

tion, he immediately diſpatched an order to the council of Morbihan to exerciſe proviſionally the functions of the general council. He likewiſe ſent off inſtructions to the diviſions of Britanny, Maine, and Normandy; and couriers to Charette, Stoſſlet, and Scepeaux, to urge thoſe chiefs to reſume their arms, without a moment's delay.

As M. de Puiſaye knew that diſunion would inevitably be productive of fatal conſequences, he ſeized the earlieſt opportunity of being in private with M. d'Hervilly, to remonſtrate with him, in the moſt friendly language, and to conjure him, by every conſideration of duty, honour, and intereſt, not to perſiſt in a mode of conduct ſo injurious to the royal cauſe. He engaged to do ample juſtice to his merits, and even to attribute to him the glory of any ſucceſs; but, at the ſame time, he candidly declared that, if amicable remonſtrance proved ineffectual, he ſhould be compelled to requeſt the Engliſh miniſters to confer the command on an officer of whom they had at firſt given him the choice, and whom they had authoriſed him to ſend for whenever he thought proper. M. d'Hervilly ſeemed convinced that he had acted erroneouſly, promiſed to comply in future with the inſtructions of the royaliſt chief, and agreed to prepare for marching forward on the enſuing day.

In his letters to the Engliſh miniſter, the Count de Puiſaye forbore any mention of the differences which had occurred. He thought it neceſſary, however, to deſire that the emigrant troops ſhould, in explicit terms, be put under his orders.

M. de Puiſaye had quickly reaſon to repent that he had placed ſo much reliance upon the aſſurances given by M. d'Hervilly. The latter ſtill manifeſted the ſame refractory ſpirit. The news of the death of the infant king having reached the royaliſt camp, the Count ordered the acceſſion of Lewis the eighteenth to be celebrated, with all the religious ſolemnity and pomp which circumſtances would permit. This would, he knew, have a powerful effect upon the minds of a people ſtrongly attached, as the Bretons were, to the Catholic religion. He, therefore, arranged with M. d'Hervilly that, the whole of the royal forces having been aſſembled, maſs ſhould be ſaid by the Biſhop of Dol; that the emigrant regiments ſhould lay aſide the the black and aſſume the white cockade; that their colours, bearing three fleurs de lys, ſhould be conſecrated; and that, after an appropriate oration had been made by the Biſhop, the new ſovereign ſhould be formally proclaimed. This plan was, nevertheleſs, fruſtrated by M. d'Hervilly, who kept back the emigrant regiments, to attend a maſs at Carnac, during which the name of Lewis the eighteenth was never mentioned. The excuſes which he made were unſatisfactory, and even frivolous. An apprehenſion that the ſplendour of the feſtival would relax the diſcipline of his troops was among the number of theſe nugatory excuſes.

CHAP. V.

Terrors of the republicans in Britanny, and of the French government. The Committee of Public Safety diſpatch Tallien and Blad, to take meaſures of defence. Advance of the emigrants and Chouans. General inſurrection of the Bretons prevented by the acts of the intriguing agents. Fooliſh wants of ſome of the emigrants. Hoche ſtrains every nerve to collect a ſufficient force to meet the royaliſts. M. d'Hervilly neglects to ſupport the Chouans with regular troops and artillery. Fort Penthievre and the peninſula of Quiberon reduced. Hoche, while M. de Puiſaye is reducing Quiberon, attacks the Chouans; who are compelled to fall back. Plan of the Count de Puiſaye to recover the ground. It is fruſtrated by M. d'Hervilly. The Chouans retire into the peninſula. Hoche encamps on the heights of St. Barbe. The royaliſts fail in an attempt to ſurpriſe his camp. The Count de Puiſaye forms the project of diſlodging Hoche, by attacking his camp at once in front and rear. Two diviſions of Chouans under M. M. Tinteniac and Jean Jean landed to join the royaliſts of the interior and attack the rear of Hoche. Count Sombreuil arrives from England with a reinforcement, and brings letters from the Britiſh miniſter, which remove all doubt of the ſupreme command being entruſted to the Count de Puiſaye. The troops march from the Peninſula to attack Hoche in front. They are repulſed with ſevere loſs. M. d'Hervilly mortally wounded. Cauſes of the failure of M. de Puiſaye's plan. Operations of M. Tinteniac. His repeated ſucceſſes. He is killed. M. Jean Jean's diviſion diſbands. M. de Puiſaye ſtill hopes to penetrate into the interior. Succours from England kept back by contrary winds. Deſertions begin to take place. Two deſerters engage to introduce a body of Hoche's troops into the fort. Hoche is prevailed upon by Tallien to make the attempt. The republicans are admitted into fort Penthievre by ſome traitors in garriſon. The loſs of the fort not known for ſome time by the Count de Puiſaye. He is compelled to take meaſures to re-imbark the troops. Count de Sombreuil preſſes him to go in perſon to bring aid from the Britiſh ſquadron. He reluctantly conſents, and leaves Count de Sombreuil to cover the retreat. The Britiſh veſſels ſave great numbers of the troops. The Count de Sombreuil capitulates. Sir John Warren ſends on ſhore to claim the priſoners, but the republicans deny that any capitulation has been granted. M. de Puiſaye forms a plan for the recovery of the Peninſula. The diſcouragement of the troops prevents him from executing it. The priſoners marched to Auray and Vannes by the republicans. Infamous conduct of Tallien. Heroic behaviour and death of the Count de Sombreuil. Maſſacre of all the emigrant priſoners.

THE arrival of the long expected ſuccours excited a general joy throughout the department of the Morbihan. Such of the republican municipal officers as had rendered themſelves obnoxious, either

either took flight, or ſought to obtain protection from thoſe over whom they had lately tyranniſed. The tribunals, eſtabliſhed to try the Chouans, haſtened to ſet at liberty their priſoners. Auray, evacuated by the enemy, ſent to the royaliſt camp the whole of its national guard, conſiſting of four hundred men. From L'Orient a meſſenger arrived, commiſſioned by a part of the garriſon, the national guard, and the inhabitants, to aſſure M. de Puiſaye, that if he would guarantee to them the promiſes made in his proclamation, the gates of the town ſhould be opened, and the white ſtandard hoiſted, as ſoon as he had penetrated a few leagues into the interior of the province. He had already in that place another party, which only waited his approach to declare in his favour. So eager were the peaſants to join the ſtandard of their ſovereign that, in three days, not leſs than ſeventeen thouſand were ſupplied with arms.

Among the republican troops all was dejection and diſorder. Many of the detachments precipitately fled towards Rennes. Vannes, and its magazines, were for a ſhort time abandoned. Orders were iſſued to evacuate all the poſts between the Vilaine and L'Orient, to ſpike the cannon, and to fall back upon Quimper, in order to cover Breſt, which was conſidered as one of the objects of attack. To heighten the confuſion and dread, deſertions grew daily more numerous, and the deſerters became the bittereſt enemies of their former comrades.

The Committee of Public Safety was ſtruck with terror on hearing that the diſembarkation of the emigrants was effected. Carnot, pale and trembling, broke out into exclamations of womaniſh fear, as to the fate which awaited him. His colleagues, more ſilent, were equally alarmed. They did not, however, neglect the requiſite precautions to avert the danger which threatened them. Tallien and Blad were diſpatched to Britanny, to collect the means of defence; and the moſt ſtrenuous exertions were made to ſecond their efforts.

On the morning ſubſequent to the landing of the troops, the Count de Puiſaye puſhed forward three columns of Chouans, each of twelve hundred men, under generals Tinteniac, Vauban, and Bois-Berthelot. The left took poſt at Landevan, the centre at Mendon, and the right at Auray. As the centre diviſion was the point of retreat for the others, the Count directed it to be ſupported by two pieces of cannon and four hundred regulars, from the emigrant regiments. During the march of the Chouan columns, to occupy the aſſigned poſitions, their ſtrength was more than doubled by the crowds which flocked to join them. Several of the Chouan diviſions were ordered to return to their reſpective diſtricts, and to haraſs the enemy, for the purpoſe of preventing the junction of their ſcattered forces.

It muſt be remembered that boldneſs and promptitude of action formed the very ſoul of M. de Puiſaye's plan. Every thing depended upon his rapidly advancing into the heart of the province, and accompliſhing a ſimultaneous riſing of its entire population. By this means the republican detachments, inſulated as they were, would have been

been assailed in all quarters by overwhelming multitudes; and, interdicted from succour and retreat, must either have surrendered or perished. In this situation a great number of them would, he knew, come over to the standard of their lawful sovereign. All the magazines of the enemy would likewise fall into his hands.

If, at the outset of the enterprise, celerity of motion was deemed necessary, it had since been rendered more necessary by the base intriguers who acted as agents for the princes. These men had sent orders in the name of Lewis the eighteenth, and had even forged the hand writing of M. de Puisaye to other orders, by which the leaders of the royalist divisions were strictly enjoined not to take up arms till they received intelligence that the expedition had arrived on the coast of Poitou. In obedience to these orders four-fifths of the Bretons remained in a state of inaction. Such would, perhaps, have been the case in the Morbihan also, had not the agents paid less attention to that district, under the idea that the attempt to land would be made in a directly opposite quarter. The reason of this inactivity M. de Puisaye was unable to conjecture; but he was convinced that his appearance in the midst of the province, at the head of an army, would be the signal of general insurrection. He, therefore, strongly pressed the commander of the emigrant regiments to move onward, without an hour's delay.

M. d'Hervilly, misled by his secret instructions, manifested no disposition to comply with the desire of M. de Puisaye. In this he was, though from different motives, but too well seconded by some of the emigrants. These gentlemen discovered that they had numerous wants, which must be supplied before they could take the field. They wanted saddle horses, baggage horses, and a thousand accommodations, which were not to be obtained. They had enrolled themselves, they told M. de Puisaye, to make war in a regular way, and not in the style of the Chouans. At the same time they treated the brave and honest Chouans as beings every way inferior to themselves. It was in vain that the Count assured them that, by acting with vigour, they might seize the magazines of the enemy, and procure those comforts which they so highly valued. They considered his language as a proof that he was utterly ignorant of military affairs.

Unfortunately for the royal cause, the republicans were neither so delicate nor so dilatory. Hoche, their indefatigable and ardent leader, speedily recovered from the terror which had been inspired by the landing of the emigrants. Collecting two thousand men, he reentered Vannes, summoned aid from all quarters, and omitted nothing which vigour and vigilance could suggest, to put a stop to the progress of the invading enemy. All his talent and activity, however, would probably have been fruitlessly exerted, had the conduct of his antagonists been governed by wisdom.

The Chouans of the Morbihan had been trained, and organized into bands, at a later period than those of the other parts of Britanny. Of course, though brave

and enthuſiaſtic, they ſtood in need of ſupport when brought into the field againſt veteran troops, provided with artillery. We have ſeen that a detachment, with cannon, from the emigrant regiments, was directed to proceed to Mendon, to ſtrengthen the advanced guard. This detachment, either from negligence or deſign, was not ſent; and the Chouans, diſguſted already by the language and manners of the new comers, felt irritated and diſcouraged by the omiſſion. General Bois-Berthelot was, in conſequence, obliged to evacuate Auray, and retire to Lomaria en Plumel. M. d'Hervilly having again promiſed that the detachment ſhould be furniſhed, M. de Puiſaye ordered Bois-Berthelot to retake Auray, and maintain his ground in that place. The Chouans executed this taſk with great gallantry. They drove out the republicans, and took ſeveral priſoners; but not learning that the regular troops were arrived at Mendon, they declared themſelves betrayed, and once more fell back to Lomaria. The troops had, in reality, been ſent, though no intelligence of their march had been given to the diviſion at Auray.

As it was abſolutely neceſſary to obtain immediate poſſeſſion of a port to receive the expected reinforcements from England, and as the negotiation for L'Orient could not yet be brought to a termination, M. de Puiſaye reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the peninſula of Quiberon. This peninſula, which forms one ſide of the bay of Quiberon, contains two ſmall villages, and ſeveral trifling hamlets, and is about four miles long, and three-fourths of a mile wide. It is joined to the main land by a very narrow neck of land, called the Falaiſe, a league in length. At the junction of the Falaiſe with the peninſula, and covering the whole width of the neck, ſtands Fort Penthievre, which, on the land ſide is tolerably fortified. The garriſon conſiſted of ſeven hundred men, unfurniſhed with proviſions, and many of them well affected to the royal cauſe, to which the inhabitants of the peninſula were all devoted.

When the attack was propoſed to M. d'Hervilly, he objected the want of a battering train. But M. de Puiſaye having laughed to ſcorn the idea of a ſiege, and intimated that he could reduce the fort with the Chouans alone, M. d'Hervilly agreed to take a ſhare in the ſervice.

The weather being unfavourable, the attack was deferred till the morning of the fourth of July. It was arranged that M. de Puiſaye ſhould diſembark on the peninſula with a hundred and fifty Engliſh marines, two hundred and fifty men of the loyal emigrant regiment, and two thouſand ſix hundred Chouans, and march towards Fort Penthievre, while M. d'Hervilly, with the emigrant regiments, advanced along the Falaiſe. The ſhips were moored in proper poſitions to extinguiſh the fire of the batteries. No reſiſtance, however, was made, and the Chouans landed and reached the fort, without a ſhot having been fired.

The governor of the fort had, meanwhile, had an interview with M. d'Hervilly, and perſuaded him to engage that, as far as lay in his power, a favourable capitulation ſhould be granted. When the articles

ticles were preſented to the Count to be ratified, he refuſed to liſten to them, and inſiſted upon unconditional ſurrender. "Subjects," he told the republican officer, "could not capitulate with their "ſovereign, but, as his children, "they might hope every thing "from his clemency." He then gave the governor five minutes to deliberate, declaring that, at the end of that time, he ſhould have recourſe to an aſſault. The gates were immediately thrown open. On his entrance the Count addreſſed the garriſon, promiſing to receive, as brothers, thoſe who would rally round the ſtandard of their ſovereign, and to conſider as priſoners of war, and to treat with kindneſs, thoſe whom apprehenſion for the fate of their families and friends might, at this moment, prevent from following the dictates of loyalty. Four hundred men inſtantly ranged themſelves on his ſide, and the remainder avowed that they would willingly do the ſame, were they not deterred by the fears to which he alluded. Two of the priſoners were ſet at liberty by the royaliſt chief, and ſent into the interior, to make known to their comrades the treatment which they had met with.

As ſoon as the fort was in the power of the royaliſts, the Britiſh and French flags were hoiſted upon its walls. In compliment to the Engliſh, M. de Puiſaye requeſted that a detachment of marines from the fleet might mount the firſt guard. He then gave orders for the erection of ſuch works as were needful to ſtrengthen the weak part of the fort, and ſecure his conqueſt. This done, he wrote to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham, to appriſe them of his ſucceſs, and to preſs the inſtant diſpatch of a Britiſh army, to enſure the triumph of the royal cauſe. Six thouſand infantry, and at leaſt ſix hundred cavalry, was the force which he required. He aſked too for money, and particularly for arms, but above all things he emphatically and repeatedly recommended that whatever was reſolved upon ſhould be carried into execution with the utmoſt celerity. If they ſuffered not a moment to be loſt, they would, he told them, complete their work, and be the ſaviours of France.

The acquiſition of the peninſula was, however, heavily counterbalanced by loſs in another quarter. While M. de Puiſaye was engaged in reducing the peninſula, Hoche, who had now collected ſix thouſand men, made a furious attack on the right and left of the Chouan line, at Lomaria and Landevan. M. d'Hervilly having unwiſely withdrawn the regulars and cannon from Mendon, to cooperate againſt Fort Penthievre, the Chouans, thus aſſailed by diſciplined troops, and ſeveral pieces of artillery, were unable to maintain their ground. One of the diviſions was broken and put to flight; the other retired in good order; and the whole fell back upon Mont St. Michel and Plumel. The centre and left, on the day after the next, continued their retreat to St. Barbe and Carnac. The enemy then advanced to Plumel.

It being of the utmoſt importance to recover the ground which had thus been loſt, the Count de Puiſaye ſtrenuouſly preſſed M.

d'Hervilly to co-operate in measures for its recovery. The treatment which the Chouans had received, having impreſſed them with the idea that they were betrayed by the emigrants, the Count deemed it imprudent to place them in the front of the attack; and he, therefore, propoſed that ten thouſand of them ſhould form the ſecond line, while the firſt ſhould be compoſed of the regiment of M. d'Hervilly and that of Loyal Emigrants. In this propoſal M. d'Hervilly pretended to acquieſce. So far, however, was it from his intention to act vigorouſly, that he had, on the contrary, reſolved to withdraw his troops into the peninſula, and had, in conſequence, iſſued orders relative to the diſtribution of their quarters. The royaliſt leader, on his return from reconnoitring the enemy, preparatory to the intended attack, found, with no leſs indignation than aſtoniſhment, M. d'Hervilly at the head of the troops, in full retreat towards Fort Penthievre. The only anſwer which he could obtain to his enquiries as to the cauſe of this retreat, conſiſted of invectives and inſulting ſpeeches, equally falſe and brutal, againſt the Chouans. Nor was this all. As if their retrogade movement had given them a right to ſuperior accommodation, ſome of the officers of the regulars inſiſted upon ſeizing the quarters aſſigned to a diviſion of Chouans, which was at work on the fortifications. But this the Count de Puiſaye very properly refuſed to ſuffer. If one part of the troops muſt encamp in the open air, it was, he told them, more proper that the hardſhip ſhould be encountered by thoſe who were paid for their exertions, than by thoſe who ſacrificed eaſe, fortune, and family, and expoſed their lives from the moſt diſintereſted motives. This well-merited reproof gave great offence to thoſe by whom it was received.

This retreat was productive of the fatal conſequences which were naturally to be expected from it. The news ſpeedily reached the Chouans at St. Barbe and Carnac, and confirmed the ſuſpicion and diſguſt which they felt of their new allies, againſt whoſe cowardice and treachery they now poured forth a thouſand imprecations. At this critical moment Hoche appeared advancing. The Chouans refuſed to engage, unleſs they were ſupported by a ſmall regular detachment, with two pieces of cannon; and, as this reinforcement could not be procured, their leaders, the Count de Vauban, and M. M. Georges, Mercier, and D'Allegre, were under the neceſſity of falling back to the peninſula. As the republicans moved forward they indulged themſelves in thoſe cruelties for which they had long been famous. Happily, their victims were not numerous. The peaſantry, on their approach, had taken flight. More than ten thouſand individuals, of both ſexes, had abandoned their houſes, and hurried in the wildeſt diſorder to ſeek a refuge in the peninſula of Quiberon. The few women and children who lingered behind were cut to pieces, and the dwellings were ſet on fire. The Chouan diviſions, meanwhile, continued their retreat, which laſted three hours, ſlowly and in excellent order, though in the face of the enemy, who were unable to

make the ſlighteſt impreſſion on them. When they arrived at the foot of fort Penthievre, they found that the gates had been barbarouſly ſhut againſt the terrified and imploring multitude. Driven almoſt to madneſs by the ſight before them, they ruſhed towards the works, tore up the palliſades, and in an inſtant forced their way into the fort, and admitted their unfortunate countrymen. Hoche took poſt on the heights of St. Barbe, and thus interdicted all communication between the peninſula and the interior of Britanny.

Nothing could exceed the rage of the royaliſt leaders, on being abandoned in ſuch a ſhameful manner. The Count de Puiſaye, however, though equally indignant with themſelves, had more command over his temper, and he not only ſucceeded in calming their anger, but, by appealing to their pride and courage, prevailed on them to conſent to an immediate attack upon Hoche, who was not yet entrenched, and who, lulled into a falſe ſecurity by his recent ſucceſs, had neglected to take the uſual precautions againſt a ſurpriſe. On being told that, if he refuſed his aid, the Chouans would attack without it, M. d'Hervilly agreed that the regular troops ſhould lend their aſſiſtance.

At half-paſt two in the morning, the royaliſt advanced guard penetrated, undiſcovered, into the hoſtile camp, where its appearance ſpread the utmoſt confuſion. The Chouans, charged gallantly, with cries of "Long live the King;" but their progreſs was ſtopped by the bravery of a republican corps. Had they, nevertheleſs, been ſeconded, there is little doubt that the enemy would have ſuſtained a defeat. But the opportunity was thrown away by M. d'Hervilly. One of the companies of his regiment fell, as it advanced, into a momentary diſorder, from which it inſtantly recovered, and the ſoldiers earneſtly requeſted to be led to the charge. The momentary diſorder he made a pretext for ordering a retreat, which it became neceſſary to continue, as before the Count de Puiſaye was informed of what M. d'Hervilly had done, the army of Hoche had got under arms, all its batteries were opened, and any further attempt upon it was evidently hopeleſs. The retreat was effected without moleſtation.

July 7.

This attack operated as a warning to Hoche, who immediately began to cover his camp with formidable entrenchments. At the ſame time he ſent orders to the troops in all parts of the province to join him by forced marches. His intention was to make a vigorous effort to recover the peninſula, before its defenders had received ſuch reinforcements as would render the enterpriſe impracticable.

The royaliſts, on their ſide, took ſome meaſures of precaution. The engineers had already guarantied, for ſix weeks, the ſafety of the peninſula. Additional works were marked out, to ſtrengthen the fort, but they were carried on ſlowly; the regular troops leaving to the Chouans the whole taſk of their erection. Sir John Warren, on the contrary, ſpared no exertions for the benefit of the royal cauſe, and his example was followed by all the officers of his ſquadron.

To confine himſelf, however,

within the narrow limits of the peninsula was not the design of the Count de Puisaye. He was fully determined to open himself a passage into the interior of Britanny. The Chouans, too, were not less eager than their general to quit their present mortifying situation. A plan of attack to dislodge the enemy was accordingly drawn up by the Count. It was well combined, and appeared to promise complete success, if faithfully executed. The position of Hoche, on the heights of St. Barbe, strong by nature, and rendered stronger by art, it was almost impossible to force by an assault in front, but in the rear it was open, and easily assailable. The Count, therefore, proposed to fall, at the same moment, upon its rear with twenty thousand royalists, and upon its front with the troops from the peninsula. Hoche, thus placed between two fires, would, he hoped, suffer an irreparable defeat. M. d'Hervilly, flattered with the idea of being the means of gaining a splendid victory, approved of the project, and promised to strain every nerve to carry it into effect.

It was agreed that, on the night of the tenth, general Tinteniac, accompanied by generals D'Allegre, Georges, and Mercier, with three thousand five hundred Chouans, and a company of the Loyal Emigrant regiment, should sail from Quiberon, and land at St. Jacques, on the other side of the bay of Morbihan; while another corps, of three thousand Chouans, commanded by the generals Jean Jean and the Count of Lantivy, should disembark at the mouth of the river Quimperlé, to the north of L'Orient. The latter corps was ordered to detach seven hundred men to Quimper, to liberate fifteen hundred English prisoners, who were confined in that place, with scarcely any guard. The two divisions were to rally round them, on their route, all the royalists of the district, nearly thirty thousand in number, form, on the fourteenth, a junction at Baud; occupy the forests of Camors and Lanvaux; and, on the night of the fifteenth, encamp at the distance of a league from the position of Hoche. Before sun rise on the sixteenth, they were to attack the rear of the republican general, while all the forces in the peninsula made a vigorous assault on his front.

While preparations were making for their departure, the Chouan chiefs warmly pressed the Count to accompany them. He would perish, they told him, should the pending expedition prove unsuccessful, and it was his duty to preserve himself for his army and his party. But honourable feelings prevented him from yielding to their solicitations and his own inclination. I have led the emigrants hither, he answered, and if they are doomed to perish, I must perish with them.

The division under the Chevalier Tinteniac sailed at the appointed time, and was safely landed at St. Jacques. Immediately on its landing, it routed a republican corps of eight hundred men, which had four pieces of artillery. It then continued its march. From the scarcity of small craft, the division led by Jean Jean did not sail till twenty-four hours after that of Tinteniac,

Tinteniac. The diſembarkation was completed without the ſlighteſt oppoſition.

The Count de Chatillon was put on ſhore with the diviſion of Tinteniac, to proceed to the army of the Viſcount de Scepeaux, for the purpoſe of inducing the chiefs to put their troops immediately in motion. Officers were likewiſe diſpatched, with the ſame intent, to Stofflet and Charette.

On the ſame night that the troops ſailed, a ſally was made from the peninſula, by a body of regulars and Chouans. The object of it was to diſconcert Hoche, who was ſaid to be on the point of attacking the royaliſts. This object was attained. The enemy were driven from the advanced camp, and ſuſtained ſome loſs. On this occaſion, as on a former, the Count de Puiſaye had a narrow eſcape, his horſe having been wounded under him.

In the interval of time between the formation and execution of the plan, ſome reinforcements arrived from England. They conſiſted of the remainder of the legions of Rohan, Salm, Damas, Beon, and Perigord, about eleven hundred men, commanded by the young and gallant Count Charles Sombreuil, who, though on the eve of marriage, had quitted, at the call of duty, the object of his affection. The Count landed on the fifteenth, and had an interview with the Count de Puiſaye. He brought letters from the Britiſh miniſtry, which left M. d'Hervilly no longer room to conteſt the authority of the royaliſt leader. They gave to M. de Puiſaye the rank of lieutenant-general in the Britiſh ſervice, and declared that the regular troops were placed entirely under his orders. M. d'Hervilly, with every appearance of ſincerity, expreſſed his regret that the letters had not been ſooner received; and, from that moment, far from giving any cauſe of complaint, he was anxious only to manifeſt his bravery and zeal.

To delay the attack till the reinforcements could be diſembarked was impoſſible, as there was not time to ſend a courier to the royaliſts, under Tinteniac and Jean Jean, who, in the courſe of a few hours, were to aſſail the rear of Hoche. Count Sombreuil, however, requeſted to act with the troops from the peninſula, and his requeſt was granted. To add, during the approaching ſtruggle, to the embarraſſment of the enemy, it was ſettled that a diverſion ſhould be made, by a diviſion under the Count de Vauban. This diviſion, conſiſting of two thouſand Chouans, and a hundred and fifty Engliſh marines, ſupported by ſome gun boats, was to land at St. Clement, ſurpriſe the republican poſt there, carry a battery on the ſhore, and then move againſt the left of the camp of St. Barbe. The corps being compoſed ſolely of peaſants recently armed, the deſcent was to be effected during the night; and the corps was ordered to retire, in caſe it found the republicans on their guard. A rocket was to be the ſignal of its having landed; a ſecond rocket the ſignal that it had re-imbarked.

Full of hope, the troops in the peninſula, to the number of two thouſand regulars and ſixteen hundred Chouans, marched in four columns, two hours before day-light, to the aſſault of the enemy's lines. The July 16.

regulars were led by M. d'Hervilly, the Chouans by the Chevalier de St. Pierre, and the Duke de Levis. The Count de Puiſaye was at the head of the whole. As the columns paſſed along the Falaiſe, or narrow iſthmus of ſand, they ſaw the ſignal which announced the landing of the Count de Vauban. A ſhort halt was made, to watch for a ſecond rocket, but as a ſecond did not appear, the generals concluded that the Count de Vauban was in full march againſt the enemy. It was now light, and ſome diſorder which was ſoon viſible on the enemy's left, and a firing which was heard at a diſtance, convinced them that Vauban and Tinteniac had commenced the aſſault. The columns, therefore, moved rapidly forward. The republican advanced poſts, at the foot of the heights, were driven in diſorder to the entrenchments, which were conſtructed midway on the deſcent, and furniſhed with a formidable artillery. The royaliſts entered the lines, but they had ſcarcely entered, before a ſquadron of the enemy's cavalry fell back, and unmaſked two batteries, which opened a moſt deſtructive fire on the front and flank of the columns, into which bombs, howitzer ſhells, grape ſhot, and muſketry were poured without intermiſſion. Whole ranks were carried away at each diſcharge. The royaliſts, nevertheleſs, were unſhaken; they even perſiſted in puſhing onward. To proceed, however, would have been madneſs, as no ſigns appeared that Tinteniac had fallen on the rear of Hoche. A retreat was ordered by the Count de Puiſaye. Unfortunately, at the moment when he was preparing to obey this order, M. d'Hervilly was mortally wounded by a grape ſhot, and the officers whom he had ſent to the columns on the right was killed. By theſe accidents the columns on the right were expoſed a while longer to the enemy's cannon. The retreat was, at length, effected, and, in ſpite of all the diſcouraging circumſtances, was conducted in good order, as well by the Chouans as by the regulars. It was conſiderably favoured by the activity of Sir John Warren, who, on perceiving the diſaſtrous turn which the conteſt had taken, ſent his gun boats to anchor near the ſhore, and check the progreſs of the enemy. He, likewiſe, prudently diſpatched a detachment, under Captain Keats, to man the works in front of Fort Penthievre.

On this fatal day, the loſs of the royaliſts was great. Fifty-three officers, out of ſeventy-two, belonging to the regiment of marine, were either killed or wounded. The regiment of Dudreſnay ſuffered as much. The other regiments, and the Chouans, were not equally unfortunate, but their loſs was far from inconſiderable. Several hundred private men were among the ſlain.

Various cauſes concurred to produce this calamitous event. Hoche had received from deſerters full information of the intended attack upon his front, and had prepared accordingly to receive the royaliſts. The Count de Vauban, too, did not ſail from Quiberon ſufficiently early to reach the ſhore before day-light. He was obliged to reimbark, and he gave, in conſequence, the ſignal agreed on. The riſing ſun prevented the flight of the ſecond rocket from being ſeen by his friends

friends on the iſthmus. But, it is highly probable that, neither the intelligence given by the deſerters, nor the retreat of the Count de Vauban, would have ſaved the army of Hoche from captivity or deſtruction, had the royaliſts under Tinteniac and Jean Jean, attacked the rear of the camp of St. Barbe.

Thoſe two chiefs did not execute their part, the moſt important part, of the enterpriſe. They were prevented by the fatal influence of thoſe men who acted as agents for Lewis the eighteenth. No ſooner had Tinteniac landed at St. Jacques, than he received poſitive orders, in the name of the King, to proceed to Elven, where further orders would be tranſmitted to him. Though Elven was out of the line of march traced for him, he reſolved to move to that place, as his doing ſo would afford him an opportunity of joining the diviſion of the Chevalier de Silz, which was three thouſand ſtrong. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in all of which they were victorious, the Chevaliers Tinteniac and Silz arrived at Elven, and cut in pieces the whole of the garriſon. There, Tinteniac was informed that the bearers of the inſtructions waited for him at Coetlegon, a diſtance of ten leagues. Hoping, probably, that he could return towards the coaſt in time to execute the plan of the Count de Puiſaye, he directed his march on Coetlegon. At Joſſelin he loſt ſeveral hours in an attempt, though he had no artillery, to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle, into which the garriſon of the town had retired. He was compelled to withdraw, and was followed by the republicans, whom, however, he completely defeated. A hoſtile corps of fifteen hundred men, poſted at La Trinité, to ſtop his progreſs, was likewiſe utterly routed, and loſt three hundred men. When he arrived at Coetlegon, he found there ſeveral females, the emiſſaries of the agents, who deſired to have a private interview with him and the Viſcount de Pontbellanger, one of the emigrant officers, by whom he was accompanied. While the emiſſaries and the royaliſt chief were at dinner, the Chouan columns were attacked. Tinteniac, on hearing the firing, haſtened to put himſelf at the head of his men. The enemy had already been repulſed by Georges, D'Allegre, and Mercier, but one of the republican ſharp-ſhooters, lurking behind a hedge, took aim at Tinteniac, and killed him on the ſpot. The royal party thus loſt a chief of indefatigable activity, unbounded zeal, high talents, and diſtinguiſhed bravery. On the death of Tinteniac, the Viſcount de Pontbellanger, who was in the ſecret of the agents, contrived to obtain the command, and immediately iſſued orders for marching to the bay of St. Brieuc, to join, as he ſaid, the corps denominated ſkeletons, which were to be ſent to that bay from Jerſey and Guernſey, by the Britiſh government. The deviation of Tinteniac from his proper route, and the ſubſequent ſtep taken by Pontbellanger, entirely ruined the project which M. de Puiſaye had formed for the overthrow of Hoche.

M. Jean Jean, on his landing at the mouth of the Quimperlè, was met by a deputation, from twelve thouſand royaliſts of the diſtrict of Concarneau, requeſting him to appoint leaders for them. In his way

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to Concarneau, he, alſo, received from the agents a poſitive mandate to march to the bay of St. Brieuc. Little diſpoſed to obey the mandate of perſons in whom he had no confidence, he communicated it to his officers, and they to their ſoldiers. It inſtantly produced the worſt effect. The Chouans exaſperated by their late treatment, and ſuſpecting ſome ſnare in this meaſure, no longer acknowledged any authority. In ſpite of the intreaties of their commander, they diſbanded, and each individual retired to his own home.

Joined by all the royaliſts of the Morbihan, had the two diviſions of Tinteniac and Jean Jean made a vigorous effort upon the rear of Hoche, while the Count de Puiſaye aſſailed his front, there ſeems every reaſon to believe that the republican general, whoſe force was barely ten thouſand men, muſt, at leaſt, have been driven from his poſition, if not compelled to ſurrender. The repeated ſucceſſes of Tinteniac's diviſion, the numbers which flocked to it, and the extent of territory, nearly a hundred miles, which it victoriouſly traverſed, afford alſo an abundant proof of what might have been achieved by the army of the Count de Puiſaye, had that army been enabled to penetrate into the interior of Britanny.

Yet, notwithſtanding the complete failure of the plan, and the heavy loſs ſuſtained by the aſſailants, M. de Puiſaye was not without hopes that he ſhould ſtill accompliſh his purpoſe. The peninſula he conſidered as for ſome time capable of bidding defiance to all the efforts of the enemy, and he had good grounds to expect that long before any impreſſion could be made upon it, there would arrive from England reinforcements ſo powerful as to compel the enemy to ſeek for ſafety in a haſty flight. Three thouſand Britiſh troops, under Major General Graham, were, indeed, at this moment, endeavouring to reach the ſhores of Britanny. A far larger force was rapidly preparing to ſail, under Lord Moira, and the ſkeletons of regiments, to organize a Breton army, had embarked at Plymouth, and only waited for a favourable wind. But ſo adverſe, for nearly a month, was the wind, that the fleet which conveyed general Graham's diviſion found it impoſſible to clear the Channel.

The unavoidable delay of the ſuccours proved fatal to the royal cauſe. It gave time for treaſon to accompliſh that which force would, probably, have attempted in vain. That many of the men enliſted into the emigrant regiments were in their hearts hoſtile to royalty, does not admit of a doubt. Others, of no fixed principles, who had the royaliſts been victors, would have remained faithful, were diſheartened by the proſpect of falling into the hands of the republicans, and being inevitably put to death. Theſe deemed it wiſe to make their peace, while they could yet claim a merit for ſo doing. In this they were encouraged by the conciliatory language, which ſome of the republican officers had artfully held, on meeting with an emigrant reconnoitring party. Several deſertions, in conſequence, took place. Thirty men of the regiment of Hervilly, which was on guard in Fort Penthievre, went in a body to the army of Hoche. During the night, they got over the

the rocks which cover the left of the fort, and, at low water, waded up to their breaſts, through the ſea for more than half a league. As ſoon as this circumſtance was communicated to M. de Puiſaye, he omitted nō precaution to guard againſt a ſurpriſe. He ordered the patroles on the iſthmus to be doubled, and to be inceſſantly in motion; procured from Sir John Warren two gun veſſels to be ſtationed on the ſide where the ſea was fordable; and placed in the ſame qnarter, a detachment with two cannon on the little iſle of Teviec.

Theſe precautions were not unneceſſary. Among the thirty deſerters were two ſerjeants, who propoſed to Hoche to obtain entrance into the fort, at that part of it whence they had made their eſcape. They ſtated that their comrades, who would be on duty, were republicans like themſelves, and had agreed to maſſacre the emigrants and Chouans, and open the gates to the Conventional army. An advanced guard of three hundred men, to which they offered to ſerve as guides, and for the introduction of which into the place they declared their willingneſs to anſwer with their heads, would, they ſaid, be ſufficient to ſeize the works, while the remainder of the forces followed along the iſthmus, to complete the conqueſt. The diſtance to be traverſed through the water, they repreſented as much ſhorter than it really was. Hoche, though a man of the moſt daring courage, felt the greateſt reluctance to hazard his troops in ſuch a perilous attempt; but he was finally prevailed on by Tallien, to engage in the enterpriſe.

The night on which the republicans executed this plan was highly favourable to them. The rain, which fell in torrents, drove the royaliſt centinels to ſeek for ſhelter; and the howling of the tempeſt, the pealing of the thunder, and the daſhing of the waves, prevented them from hearing the march of the Conventional troops.

The diviſion of three hundred grenadiers, commanded by adjutant-general Menage, and guided by the two ſerjeants and two of their comrades, paſſed the royaliſt advanced poſts without being diſcovered. About two in the morning, Menage and his grenadiers reached the foot of the fort, and the deſerters having given the ſignal, the troops were admitted by the traitors on guard. M. de Folmont, the governor, and the emigrants in garriſon, were immediately put to the ſword. July 21.

Hoche, meanwhile, who was proceeding along the iſthmus, at the head of one of the columns, was perceived by ſome Touloneſe cannoneers, on ſervice in one of the batteries. The rain having ſpoiled the matches and the priming, which had been careleſsly left expoſed, the cannonneers were not able to diſcharge more than one or two of the pieces againſt the enemy. This, however, was ſufficient to intimidate the republicans, who imagined that they had been led into a ſnare. Tallien fled, and even Hoche felt alarm. The troops were retiring, when an officer, looking back, ſaw the tricoloured flag on the ramparts of fort Penthievre. The columns taking courage immediately puſhed on with fixed bayonets, and, ſeconded by the grenadiers of Menage,

nage, and a hundred traitors of the regiments of D'Hervilly and Dudreſnay, got complete poſſeſſion of the exterior entrenchments and all the works of the fort. The cannon of the works were inſtantly turned towards the peninſula.

A company of grenadiers of the regiment of D'Hervilly, which was cantoned at K'oſtein, being informed of the approach of the enemy, and imagining that the fort was yet only attacked, haſtened to aſſiſt in its defence, and was cut to pieces. Two other companies, and part of a third, joined the enemy, and fired upon their own officers.

The Count de Puiſaye was, for ſome time, ignorant of what was paſſing. At midnight he had been aſſured by M. de Sombreuil, and other officers, that every thing was in the beſt order, and that no movement had taken place in the enemy's camp. Neither had the ſignal been ſubſequently heard, which the governor of the fort was to give, by firing three cannon at regular intervals, in caſe of an attack. The negligence by which the priming and the matches were expoſed to the rain, rendered it impoſſible to make the appointed ſignal. The Count de Puiſaye, however, hearing an irregular fire of muſketry, though he did not believe that any danger was at hand, thought it proper to diſpatch M. de Contades to Fort Penthievre, and to order the drums to beat to arms. He, himſelf, took horſe, and proceeded towards the fort. On his way thither, he was informed that it had been for two hours in the power of the republicans, to whom a part of the troops had gone over, and that M. de Contades was retiring with the remainder into the peninſula. His firſt idea was to retake the fort, but that idea he was ſoon compelled to relinquiſh. Diſorder and diſcouragement were evidently too widely ſpread to allow him to hope that he could diſlodge a numerous and victorious enemy. Crouds of peaſants, men, women, and children, the aged and the infirm, were hurrying to the ſhore, with lamentations and cries of deſpair. Several hundreds, though no enemy was yet nigh, ruſhed into the waves, ſtruggled to reach ſome boats at a diſtance, and periſhed. All, then, that could be done, by the general in chief, was to embark the troops and the Chouans, under the protecting fire of the Britiſh ſquadron. The Count flattered himſelf that this embarkation might be effected with little or no loſs, if the cannon of the ſhips could be ſpeedily brought to bear on the narrow part of the peninſula, in the rear of Fort Penthievre, as, in that caſe, the republicans, who muſt neceſſarily march out of the fort in cloſe columns, would not venture to expoſe themſeves to the enfilading fire of the Britiſh veſſels. Unfortunately, the ſignal agreed on, of hoiſting a light at the flag-ſtaff head, to apprife Sir John Warren of the ſituation of the royaliſts, had not been made; and the fog was now ſo thick that from the ſhips it was not poſſible to perceive the republican ſtandard, which was flying on the fort. Having diſpatched a meſſenger to requeſt inſtant aid from the fleet, M. de Puiſaye, finding it impracticable to rally the Chouans around him, proceeded to the diviſion of the Count de Sombreuil, which was cantoned at the further end of the peninſula. This diviſion

ſion he deſtined to cover the embarkation, and to ſerve as a rallying point to the troops, which were retiring before the enemy, and he accordingly poſted it in an advantageous poſition.

M. de Sombreuil preſſed the Count to go himſelf on board the Britiſh fleet, to haſten the ſuccours; but this the Count, dreading the appearance of deſerting his friends, abſolutely refuſed to do, and only ſent a ſecond meſſenger. Some time having elapſed, and there being no ſign of any movement in the ſquadron, the Count de Sombreuil renewed his ſolicitations, in language ſo ſtrong as to render the Count reſponſible for the ſafety of the army, and compel him to comply. He gave orders, therefore, to M. de Sombreuil to defend every inch of ground, to retire upon Port Aliguen, and, above all things, to be convinced that any capitulation was impoſſible, or, if granted by the enemy, would infallibly be broken.

M. de Puiſaye reached the Pomona, the Commodore's veſſel, at the ſame moment with both his meſſengers, who had been retarded by the general confuſion. On receiving the calamitous intelligence, Sir John Warren diſplayed his accuſtomed activity. The boats were hoiſted out, the ſhips moved towards the ſhore, and the Lark and Pomona opened a tremendous fire upon the enemy's column, and ſtopped its progreſs. Such was the alacrity of the officers and ſailors conducting the boats, that in ſpite of ſhowers of grape and muſket ſhot, they ſpeedily embarked between two and three thouſand individuals. While they were thus employed, and the cannonade was kept up from the Lark and Pomona, an officer arrived on board, to inform the Commodore that M. de Sombreuil had obtained an honourable capitulation. This information M. de Puiſaye refuſed to credit. The ſurrender of the troops was ſoon, however, confirmed by another officer, ſent by M. de Sombreuil to intreat the Britiſh commander to ſtop the firing, as, if it continued, the royaliſts would be put to the ſword. This intreaty was complied with.

Hoche, on becoming completely maſter of the fort, had diſpatched general Humbert, with a column of eight hundred men, to penetrate into the peninſula. This column was able to advance but ſlowly. It was held in check by a diviſion, formed of Chouans, and ſome troops of the line, which the Count de Contades, and the generals de Vauban, and Bois-Berthelot, had collected from the remains of the garriſon of the fort and the entrenched camp. This diviſion retired in good order. Its junction with M. de Sombreuil increaſed his force to three thouſand five hundred men. His troops being preſſed and diſordered by the terrified crowds which fled before the march of Humbert, M. de Sombreuil was obliged to retire to Port Aliguen, ere the boats could reach the ſhore. There he endeavoured to ſtand his ground, but the royaliſt ſoldiers were unmanned by the lamentations of the women and the cries of the children, and took flight to Fort Neuf. On their arrival at Fort Neuf, their courage was reſtored by the approach of the Britiſh veſſels. They loudly demanded to combat, declared that they would ſell their lives dearly, and drew up ſeveral ranks deep, round the entrenchments

trenchments of the fort. Humbert, expoſed to the fire of the veſſels, and apprehenſive of the reſult of a battle, with men determined to conquer or die, thought it prudent to reſort to ſtratagem. He deſired a conference with M. de Sombreuil. While the two chiefs were converſing, a republican officer ruſhed from his poſt, and warned the royaliſts not to truſt to a treaty, as they would certainly be put to death, general Humbert negotiating only to deceive. The Count de Sombreuil, on his return, directed his men to lay down their arms, declaring that he had entered into a capitulation with the republican commander. The greateſt part of his diviſion obeyed. Some, who perſiſted in defending themſelves, were maſſacred in Fort Neuf, and many put an end to their own exiſtence, by falling on their ſwords, or plunging from the rocks into the ſea.

Nine hundred officers and men of the emigrant regiments, fourteen hundred Chouans, and eight hundred peaſants, of both ſexes, were ſaved from the enemy by the exertions of the Britiſh. Among thoſe who eſcaped was M. d'Hervilly. He died, four months after, in England, and, with a noble candour, never, till his death, ceaſed to atteſt the merit of his commander, and to regret that, at the outſet of the expedition, he himſelf had been miſled by the arts of deſigning perſons.

In the afternoon the Commodore ſent two officers, with a flag of truce, to claim the priſoners. A republican general anſwered that no capitulation had been granted, and that any future flag of truce would be fired upon. During the reſt of the day, and moſt of the night, the Engliſh boats hovered round the peninſula, and took on board numbers who had hidden themſelves among the rocks.

Grieved but undiſmayed, M. de Puiſaye, amidſt the tumult and diſorder incident to ſuch a diſaſtrous event, meditated the means of retrieving his loſs, and taking ample vengeance on the enemy. He repreſented, to Sir John Warren, that the priſoners, if not reſcued, would certainly periſh, and that it was ſtill poſſible, not only to reſcue them, but to make the victors become, in their turn, the vanquiſhed. Before night the whole of Hoche's ſoldiers would, he ſaid, be in a ſtate of intoxication, and utterly incapable of defending themſelves, as they would greedily have ſeized upon the large quantity of rum which was left in the peninſula; a liquor productive of a much more violent effect upon Frenchmen than either wine or brandy. Four or five hundred picked men, favoured by the night, he deemed ſufficient for the recovery of the fort. The Commodore approved of the project, and promiſed to ſecond it in perſon. On examination, however, it was found that the troops were too broken in ſpirit to make the attempt, and the Count was, therefore, under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing all thoughts of the enterpriſe. This circumſtance is much to be regretted, ſubſequent teſtimony having proved that, during the night, the army of Hoche was in the very ſituation which M. de Puiſaye had foreſeen.

The emigrants and Chouans on board the veſſels were, on the following day, diſembarked on the iſland

iſland of Houat, which lies midway between the Continent and the iſland of Belleiſle.

The priſoners made by the republicans were ſent, under a feeble eſcort, to Auray and Vannes. On their route they had numberleſs opportunities of eſcaping, but ſuch was their infatuated reliance upon the capitulation, that ſcarcely any of them attempted to ſave themſelves. Many, even, who from fatigue had dropped behind the columns, and loſt their way, compelled the peaſants to conduct them to Auray. By the inhabitants of Auray, the priſoners were received with the reſpect and tenderneſs which were due to their virtues and misfortunes.

Though the exiſtence of a capitulation was ſhameleſsly denied by the republicans, there was, at firſt, ſome hope that the majority of the captive emigrants would be ſpared. Hoche himſelf recommended, to the Committee of Public Safety, that only the chiefs ſhould ſuffer. But the infamous Tallien could not endure the thought of loſing his victims. He had ſo long been debarred from blood, that his thirſt of it was become intenſe. Aſcending, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, the tribune of the convention, he made a report, in the true revolutionary ſtyle, upon the events which had occurred at Quiberon. To irritate his colleagues againſt the emigrants, he forged a lie, ſo daring and ſo baſe that, diſgraced as he was, it covered him with ſtill blacker diſgrace. He affirmed that the emigrants were provided with poinards, one of which he had tried upon an animal, and found to be poiſoned. This falſehood worked its deſired effect. The unfortunate exiles, more than eight hundred in number, were excluded from mercy.

Military commiſſions were immediately eſtabliſhed at Vannes and Auray. The firſt of the priſoners who were called to trial by the commiſſion at Vannes, were the Count de Sombreuil, Count Joſeph de Broglio, and the Biſhop of Dol. After having replied to the cuſtomary interrogatories of age and name, the Count de Sombreuil added, "I have lived, and ſhall die "a royaliſt. Now, that I am on "the eve of appearing before God, "I ſwear that there was a capi- "tulation, and that the emigrants "were to be treated as priſoners "of war." Then, turning to the republican grenadiers around him, "I appeal," ſaid he, "to your "teſtimony. It was in your pre- "ſence that I capitulated." Sentence was then pronounced upon him and his companions.

Amidſt the tears of the inhabitants of the town, they were, the next day, led out to execution. Sombreuil marched firſt, with an unaltered countenance. The venerable Biſhop of Dol, who was more than ſeventy years of age, followed, with truly chriſtian calmneſs and reſignation. When at the place of execution he uncovered his head, the multitude, on beholding the ſerenity of his face, could not ſuppreſs their feelings of veneration and pity. Sombreuil, faithful to the laſt to the heroic bravery of his character, refuſed to receive death kneeling, or to place a bandage over his eyes. "I like," ſaid he, "to ſee my enemy! Aim more to the right," added he to the grenadiers, who were levelling their

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their muſkets to perform the work of murder. In a moment he and his friends were ſtretched lifeleſs on the ground.*

The dying declaration of Sombreuil produced ſuch an effect, that, although Tallien and Blad publiſhed a denial of its truth, the military commiſſion of Auray refuſed to ſit in judgment upon the emigrants. The commiſſion was, therefore, diſſolved, and a new one was formed, compoſed entirely of foreigners. This ſanguinary tribunal, and that of Vannes, which ſtood not in need of any charge, proceeded rapidly in the aſſaſſination of the priſoners. Bands of fifty or ſixty were each day led out to be ſhot, and, in a ſhort time, the whole, with the exception of thoſe who had emigrated before the age of ſixteen, to whom Blad granted a reſpite, were inhumanly maſſacred. So little did the greateſt part of them anticipate their fate, that, when ſummoned to the place of execution, they marched with their knapſacks, believing that they were only going to be removed to another priſon, or diſmiſſed to their homes. They died with undaunted courage, and their laſt prayers were for the happineſs of France. The field near Auray, in which they ſuffered, became an object of pious reſpect to the natives of the Morbihan, and received the name of the Martyrs Field.

CHAP. VI.

War in Poitou. Charette acts in cloſe union with the agents of the French princes. Flattering letter to him from the Regent. His anſwer. Diſagreements between the republicans and the royaliſts. Hoſtile acts of the republicans. Charette reſolves to recommence the war, and accordingly aſſembles his forces. Republican detachment made priſoners. Manifeſto declaring war, publiſhed by Charette. A violent manifeſto appears in the name of Stofflet. Republicans defeated at the opening of the campaign. Subſequent inaction of Charette. Impolicy of his conduct. He puts the republican priſoners to death, in retaliation for the murder of the emigrants taken at Quiberon. The Count de Puiſaye induces Sir John Warren to ſend a conſiderable ſupply of money, arms and ammunition, to Charette, whom it reaches in ſafety. Charette receives another letter from Lewis the eighteenth. Manifeſto of Lewis the eighteenth. Another armament for the ſuccour of the royaliſts is got ready in the Britiſh ports. The agents of the Bourbons prevail on the Britiſh miniſters to ſend it to Poitou. Plan of operations. The expedition arrives on the French coaſt. Noirmoutier refuſes to ſurrender. The troops

* After his death the republicans publiſhed a letter, ſaid to be addreſſed by him to Sir John Warren, containing a violent impeachment of the conduct of the Count de Puiſaye. The letter bears on its face ſufficient evidence of its being a forgery.

landed,

landed on isle Dieu. Council of war, which resolves to delay the disembarkation. Consternation of Charette. The royalists attack St. Cyr, and are defeated. Death of Guerin. Hoche appointed to the command of the republican army in Poitou. Wise plan on which he resolves to act. He issues an address to his army, strictly forbidding pillage. Conciliatory proclamation, addressed by him to the Poitevins. He puts his army in motion to prevent Charette from joining the British succours. The royalist army of the center commences hostilities. The British expedition quits the coast of France. Shameful conduct of the French agents towards the Count d'Artois. Successful movements of Hoche. The Poitevins begin to surrender their arms. Departure of Hoche to Paris to obtain more extensive powers. Party in favor of peace formed among the royalist chiefs. Heroism and death of Prudent la Roberie. Capture and death of several royalist chiefs. Defeat of the republicans at Quatre Chemins and the castle of l'Oie. The affairs of Charette begin rapidly to decline. The peace party grows stronger. Hoche returns from Paris with unlimited powers. Charette utterly routed while on his march with a convoy of powder for Stofflet. The republicans compel Stofflet to recommence hostilities. Formidable army sent against him by Hoche. He is made prisoner and put to death. The chevalier D'Autichamp succeeds him. Great numbers of the Poitevins lay down their arms. Cabal against Hoche, formed by some of the republicans. Last and ineffectual struggles of Charette. He is, at length, taken prisoner. His heroism, death, and character. Termination of the war in Poitou. Attempt to excite an insurrection in the center of France. It is rendered abortive by the want of policy in the leaders.

WHILE in Britanny the perfidy of the agents employed by the Bourbons was blasting the hopes of the royal cause, Charette, under the guidance of those agents, was carrying their absurd and fatal plans into effect in Poitou. The honours which they had obtained for him, and the promise which they had made him, that all the royalist chiefs should be subjected to his authority, had, in truth, rendered him their blind and devoted instrument. The voice of reason was entirely overpowered in his breast by the voice of pride and ambition. It would, indeed, have required in him a more than ordinary strength of mind, to avoid being too highly elated by the praises and rewards which were lavished on him. At the moment when he was treating with the republicans he had received through the hands of the agents a letter from the Regent, in which was conferred upon him the glorious title of "the second "founder of the monarchy." The daily flattery of the agents afforded, too, a delightful food to his vanity, and he seems at length to have seriously believed that he was the only individual who was capable of raising the fallen throne. His behaviour, even to his oldest officers, is said to have been, in consequence, distinguished at times by a domineering haughtiness, which, till now, he had never displayed, and which excited indignation and disgust.

The tone of his reply to the letter of the Regent, clearly shew-

ed the lofty opinion which he entertained of his own talents. Thoſe who diſapproved of the peace which he had concluded, were treated as wretched politicians, ignorant of the laws of neceſſity, and judging merely from appearances; and it was hinted that hitherto there had been a want of connection in the royaliſt enterpriſes, but that, henceforth, there would be more regularity and union, and, therefore, a greater probability that operations would be conducted in an efficacious manner.

Equally inſincere in the peace which they had concluded, Charette and the republicans ſoon regarded each other's movements with doubt and ſuſpicion. It had been agreed that, for a while, he ſhould rule his territory in whatever mode he thought moſt proper to conciliate the Poitevins to the new order of things, and that the government ſhould not attempt to eſtabliſh any military poſts in Poitou. The republicans, however, ſpeedily complained that the royaliſts had violated the pacification, by intercepting the communications with Nantz, and by various acts of pillage and hoſtility. They, on their ſide, in contravention of the treaty, eſtabliſhed a poſt at La Motte Achard, five leagues from Belleville. Their next ſtep was to ſeize ſeveral Poitevins, on the charge of having held illegal meetings. Allard, one of the royaliſt chiefs, and ſeveral of his ſoldiers, were ſhortly after made priſoners, in the moſt treacherous manner, by a detachment which had viſited them as friends. Some of the ſoldiers were put to death, under pretence that they had been guilty of murders, and Allard was ſent captive to the caſtle of Saumur. Theſe meaſures produced remonſtrances from Charette, and excuſes from Canclaux, the latter of whom was deſirous of preventing, at leaſt for the preſent, hoſtilities from being commenced. The republican general, nevertheleſs, reinforced the poſt of La Motte Achard, ſtrengthened his cantonments round the royaliſt territory, and formed two very conſiderable camps at Palluau, and les Eſſards. Charette, on the other hand, enliſted deſerters, and kept his troops exerciſed by their leaders. Every thing indicated that a renewal of the war was to be expected, at no remote period.

Charette had reſolved not to recommence hoſtilities before the month of July. As early, however, as the beginning of June, the agents of the Bourbons at Paris ſent him orders to make himſelf maſter of Port St. Gilles. It is probable that he did not then think it prudent to throw off the maſk; for their orders were not carried into execution. Towards the latter end of the month, when the Britiſh expedition was approaching the coaſt of Britanny, he appears to have thought that he might ſafely avow his intentions, and he accordingly ſummoned the whole of his forces to meet him at his head quarters at Belleville. His projects, nevertheleſs, remained a ſecret within his own breaſt. So little did his officers know of his reſolves that, on the very day on which Charette called his troops together, Couetus, his ſecond in command, was making at St. Philibert, public proclamation of the continuance of peace. Stofflet,

too,

too, was left in utter ignorance upon the ſubject.

The ſummons of their leader was obeyed by twelve thouſand Poitevins, eager to learn the cauſe why they were thus aſſembled. At the moment of their meeting, Charette was informed that a republican detachment, from the camp of les Eſſards, was advancing towards Belleville. Charette went out at the head of his ſtaff to meet them, and bidding them halt, commanded his troops to fire on them if they ventured to move. The leader of this detachment was the bearer of an order to Charette, to give up his arms, ammunition, and magazines. The troops compoſing the detachment were immediately made priſoners. A few of them declared that they were royaliſts, and pointed out ſome of their comrades as officers in diſguiſe, who had been ſent to carry off Charette. This tale, whether falſe or true, was fatal to thoſe unfortunate perſons of whom it was told. They were ſentenced to be ſhot, as was likewiſe the guide who had led the detachment.

When his officers were gathered round him, Charette declared his purpoſe, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of reſuming their arms without delay, to avenge their own wrongs, and the death of their ſovereign, who, he ſaid, had been poiſoned by the tyrants of France. Succours would, he aſſured them, be afforded by England; and a French prince would put himſelf at their head. At this unexpected declaration the chiefs regarded each other with looks of ſurpriſe. No oppoſition was ſhown to his propoſal, but it was not received with that enthuſiaſm which it would once have called forth. Peace, and its conſequent enjoyments, had blunted in many that warlike ardour by which they were formerly diſtinguiſhed.

The manifeſto which on this occaſion was iſſued by Charette, did him little credit. There was nothing of dignity or of eloquence in its compoſition. It was beſides full of aſſertions, not only unſupported by proof, but contrary to fact. It declared that the Conventional commiſſioners had promiſed that the reſtoration of Lewis the ſeventeenth ſhould take place within ſix months, and, as a convincing pledge of their intention, had furniſhed the Poitevins with powder and ammunition. With greater appearance of truth, it added, that poiſon, adminiſtered by the barbarous and impious ſect which deſolated the kingdom, had been baſely employed to cut ſhort the days of the infant Monarch. June 26.

About the ſame time appeared another manifeſto, of equal violence, and equal boldneſs of aſſertion, in the name of Stofflet and his council. Though not diſavowed by him, for which he probably had his reaſons, it was generally believed that he had no concern in its publication, and that it was fabricated at Paris by the agents of the Bourbons. Their aim probably was to irritate the republicans into ſome haſty ſtep againſt him, and thus compel him to take up arms in his own defence. If this was really their ſcheme it was fruſtrated, as no hoſtile movement was made on either ſide.

The firſt operations of Charette gave deluſive promiſe of a vigorous purſuit of the war. He ſent

a part of his army to reduce the camp of les Eſſards. The republicans were firſt warned to retire, but they refuſed to comply. The royaliſts then fell upon them with ſuch fury that they were ſpeedily defeated. The camp was plundered, and three hundred priſoners were led back to Belleville. A diviſion under Guerin, and the brother of Charette, which, at the ſame time, marched towards Palluau, routed a corps of the enemy, made between two and three hundred priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of a convoy. The convoy, however, was afterwards retaken by a body of republican cavalry.

This ſpirited commencement was ſucceeded by complete inaction. Though, to ſtop the progreſs of M. de Puiſaye, the enemy had withdrawn from Poitou every ſoldier that could poſſibly be ſpared, nothing was done by Charette during the whole of the month of July. He was doubtleſs waiting the arrival of the Britiſh expedition, which the agents of the Bourbons had promiſed to lay under the neceſſity of quitting the ſhores of Britanny for thoſe of Poitou, and he perhaps dreaded leſt any marked ſucceſs which he might obtain, ſhould induce the enemy to recall from Britanny a portion of their forces, and thus fruſtrate his hopes, by enabling the Bretons to ſecond effectually the diſembarked emigrants. He had, indeed, as we have ſeen in a preceding chapter, promiſed the two agents ſent from England, that he would remain inactive, and that promiſe he faithfully kept.

It was not the fault of the agents, if they were not equally true to their word. No ſooner by their deteſtable arts was the plan of the Breton leader fruſtrated, and the remains of the troops landed at the iſland of Houat, than one of their emiſſaries who had accompanied the expedition, but had hitherto carefully concealed the real purpoſe of his voyage, threw off the maſk, and wrote to the Count de Puiſaye and the Britiſh admiral, to demand that the forces ſhould be diſembarked on the Poitevin coaſt. Though he ſtated that he was authoriſed to make this demand, he did not think proper to produce his credentials to the general and admiral. The contempt which he merited being all that he gained by his efforts, he quitted the iſland by ſtealth, and haſtened to Paris, to join his aſſociates, and calumniate M. de Puiſaye.

It is difficult to conceive, as he had reſolved to remain for the preſent almoſt inactive, what were the motives which induced Charette to put the republicans on their guard, by his premature expoſure of his hoſtile intentions. Sound policy, we ſhould think, would rather have dictated the concealment of his deſigns, till the moment came when he could carry them into execution with almoſt the certainty of ſucceſs. Whatever aſſurances the two agents might have given him, it was by no means an aſcertained fact, that their induſtrious and laudable exertions would accompliſh the buſineſs of changing the deſtination of the Britiſh armament; and, as his troops were not diſbanded, he would have loſt no time, had he waited in ſilence the near approach of his expected ſuccours. Having ſo long placed his reliance upon artifice

artifice and diſſimulation, he ſeems groſsly to have erred in diſcarding their aſſiſtance at the very, if not only, period when it was likely to be of ſome utility.

The barbarous maſſacre of the priſoners made at Quibéron, excited feelings of violent indignation in the boſom of Charette, and rouſed him to take a ſignal retaliatory vengeance upon the republicans, who had become his captives. With the exception of ſix perſons, all his priſoners were put to death at Belleville. The ſurvivors were ſent to a republican poſt, with a letter, in which Charette lamented that the cruelties of his enemies had obliged him reluctantly to reſort to the terrible law of retaliation, in order to prevent, if poſſible, the future cold-blooded ſlaughter of the friends of royalty. He concluded by declaring that, for every emigrant henceforth murdered, the life of a republican ſhould be the certain forfeit.

Turned as the chief attention of the Count de Puiſaye naturally was to Britanny, he did not forget nor neglect his brother royaliſts of Poitou. On the contrary, he was laudably anxious to enable them to render their exertions effectual. He accordingly propoſed, and Sir John Warren conſented, to diſpatch to Charette a very conſiderable ſupply of ſuch articles as were moſt needed by that general. This ſupply conſiſted of five thouſand pounds in dollars, ſix thouſand muſkets, as many ſabres and piſtols, a quantity of clothing for the army, two pieces of cannon, and twenty-two barrels of powder. The royaliſt leader having diſpatched fifteen hundred men to the coaſt, to receive the ſuccour, the diſembarkation was effected in the neighbourhood of St. Jean de Mont. At the commencement of the operation, a republican corps, ſtationed near St. Gilles, endeavoured to impede it, but was quickly routed, and loſt a hundred and ten men, in killed and wounded. It was not, however, till the following morning that the convoy could begin its march towards Belleville. In the mean time the enemy had collected a force of a thouſand men, with which they attempted to intercept the convoy. They failed in their attempt. Such an able diſpoſition had been made of the royaliſt diviſions, that the republicans, finding themſelves in danger of being ſurrounded, were glad to retreat, without coming to an engagement, and the ſuccours arrived in ſafety at the head quarters of Charette. The frigate which brought the ſupplies to the coaſt, took on board Charette's aid de camp, M. Duchenier, who was the bearer of an epiſtle of thanks to his Britiſh Majeſty, from Charette and his colleagues. Auguſt 10.

About this period, the royaliſt leader received, from Lewis the eighteenth, another letter, no leſs flattering than the former. In this the title of general of the royal catholic army was given him by the King. Lewis alſo ſent a manifeſto, addreſſed to the French people on his acceſſion to the throne; which manifeſto the royaliſt leader was directed to publiſh. It was a moderate and conciliatory compoſition, promiſing pardon to all perſons, except thoſe who were actually guilty of the murder of Lewis the ſixteenth and his conſort. Some good effects might, perhaps,

perhaps, have reſulted from it, had not the language which was notoriouſly held by the agents been but too well calculated to induce a belief that the apparent moderation of the ſovereign was only meant to enſnare. Theſe men, born for miſchief, had been liberal of their threats of vengeance, and had repeatedly aſſerted, that "the "king would pardon, but the par- "liaments would, nevertheleſs, "cauſe juſtice to be put in force." This ſhameful aſſertion, though wholly unauthoriſed by Lewis the eighteenth, could not fail of ſhutting the door againſt repentance, and compelling thoſe who had once been hoſtile to the throne, to perſevere in their hoſtility, from the powerful motive of ſelf preſervation. It is obvious, too, that nothing could more thoroughly degrade the monarch in the eyes of his ſubjects than the belief that he was capable of ſuch mean duplicity, as to offer a deluſive pardon, which he knew would afford no protection to thoſe by whom it was received.

Auguſt, and the greateſt part of September, paſſed away, without either the royaliſts or the republicans performing any thing worthy of notice. A ſort of tacit truce ſeemed to exiſt in Vendee. All the advantages of delay were, however, on the ſide of the republicans, who were ſedulouſly employed in preparing for a vigorous campaign.

England, meanwhile, was making thoſe efforts, which an enlightened policy would have prompted her to make at an early period of the ſpring. Her exertions too frequently, indeed, appeared to be in an inverſe proportion to the probability of ſucceſs. A formidable armament, deſtined to ſuccour the royaliſts, was got ready at Southampton and Portſmouth. The command of the Britiſh forces, which were ſeveral thouſand ſtrong, was held by the Earl of Moira, and the Count d'Artois himſelf was at the head of the French troops. The ſuccours were to ſail in two diviſions, the firſt of which was to conſiſt of four thouſand Engliſh, under general Doyle. This diviſion was to land the Count d'Artois, and take poſt in ſuch a manner as to keep open the communication between the royaliſts and the coaſt. It was ſpeedily to be followed by the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting of the emigrant corps, and the remainder of the Engliſh troops, led by their commander in chief.

An aid ſo powerful might yet have turned the ſcale againſt the republicans, had it been wiſely directed. But, unfortunately, the French agents had gained the confidence of the Britiſh miniſters, and by their exaggerated repreſentations of the ſtrength of Charette, had induced them to reſolve that the landing ſhould take place on the coaſt of Poitou. The change of deſtination was not the ſole folly to which the influence of theſe intriguers gave birth. Affecting to conſider all the ſubordinate chiefs of the royaliſts as low and ignorant perſons, incapable of commanding, and whoſe removal was conſequently indiſpenſible, the agents formed a ſtaff of ſufficient magnitude for an army of two hundred thouſand men, without reſerving a ſingle place for any of thoſe brave Poitevins, who, for nearly three years, had expoſed their lives,

and

and ſacrificed their fortunes, in the cauſe of the monarchy. Than this meaſure nothing could have been better contrived to convert the Poitevins and emigrants into inveterate enemies of each other, and in a ſhort time to accompliſh the deſtruction of the royaliſt party.

The plan of operations is ſaid to have been laid down by Charette. As the coaſt between Bourgneuf and Sables d'Olonne was too ſtrongly guarded to admit of a deſcent being attempted there, he propoſed that the Britiſh troops ſhould divert the enemy's attention by an attack upon the iſland of Noirmoutier, while with his forces he marched to receive the Count d'Artois, on that part of the coaſt which lies oppoſite to the Iſle of Rhé, and where the republicans were leſs numerous than in other quarters.

The fleet, with the firſt diviſion, put to ſea from Portſmouth, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, but was delayed at St. Helens, for ſeveral days, by contrary winds. The ſame cauſe rendered its paſſage more than uſually tardy. It ſteered its courſe to the bay of Quiberon, whence, after a ſhort ſtay, it proceeded to the coaſt of Poitou, which it did not reach till the latter end of September. On the twenty-ſeventh, the Britiſh commodore, Sir John Warren, ſummoned the governor of Noirmoutier, to ſurrender the iſland. The governor, in reply, requeſted a ſuſpenſion of arms for twenty-four hours, that he might conſult his ſuperior officer on the continent; but, this being refuſed, he declared that he would defend his charge to the laſt extremity. From the ſubſequent confeſſion of the republicans it, nevertheleſs, appears, that the governor was entirely without the means of a protracted defence, and that he aſked for a ſuſpenſion of arms only to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements. Unacquainted, however, with the ſtate of the governor's reſources, the Britiſh and French officers did not deem it adviſable to hazard an attack. The troops, therefore, were, on the twenty-ninth, landed on the ſmall and ſterile iſland, called Iſle Dieu, which is ſituated about three leagues from the ſhore of Poitou.

Before the ſquadron quitted the bay of Quiberon, a council of war is ſaid to have been held, in which it was reſolved that it would be imprudent to attempt a diſembarkation with ſuch an inadequate force, and that in conſequence the troops ſhould be landed at Iſle Dieu, to wait the coming of the remainder of the army. An officer was diſpatched to make the reſolution known to Charette, that he might act accordingly. But the difficulty of communication was become ſo great, that he did not arrive at the quarters of the royaliſt chief till it was too late. Other meſſengers, whom the Count d'Artois afterwards entruſted with letters, announcing the intention of the Britiſh general to ſupply the Poitevins with arms, ammunition, and artillery, were equally retarded. The republicans, ſince the landing at St. Jean de Mont, had trebled the ſtrength of their poſts along the maritime frontier of Poitou.

Charette, meanwhile, had aſſembled an army more numerous than

on any former occaſion. Many perſons who had hitherto remained neuter, were now eager to ſerve under the brother of their monarch, and obtain a ſhare of the favours which it would be in his power to beſtow. By this means the army was ſwelled to nearly fifteen thouſand men. Charette was in march with it towards the coaſt, when he was met by the envoy, who had been ſent to appriſe him that the deſcent was poſtponed. Thrown into the deepeſt conſternation by this unexpected intelligence, the royaliſt leader declared that the non-performance of the promiſe which had been made him would inevitably be fatal, and that as nothing was left for him but to fly, or to fall with arms in his hands, he was reſolved upon the latter.

Under theſe circumſtances, a council of war was held at Neſmy, to decide whether the forces ſhould be diſmiſſed for the preſent, or whether they ſhould be kept together to make an attempt on ſome of the republican poſts. The latter meaſure was adopted. The royaliſt chiefs determined to attack the poſt of St. Cyr, on the road from Luçon to Sables d'Olonne, the poſſeſſion of which would open to them a fertile diſtrict hitherto uninjured by contending armies. St. Cyr was defended by only four hundred men, who had entrenched the church, ſo as to form a kind of fort, which could not eaſily be forced without artillery. It was the original deſign of the royaliſt chiefs to carry the place by ſurpriſe; but this deſign was fruſtrated by their ſoldiers having careleſsly ſet fire to a wood in the vicinity of the place, and thus given the alarm to the enemy. Charette, nevertheleſs, though ſome of the chiefs repreſented to him the danger of the attack, reſolved to proceed. He divided his army into three parts, one of which, led by Guerin and Lamoelle, was to aſſault the town, while the other diviſions prevented the arrival of ſuccours from Sables d'Olonne and Luçon.

The aſſault was made with great reſolution, and was received with no leſs. All the advantage of poſition was, however, on the ſide of the enemy. From the church they directed in ſafety an unerring fire, which ſpread death among the royaliſt ranks. Guerin, who had already had two horſes killed under him, now diſmounted, and at the head of a part of his men endeavoured to ſcale the walls. He was repulſed, and two of his officers were ſlain. Confuſion began to ſpread among the aſſailants, and it was increaſed by the arrival of Charette's diviſion, which haſtening to their ſuccour, was miſtaken for a republican corps, and accordingly fired upon. Guerin at length reſtored order, and was preparing to advance again to the aſſault, when two balls laid him dead on the ſpot. His troops immediately gave way. At this moment the garriſon of Luçon fell upon and put to flight the diviſion which was ſtationed at Pont Laclaie, to hold it in check. Unable to maintain its ground, the whole royaliſt army precipitately retired to la Roche ſur Yonne, leaving four hundred men upon the field of battle. The diſcouragement and diſcontent which this repulſe occaſioned

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ſioned, and the loſs of Guerin, an officer enthuſiaſtically beloved by his ſoldiers, were productive of very prejudicial effects to the royaliſt cauſe.

Never had ſpirit and perfect union been more requiſite in Charette's army, than they were at this period. The royaliſt leader had to contend with an adverſary of greater activity, talents, and art, than any to whom he had yet been oppoſed. That adverſary had, too, a formidable army under his command. Hoche was the new antagoniſt of Charette. His ſucceſs at Quiberon induced the Committee of Public Safety, towards the latter end of Auguſt, to appoint him commander of the army of the weſt, in the room of Canclaux, who was removed to the army in the ſouth. On the twelfth of September he aſſumed the command.

To enable him to act with vigour, ſteps were taken for raiſing his army to fifty thouſand effective men. All the troops which had been employed in the Weſtern Pyrenees, and which were now ſet free by the peace with Spain, were deſtined to reinforce him. But, however powerful was the army intruſted to his guidance, he relied leſs upon arms than upon policy for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe. The military part of his plan conſiſted in occupying ſtrongly entrenched poſts, keeping four columns in continual motion over the royaliſt territory, and diſarming the peaſantry, by driving off all the cattle of any commune which reſiſted the republicans, giving, at the ſame time, a promiſe that the cattle ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as the inhabitants of the commune ſurrendered their arms.

The more efficacious meaſures of policy, which were to be brought in aid of theſe coercive meaſures, were wiſely conceived. One great object was to diſunite the peaſantry from the chiefs, and the chiefs from each other. To gain over the peaſantry, pillage was to be ſtrictly forbidden; children and old men were to be humanely treated; and females were to be won by an exceſs of kindneſs, by flattery, by bribes, and by every other art which was capable of influencing their conduct. But that upon which Hoche principally relied, to bring about the ſubmiſſion of the country, was an entire change in the mode of acting towards religion and its miniſters. Hitherto the prieſts had been perſecuted with unrelenting malignity. Convinced that nothing was to be hoped while this perſecution continued, he determined that henceforth it ſhould not only be diſcontinued, but that the prieſts ſhould even be invited to perform their religious duties, and ſhould receive a more than ordinary portion of attention and reſpect from thoſe men who had ſo long delighted in heaping upon them every injury and indignity. As to the royaliſt chiefs, ſome of them might, he flattered himſelf, be gained by ſeduction, others by fear, and the remainder be either deſtroyed in the field, or betrayed into his hands by their traitorous and bribed aſſociates.

In purſuance of this ſcheme he, as ſoon as he arrived at the camp, iſſued a well written addreſs to his army, threatening with the ſevereſt puniſhment

puniſhment whoever had the temerity to pillage, or be guilty of wanton bloodſhed. Officers were pointedly warned that they were perſonally reſponſible for the actions of their ſoldiers. This addreſs was followed by a proclamation, to the inhabitants of Vendée, drawn up in language of the utmoſt moderation and mildneſs. While it deſcribed the Poitevins as being naturally good and hoſpitable, it artfully threw on the chiefs alone the blame of the renewal of hoſtilities. The retaliatory vengeance, lately exerciſed upon the republican priſoners by Charette, was conſidered, though with little reaſon, as an act of aſſaſſination. Charette himſelf was ſpoken of in the moſt inveterately hoſtile and inſulting manner; and, to ſow in his breaſt ſuſpicion of his officers, it was roundly aſſerted, that ſome of the Poitevin leaders deteſted his character, and were anxious for his downfall. Theſe chiefs were invited to diſcontinue their oppoſition to the republic, and again become French citizens. Nothing more, it was ſaid, would be required of them than to lay down their weapons. The peaſants were exhorted to rebuild their cottages, cultivate their fields, worſhip their Creator, and reſt aſſured that in the troops they ſhould find only zealous protectors and friends. Abuſe of the Engliſh and emigrants filled up the remainder of this wily compoſition.

At the moment when the Britiſh ſquadron appeared off the coaſt, Hoche put his army in motion, and advanced upon Belleville, for the purpoſe of preventing Charette from ſeconding the diſembarkation. When he reached Belleville, he found the place deſerted, and learned that, ſince the defeat of the royaliſt army at St. Cyr, the diviſions had been diſmiſſed to their reſpective diſtricts. Charette had given them orders to keep the enemy conſtantly employed on all ſides, and to haraſs the republican columns, and hinder their junction. Hoche, therefore, his end being attained, returned with his forces to the quarters whence they had marched. The troops from the weſtern Pyrenees were now almoſt on the borders of Poitou, and he reſolved to ſuſpend his movements till this reinforcement arrived. It entered the ſouth of Poitou early in the month of October.

The ſyſtem upon which Hoche was determined to act was not of a nature to give riſe to thoſe ſplendid events which are common in a ſtate of warfare. Its operation was ſilent and gradual; not aſſaulting but undermining. Charette, nevertheleſs, found himſelf ſo much preſſed by the manner in which the republican troops held him, as it were, inveſted, that he was under the neceſſity of urgently calling upon Sapinaud to make, with the army of the centre, an immediate diverſion in his favour. Sapinaud, who had till now worn the ſemblance of being pacifically diſpoſed, complied with his wiſhes. He ſurpriſed Mortagne, and obtained ſome advantages; which, however, were of little importance. Hoche, as ſoon as he could make the neceſſary arrangements, ſent a column, under general Willot, into the territory of Sapinaud, with orders to carry off all the corn and cattle, and

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and to publiſh a proclamation, offering to reſtore what had been thus taken, if the inhabitants of the newly revolted diſtricts would ſurrender their arms.

Towards the latter end of November, a ſtill deeper gloom was thrown over the proſpects of Charette. Thoſe ſuccours upon which he had built all his hopes were withdrawn from the coaſt of France. There being no poſſibility of effecting a landing; the providing of ſubſiſtence for the troops being extremely difficult; and the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced as to render it highly imprudent for the ſquadron to remain any longer on the dangerous ſhore of Poitou; the Britiſh commanders reſolved to reimbark the army, and abandon Iſle Dieu. One circumſtance affords a ſtriking proof of the impracticability of penetrating into the interior of Vendée. A ſum of five thouſand pounds, deſtined for Charette, was obliged to be ſent into Britanny, that it might reach him in ſafety.

When the Count d'Artois firſt arrived at Iſle Dieu, he was eager to join Charette, and would willingly have landed, though unaccompanied by any forces. This ardent deſire was, however, ſoon extinguiſhed, but not by a failure of good will or courage on his part. The change in his conduct was the work of the French agents. Thoſe artificers of evil did not exempt from their calumny even the brother of their ſovereign. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the great utility of the preſence of a prince of the blood among the royaliſts, muſt conſiſt in his becoming a center of union, and, by his ſuperior rank and power, being enabled to put an end to all petty rivalſhips and diſcordant projects. But the Count d'Artois was, for ſome reaſon or other, probably from his ſuperior talent and diſcernment, exceedingly obnoxious to the agents, who did not ſcruple to inſinuate that he had deſigns on the throne. To humiliate him, therefore, they formed the ſtrange and impudent plan, of putting him under the command of Charette. Nor was this all. At the moment when they believed him to have joined Charette, they wrote to the royaliſt chief a letter, malignantly and falſely deſcribing in the blackeſt colours, and almoſt as monſters of iniquity, all the choſen friends of the Count, and recommending that the ſecrets of the party ſhould be ſcrupulouſly concealed from his Royal Highneſs. This letter fell into other hands than thoſe for which it was intended. It came into the poſſeſſion of the Count de Puiſaye, by whom it was tranſmitted to the illuſtrious perſonage, who was the object of its ſlander. What feelings it excited may be eaſily imagined.

In the beginning of December, Hoche directed a forward movement along the whole of his line. He made himſelf maſter of ſeveral poſts, ſeparated the army of Charette from the army of the center, and circumſcribed the forces of Charette within the narrow limits of that cloſe and woody part of Poitou, which bears the name of le Bocage. No royaliſt chief had yet ſubmitted to him, but many pariſhes had brought in their arms, and promiſed to remain obedient, and others were on the point of following their example.

The

The poſſeſſion of more extenſive powers was, nevertheleſs, ſtill wanting, to enable Hoche to carry his plans into complete execution. He was thwarted in his meaſures by the civil authorities of the country, which frequently favoured the royaliſts, and thus encouraged them to a protracted reſiſtance. It was, likewiſe, impracticable for him wholly to put a ſtop to pillage, as long as his army was left, as it now ſometimes was, without ſubſiſtence, through the neglect of the commiſſaries, over whom he had no controul. Yet, he knew it to be impoſſible to terminate the war, unleſs the Poitevins were convinced that they had no longer any thing to dread from the rapacity of the republican ſoldiers. Cherin, one of the officers of his ſtaff, was, therefore, diſpatched to the capital, to lay before the Directory a project, for removing thoſe obſtacles which ſtood in the way of the general. Hoche himſelf was, in conſequence, ſummoned ſhortly after to Paris, to confer with the members of the government, and the command of his army was proviſionally confided to general Willot.

While the republican leader was abſent at Paris, the ſiniſter effect of his arts became daily more viſible in Poitou. He had brought over to his ſide, numbers of the prieſts, and women poſſeſſing influence. Towards the end of December, a ſtrong party, in favour of peace, was formed among the chiefs. It was commenced by Dugat and Bouſſeau, and they very ſoon prevailed on the two la Roberies, Couetus, the younger Guerin, and ſeveral royaliſts of landed property, to join them in the ſcheme of perſuading or compelling Charette to diſcontinue the conteſt. The partiſans of peace were doubtleſs increaſed by the hopeleſsneſs of ſuccour, which the departure of the Britiſh fleet from their coaſts muſt have occaſioned. It was, however, ſome time before any of them could find courage to make their ſentiments known to Charette. At length, Prudent la Roberie undertook to deliver to their general a memorial, containing their opinions and wiſhes. Charette received the memorial with indignation, and overwhelmed the preſenter of it with reproaches. He dwelt on the perfidiouſneſs of abandoning one who was not only his leader, but his friend; reminded him that the blood of his parents and his brother yet cried from the ground for vengeance; and warned him not to throw away, in a moment, the glory which he had acquired by three years of toil and combats. Unable to ſupport the anger of his general and friend, la Roberie threw himſelf at the feet of Charette, promiſed not to quit him till death, and declared that he would quickly recover his eſteem. "I "will ſoon afford you an op- "portunity:" replied Charette, "within two days, I ſhall attack "the enemy."

The republicans had poſted on the other ſide of the Boulogne, a diviſion to guard the paſſage of the river. A royaliſt column received orders to march againſt this diviſion. When the orders were given, la Roberie exclaimed in a joyful tone, "My dying day is "arrived!" It was in vain that Charette charged him not to expoſe himſelf to needleſs danger. The language held by his general had

had ſunk too deeply into his heart, and had rendered life a burthen. He ruſhed foremoſt acroſs the river, into the thickeſt of the enemy, and, after prodigies of valour, fell, mortally wounded, before his men could come into action. His troops, having put the republicans to flight, carried their dying chief to the head quarters of Charette at Saligné. La Roberie had only ſtrength left to requeſt pardon from his general, to expreſs a hope that his death would waſh away the only ſpot which ſtained his character, and to deſire that his arms might be buried with him. In la Roberie, the victim of a high though miſtaken ſenſe of honour, the royaliſt army loſt one of the braveſt, moſt active, and moſt beloved of its leaders.

This loſs was followed by another of ſtill greater ſeverity. A republican detachment from Challans ſurpriſed a conſiderable number of royaliſt officers, among whom were ſeveral chiefs, all of whom were ſentenced to die by a military commiſſion.

In want of proviſions and forage, and deſirous, beſides, of ſuccouring the diviſion of Cailleau, which was cloſely preſſed by the enemy, Charette led his troops towards Chantonay. Having effected his junction with Cailleau, he reſolved to attack two republican camps, at Quatre Chemins, and the caſtle of L'Oie. Under cover of the night, the royaliſts ſilently approached the camp of Quatre Chemins, cut off the advanced poſts without giving any alarm, and ſtormed the camp, many of the defenders of which were put to the ſword before they were well awake. The remainder, nevertheleſs, formed in order of battle, but were rapidly broken, and compelled to ſeek for ſhelter in the camp of L'Oie. Thither they were followed by the royaliſt army, and that camp alſo was carried by aſſault. Six hundred of the republicans were ſlain. Several diviſions being by this time in motion againſt him, Charette ſet fire to the camps, and carrying away the colours and arms, effected his retreat.

This was the laſt victory which was gained by Charette. Henceforth his fortunes rapidly declined. On the very next day he was foiled in an attack upon a column of the enemy. He was equally unfortunate in an attempt upon a convoy, which the republicans were ſending from Grand Luc to the caſtle of Chatenay, and his failure was rendered ſtill more diſaſtrous by the loſs of Pajot, one of his braveſt officers, in whom he placed an unlimited confidence. The ranks of his army were now thinned every day by deſertion, or death. In this emergency, he diſpatched Conſtant de Suzannet and D'Argens to London, to deſire a ſpeedy ſuccour.

Invigorated by theſe circumſtances, the party which wiſhed for peace, and which had for a moment been ſilenced, began once more to entertain hopes of putting an end to the conteſt. Some of the members of this party even withdrew their aſſiſtance from their leader. The officers of the Pays de Retz left the camp, under pretence of aſſembling their diviſions at St. Marc de Coute, but inſtead of aſſembling their ſoldiers they gave orders for diſbanding them. A corps of Breton volunteers alſo quitted the army. Alarmed by theſe defections, Charette,

rette, though hoſtile as ever to a treaty, did not think it prudent to prevent Couetus, who was at the head of the peace party, from having a conference with the republican general Gratien, on the ſubject of a pacification. At the concluſion of the interview, Gratien promiſed that he would write to inform general Hoche of the propoſitions which had been made by the royaliſt chiefs. While, however, to learn the reſult of their overtures, Couetus and ſome of his friends were waiting at the caſtle of Lepinay, they were perfiduouſly ſeized by the republicans, ſent before a military commiſſion, and ſentenced to death. Couetus might, perhaps, have eſcaped, had he not confeſſed when queſtioned, that he was one of the officers engaged in the late enterpriſe againſt the camp of Quatre Chemins. His enemies had no proof of the fact; but, conſidering a falſehood as an act of meanneſs unworthy a man of honour, he choſe to periſh rather than diſgrace himſelf. This impolitic ſtep of the republicans produced for a ſhort time the effect of keeping the royaliſt chiefs firm to their general, as it taught them to believe that nothing but their ſwords could enſure their ſafety.

The new year opened with the return of Hoche from the capital. He was inveſted with authority even more extenſive than he had hoped to obtain. The dictatorſhip of the weſtern provinces was, in reality, entruſted to him. The three armies of Breſt, Cherburgh, and the Weſt, were conſolidated into one army, bearing the name of the army of the ſhores of the ocean, which was placed under his command. A military police and martial law were eſtabliſhed throughout the territory which he governed; he was amply provided with the means of ſubſiſting his troops; and was empowered to take whatever meaſures his wiſdom might ſuggeſt for the termination of the war. Fifty thouſand men compoſed the force of which he was at the head in Poitou.

Jan. 1796.

The army of the center having been ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the republicans, that its chiefs were compelled to attempt to gain time by pretending to negociate, Charette could look only to the army of Anjou for aſſiſtance. That army was on the eve of taking the field, but it was in want of ammunition. Charette, therefore, with ſome difficulty, got together nearly three thouſand men, to eſcort a convoy of powder for Stoffiet. The royaliſts were repeatedly attacked on their march, and at length, were completely routed and diſperſed. The convoy fell into the hands of the enemy. After this defeat, Charette was no longer able to collect a force of any magnitude.

We have already obſerved that Stoffiet, when he ſigned the treaty of peace with the republicans, reſolved never to recommence hoſtilities, unleſs compelled by the bad faith of the enemy. On their part, however, there was certainly no intention of performing the ſtipulations. Accordingly, they neither eſtabliſhed the territorial guard, nor paid the ſum of two millions of livres, which they had agreed to pay for the expences of the war. Stoffiet, nevertheleſs, was unwilling to come to a rupture,

ture, though their conduct would have fully juſtified him in conſidering the treaty as annulled. It is probable, that his pacific diſpoſition was much ſtrengthened by the juſt indignation which he felt, on ſeeing that honours and rewards were laviſhed upon Charette by the agents of the Bourbons, while his own ſplendid ſervices, and thoſe of his army, were recompenſed by neglect or contempt. So reluctant was he to renew the war, that, though he ſent the Chevalier D'Autichamp to iſle Dieu to confer with the Count d'Artois, this ſtep was not followed up by any meaſures hoſtile to the republicans. In December, at the period when Hoche was on his way to Paris, Stofflet even ſolicited a conference with him, and, in the moſt conciliatory language, beſought that general, to prevail on the Directory to carry the treaty into effect. Hoche himſelf bore teſtimony that the royaliſt chief was deſirous of peace. But the Directory, dreading, perhaps, his influence, ſeems to have reſolved upon driving him into hoſtilities. The treaty was diſregarded, threats were thrown out againſt him, ſome pariſhes belonging to his territory were forcibly diſarmed, and he was, at length, compelled to unſheath the ſword in his own defence.

Jan. 1796. On the twenty-fifth of January, he iſſued a proclamation, by which the army of Anjou was once more ſummoned to the field. He, likewiſe, diſpatched the Count de Colbert to London, to requeſt that the Count d'Artois would haſten to put himſelf at the head of the royaliſt forces.

A counter proclamation was directly publiſhed by Hoche. It announced that thirty thouſand men were entering the territory of Stofflet, and would be followed by fifteen thouſand more; the whole of which force ſhould be ſupported at the expence of Anjou and Upper Poitou, till thoſe countries were completely diſarmed. But, to divide the peaſantry from their leaders, it declared that nothing ſhould be taken from thoſe pariſhes which immediately ſubmitted, or which betrayed the royaliſt chiefs and emigrants into the hands of the republicans. Reſpect was promiſed to be ſhewn to religion, pillage was ſeverely prohibited to the ſoldiery, and the peaſantry were aſſured that they ſhould not be compelled to ſerve in the republican armies. The threats of Hoche were not impotent threats. The formidable army which he mentioned was already in motion.

A very ſhort time decided the fate of the gallant Stofflet. The peace, and the arts of the enemy, had deadened the ſpirit of his once enthuſiaſtic troops, and the ſudden irruption of overwhelming numbers, now ſpread conſternation even among thoſe who yet remained warm in the cauſe of royalty. He was not able to aſſemble more than three or four hundred men, and was inceſſantly purſued by the republican diviſions. On the twenty third of February, the place where he was holding a conference with ſome of his chiefs was betrayed by a traitor, and a detachment was in conſequence ſent to ſeize him. The detachment was but too ſucceſsful. Stofflet, two of his officers, and ſome other royaliſts were made priſoners. It was in vain that the royaliſt chief endeavoured

endeavoured by desperate exertions of valour to compel his antagonists to put him to death on the spot. He was conducted to Angers, tried, and executed, together with a German officer named Lichtenheim, who might have escaped at the moment of their capture, but who was so strongly attached to Stofflet, that he was determined not to survive him. Having affectionately embraced each other, they faced their executioners with the utmost intrepidity, and the last words which Stofflet uttered were, "Vive "le Roi." Valiant, loyal, possessed of great military skill, and endowed with a noble mind, Stofflet was worthy to be ranked with D'Elbee, Bonchamp, Lescure, and the rest of those illustrious characters, whose names shine most conspicuous in the eventful history of the royalist war. The Chevalier D'Autichamp succeeded to the command of the Army of Anjou.

Feb. 25.

Charette did not long survive the rival whom he hated. The forces, the stratagems, and the consummate arts of Hoche, but too well justified the hopes of success which they had inspired. Diminished in numbers, softened by peace, and, above all, won over by the respect shewn to their priests, the Poitevins no longer felt any inclination to continue the sanguinary contest. Parish after parish brought in its arms, and promised submission; so that, by the commencement of February, no less than seven thousand five hundred muskets had been surrendered in Lower Poitou alone. Of those persons who submitted, many seemed anxious to prove their sincerity by their services; and they accordingly betrayed to the republicans the places where the magazines and stores of the royalist leader were concealed. By this treachery Hoche obtained possession of seven pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of balls and powder.

Nothing was left undone by the general, or his masters, to complete the disarming of the Poitevins. The Directory addressed to them a proclamation, hypocritically breathing the most pacific and fraternal sentiments, and fraught with flattery and promises. Hoche, on his side, promised that not only Charette and the other chiefs, but even the emigrants, should, if they wished, be furnished with the means of retiring to any foreign country where they chose to reside, and should have the produce of their estates secured to them. He likewise pledged himself, that the young men of the requisition should not be compelled to serve, and he again gave the strictest orders to his own troops to avoid pillage and violence, under pain of being severely punished in case of disobedience.

It would manifest a glaring want of impartiality to deny, that, in executing the difficult task assigned to him, Hoche displayed equal policy, spirit and moderation. He appears to have been sincerely desirous of putting an end to the war, with as little injury as possible to the country; and, though not religious himself, to have been convinced of the injustice, as well as imprudence, of persecuting religion in the persons of its ministers. Yet he could not escape calumny from his own party. A league was formed against

againſt him by ſeveral republicans, who poſſeſſed eſtates in Vendee. Some, looking only to his firmneſs, accuſed him of wiſhing to renew the reign of terror; others, diſſatiſfied with his prudent forbearance, accuſed him of protracting the war, by his want of vigour; and all joined in raiſing their voices to demand his recall. He himſelf, diſguſted by their repeated complaints, more than once requeſted leave to reſign. The Directory, however, had the wiſdom to diſregard the clamours of his enemies, and to continue to place in him an unlimited confidence.

Hoche, meanwhile, redoubled his activity in purſuit of Charette, the capture of whom would, he hoped, put an end to the war in lower Poitou. Women and prieſts were employed as ſpies upon the royaliſt chief, huſſars were diſguiſed as peaſants, and ordered to wear the white cockade in order to entrap him, and numerous ſmall columns of troops, and eſpecially cavalry, were kept marching, day and night, in all directions, that, to uſe the words of the general himſelf, "their prey might not have time to breathe."

Hemmed in as he was, and almoſt hunted down, it was in vain that ſome of his officers, who yet remained faithful, but who were convinced that nothing could at preſent be effected by arms, urged him to retire to England, and wait till the Poitevins were again driven to the field, by thoſe exactions and violences to which they would moſt probably be expoſed from the triumphant republicans. He might then, they told him, return with ſuccours, and renew the conflict with better hopes of ſucceſs. Looking on his deſertion of the remains of his party as an act of cowardice, he refuſed to liſten to their counſel. For the purpoſe, however, of gaining time to rally round him a few of his ſoldiers, he ſignified to the republican general his wiſh to withdraw from France. Hoche readily acceded to the propoſition, and offered a veſſel to convey the royaliſt chief and his friends to Jerſey. But Charette, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed his deſign, haughtily replied that all the veſſels of the republic would be inſufficient to convey his friends to the Britiſh territories.

Unfortunately, this reply was dictated by his ſpirit, and not by his ſituation. Every day deprived him of ſome of his partiſans. In the courſe of February he ſuſtained ſeveral heavy loſſes. In a deſperate combat at Froidefont with the corps of adjutant general Travot, one third of his ſmall band periſhed, and his brother, the chevalier Lajaille and two chiefs of diviſion, M. M. Beaumel, and Cailland, were ſlain by his ſide. Lemoelle and Dabbayes, officers of merit, were killed in other actions, and the younger Guerin, and the ſurviving brother of the family of La Roberie, with the troops which they commanded, abandoned the royal cauſe. La Roberie is even ſaid to have diſgraced his name and character, by volunteering to guide the columns which were in purſuit of his general. The republicans themſelves could not refrain from manifeſting their contempt of this deſpicable traitor. Feb. 1796.

A few followers, who had deſerted from the republican army, were nearly all that now remained

with Charette. Inceſſantly tracked, he wandered from farm to farm, ſeeking a momentary aſylum. At length the fatal hour arrived. On the twenty-third of March, as he was paſſing, with only fifty men, between la Guyoniere and la Sablond, adjutant-general Valentin, at the head of a hundred grenadiers, fell upon him by ſurpriſe, diſperſed his party, and, after a chace of ſeveral miles, compelled him to take ſhelter in the copſe of la Chabotiere in the neighbourhood of St. Sulpice. Here, at noon, he was diſcovered by general Travot. Exhauſted by fatigue and his wounds, he was ſupported by two of his ſoldiers. A volley from the enemy laid them dead at his feet, and put to flight the remainder of his followers, with the exception of a German deſerter, who was zealouſly attached to him. Even now, Charette had nearly eluded his foes. His faithful companion threw himſelf into the hands of the republicans, declaring that he was the royaliſt chief; and Charette, who was concealed behind a dyke, was, perhaps, on the point of eſcaping, when another deſerter, in the hope of obtaining mercy, pointed him out to the enemy. The grenadiers ruſhed upon him, but Charette, ſtill preſerving his dignity, would ſurrender only to general Travot.

The captive chief had arrived at Angers, on his way to Paris, when Hoche gave orders that he ſhould be conducted to Nantz. The reaſon aſſigned for this change in his deſtination, was the neceſſity of convincing the incredulous citizens of Nantz, and through them the Poitevins, of the reality of the capture which they now refuſed to believe. It is probable that a deſire of humiliating Charette, in the very city into which he had once made a triumphal entry, had at leaſt an equal ſhare in the change.

Neither fatigue, loſs of blood, the thought of his fallen ſtate, nor the proſpect of certain death, could vanquiſh the ſpirit of Charette. After having, preparatory to his trial, been interrogated, he was led back to priſon on foot, through a great part of the city, guarded by a numerous eſcort, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people. If his enemies hoped to expoſe him to inſult, they were diſappointed: for no diſpoſition was ſhewn to inſult him. His ſtep was firm, his countenance unchanged, and his whole demeanour alike remote from arrogance and meanneſs. At his trial, before the military commiſſion, he behaved with the ſame magnanimity. Thoſe who hated him could not refrain from bearing teſtimony to the calm and dignified courage which he diſplayed While his judges were abſent to draw up the ſentence, he converſed with the perſons round him, and when they expreſſed their wonder that he had not put an end to his own exiſtence, he replied that ſuicide was contrary to his principles, and that he conſidered it as an act of cowardice. The ſentence of death produced no alteration in his features. It was carried into execution on the afternoon of his trial. When he arrived at the appointed ſpot, he refuſed to kneel, or to allow his eyes to be covered. He opened his boſom, and drawing his wounded arm from the ſling, gave the ſignal for the diſcharge of muſketry, which

March 29.

which numbered him with the dead. Like Stofflet he expired with the cry of "Vive le Roi" upon his lips.

Thus periſhed Charette, in the thirty-third year of his age; and in him, though his ambition, and his hatred of owning any ſuperior, had more than once been productive of ſiniſter conſequences, the royal cauſe loſt, nevertheleſs, one of its moſt determined and valuable ſupporters. His valour and fortitude were invincible; he had conſpicuous talents for carrying on the kind of war which circumſtances and the nature of the country required; he was fertile in reſources; and, till the moment when the peace weakened the band of union, which held the Poitevins to their chiefs, he poſſeſſed the boundleſs confidence and reſpect of thoſe whom he commanded.

Hoche, though a ſoldier, and though he had deemed ſtrong meaſures neceſſary to diſarm the royaliſts, was no friend to governing by military law. As ſoon, therefore, as he learned the capture of Charette, which he regarded as a deciſive event, he re-eſtabliſhed the civil adminiſtration in Vendee, and in ſome portions of the adjoining departments. He, at the ſame time, took a ſtep which was dictated by the ſoundeſt policy. Numbers of deſerters had joined the Poitevins, and were compelled to remain in arms by the dread of puniſhment. An amneſty, and the choice of ſerving in which ever they choſe of the republican armies, was now offered to them by Hoche, and the meaſure ſucceeded nearly to the full extent of his wiſhes.

From this period the conteſt on the left bank of the Loire, may be conſidered as at an end. It was in vain that the Chevalier D'Autichamp made every exertion, of which loyalty and valor were capable, in behalf of the royal cauſe. The want of ſuccours, the overwhelming multitude of republican troops, and the diminiſhed energy of the royaliſts, rendered all his efforts unavailing. It was not, however, till hope was entirely extinguiſhed that he conſented to ſheath the ſword, and enter into a treaty with the enemy. The Abbé Bernier, his counſellor, retired into Switzerland, the example of D'Autichamp was followed by Sapinaud, and others of the royaliſt chiefs, and before the cloſe of May, the republicans were maſters of the whole of Poitou.

While Poitou was making its laſt ſtruggles, an extenſive plan of inſurrection, in the centre of France, was formed by the agents of Lewis the Eighteenth, who confided the execution of it to the Count de Rochecotte, a young man of ſome activity and ſlender talents, whom they had poſſeſſed with a magnificent idea of their ſagacity and reſources. This plan embraced the five departments of Loire and Cher, Indre, Cher, Nievre, and Loiret, which comprehend the ancient provinces of the Orleanois, Nivernois, and Berry. The inſurrection was to break out at once, on the three widely ſeparated points of Vendome, Sancerre, and Chateauroux; and on each of theſe points was to conſiſt of thirty thouſand peaſants. The Count de Beſignan was, at the ſame time, to attempt to ſurpriſe the citadel of Beſançon. In caſe of a ſucceſsful commencement, the inſurrection was to be

extended to the Bourbonnois, and Auvergne; the latter of which provinces, rude and mountainous, is admirably calculated for the ſeat of irregular warfare. The line occupied by the royaliſts, would thus have reached acroſs the middle of France, from the ſhores of Britanny to the rugged frontiers of Languedoc, on the one hand, and of Switzerland on the other, and have entirely cut off the communication between the northern and the ſouthern departments. Had ſuch a project been carried into effect when the Poitevins were victorious, the ruin of the republic muſt inevitably have enſued.

It is manifeſt, however, that to mature ſo vaſt a ſcheme required conſiderable time, profound wiſdom and ſecreſy, and a concurrence of favourable circumſtances. But all theſe were, in reality, wanting. Of the ninety thouſand royaliſts, who were ſo largely reckoned upon, only a very ſmall part exiſted, except on paper, or in the heated imagination of the Pariſian agents. Still, a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength might, perhaps, have been gained by patience, delay, and perſeverance, had not the moment of action been precipitated by the raſhneſs of the peaſants of the diſtrict of Chateauroux, and the want of firmneſs in their commander, Dupin, who conſented to lead them into the field, even before the too early period which was fixed for the general riſing of the three provinces. The reſult was ſuch as might have been expected. The ſmall force of Dupin was immediately routed. Inſtead of learning prudence from this leſſon, and carefully refraining from hoſtile movements till every thing was ready, ſome of the ſubordinate chiefs indiſcreetly haſtened the inſurrection of Sancerre, to draw off the republicans from Chateauroux. Two thouſand peaſants were aſ- March
ſembled at Jars by Philip- 31.
peaux, one of the chiefs, and with this force he marched againſt Sancerre, of which he made himſelf maſter without oppoſition. He remained in poſſeſſion of the town eight days, which time the republicans employed in ſending troops from all quarters to the ſcene of action. As ſoon as they had collected a ſufficient number, they moved towards Sancerre, which he evacuated on their approach. To render affairs ſtill more deſperate, diſputes now aroſe among the chiefs of the inſurrection. After a trivial action at the village of Sens-Beaujeau, in which the royaliſts were put to the rout, they diſperſed to their homes; and thus terminated an enterpriſe which at firſt gave infinite alarm to the republicans, and which, had it been founded on a ſolid baſis, and properly managed, might have been productive of ſplendid conſequences to the royal cauſe.

There was ſtill one province of France in which, notwithſtanding the republicans, and thoſe more formidable enemies, the agents of Lewis the eighteenth, the royaliſt party was too firmly eſtabliſhed to be deſtroyed by any ordinary means. This was the province of Britanny, where, by dint of inceſſant exertion, the Count de Puiſaye had placed affairs in a more favourable ſituation than they had been, even previouſly to the diſaſtrous cataſtrophe which occurred

curred at Quiberon. As, however, a complete narrative of the proceedings in Britanny, would lead us into the year 1797, and as it would loſe much of its intereſt by being divided into two parts, we ſhall defer it till our next volume, when it will be given fully, and from authentic documents, which have never before been in the poſſeſſion of any hiſtorian, either Engliſh or French.

CHAP. VII.

Military Hiſtory. Reſolution of the Directory to make a vigorous campaign againſt the allies. Means employed to ſtrengthen the armies. Plan of campaign formed by Carnot. Intention to unite the republican armies of Italy and Germany under the walls of Vienna. Changes made in the generals of the French and Auſtrian armies. Moreau entruſted with the republican army on the Upper Rhine. General Clairfayt replaced by the Archduke. General Buonaparte placed over the French, and Beaulieu over the Auſtrian army in Italy. Artful means employed by the Directory to induce a belief that their army of Italy was in a weak ſtate. Firſt movements of Buonaparte. Beaulieu attacks Cervoni and drives him from Voltri. One of his diviſions likewiſe attacks the French center, but is ſtopped by the redoubt of Montenotte. Auſtrians defeated at the battle of Montenotte. Buonaparte advances. Lieutenant-General Provera is ſurrounded, but defends himſelf gallantly in the caſtle of Coſſaria. Battle of Dego, in which the Auſtrians are defeated. Second battle of Dego, in which they are again worſted. Buonaparte turns his force againſt the Piedmonteſe army, which he drives beyond the Stura. Surrender of Cheraſco. The King of Sardinia concludes an armiſtice, which is followed by a peace. Terms of the treaty. Beaulieu is foiled in an attempt to obtain poſſeſſion of Aleſſandria, Tortona, and Valenza. He retires behind the Ticino. Buonaparte, by a rapid march, paſſes the Po at Piacenza. Actions at Fombio and Codogno. The Duke of Parma concludes a treaty with the republicans. Commencement of the ſyſtem of depriving Italy of the works of art. Battle of Lodi. Horrible loſs ſuſtained by the French. The Auſtrian army retreats behind the Mincio. The republicans become maſters of all the Milaneſe. Duke of Modena treats with the republicans. Buonaparte makes a conſiderable ſtay at Milan. A general inſurrection breaks out in the Milaneſe. It is quelled, and the revolters are ſeverely puniſhed. Buonaparte paſſes the Mincio, and Beaulieu retires into the Tyrol. Conſequences of Buonaparte's loſs of time after the battle of Lodi. Mantua inveſted. Buonaparte prepares to march to the South of Italy. Armiſtice concluded by the King of Naples. Buonaparte takes Bologna, Fort Urbino, and the citadel of Ferrara. The Pope obtains an armiſtice on very diſadvantageous terms. A diviſion of the republican army enters Tuſcany, and takes poſſeſſion of Leghorn. The citadel of Milan ſurrenders. Freſh diſturbances break out among the Italians. Inſurrection in the Imperial Fiefs. It is ſuppreſſed. An inſurrection breaks out in Romagna, which alſo is ſuppreſſed. Buonaparte prepares to beſiege Mantua.

tua. Deſcription of that fortreſs. The ſiege commenced. Gallant defence made by the governor, Count Canto d'Irlas.

MILITARY glory may, doubtleſs, be juſtly conſidered as the firmeſt ſupport of an uſurpation. Dazzled and ſeduced by the ſplendour of victory and conqueſt, the people, though they hate the tyrants, are but too apt to tolerate a tyranny which, by ſucceſsful warfare, flatters their pride, and ſeems to raiſe their national character. In the ſufferings which, through their means, their maſters inflict upon other countries, they find, too, a malignant compenſation for thoſe ſufferings which at home are inflicted upon themſelves. The members of the new French government were not ignorant of this important truth, and were reſolved to avail themſelves of it to the fulleſt extent. They had likewiſe another and a powerful ſtimulus to ſtrenuous exertion. This ſtimulus was the natural and not illaudable deſire, to manifeſt their ſuperiority of talent over thoſe who had preceded them in the poſſeſſion of authority. They had, in truth, to reſtore the luſtre of the French military character, which had been ſomewhat tarniſhed towards the cloſe of the reign of the Convention. The campaign of 1795 had been exceedingly diſaſtrous on the Rhine; and though, in Italy, it had been ended by a victory, that tardy victory had not been productive of any beneficial conſequences. While, therefore, to quiet the diſturbances in the interior of France, the Directory employed every reſource of artifice and arms, they prepared alſo to carry on the moſt vigorous hoſtilities againſt their foreign enemies.

Money, one of the main nerves of war, was liberally voted for the exigencies of the approaching campaign, by the French legiſlative bodies. Early in the year, a ſum of fifty millions in ſpecie, or an equivalent ſum in aſſignats, was placed by the two Councils at the diſpoſal of the Directory. In order to raiſe a formidable cavalry, a law was likewiſe paſſed, to ſeize on all horſes employed only for pleaſure, and even to levy every thirtieth horſe which was uſed for agricultural purpoſes. The greateſt exertions were at the ſame time made, to put the republican armies on a formidable footing; and ſevere threats were denounced againſt thoſe young men of the requiſition, who refuſed to join, or deſerted from, their colours. Confident in their immenſe reſources, the Directory declared that the next ſhould be a buſy campaign; and they gave public orders to their generals, to maintain the troops by victory. Nothing in fact had been omitted which could enable the French government to juſtify its vaunts, and render ſucceſsful the plan which it had conceived.

That plan, the formation of which is attributed to Carnot, was of a gigantic kind. It was nothing leſs than, by means of an overwhelming force, to dictate terms of peace to the Emperor, under the walls of his own capital. To accompliſh this, two armies, from the Upper and Lower Rhine, were to march on Vienna; and were to be joined, in Bavaria, by the army of Italy, which, having conquered Piedmont and Lombardy, was

was to break through the paſſes of the Tyrolian mountains. It was hoped that, if the three armies were once united, all reſiſtance, on the part of his Imperial Majeſty, would be hopeleſs, and his humiliation be ſpeedy and complete.

On each ſide, conſiderable changes took place in the leaders of the armies. Pichegru having become an object of ſuſpicion to the new government, the army of the Upper Rhine was entruſted to general Moreau, who, in the year 1794, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Netherlands. The army on the Lower Rhine was again confided to Jourdan, whoſe democratical principles, and former triumphs, overbalanced the conſideration of his recent diſaſters. Equal alterations were made on the part of the Auſtrians. Diſguſted, it is ſaid, with the Aulic Council of war at Vienna, which abſurdly inſiſted on directing the movements of the armies, the victorious Clairfayt reſigned his command, and withdrew from active life. He was replaced by the Emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles, who was inveſted with ſupreme authority over the Auſtrian armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine. The army on the Upper Rhine ſtill, however, remained under the immediate orders of marſhal Wurmſer. In Italy, the republican army was headed by general Buonaparte, whoſe extraordinary character we ſhall have a future opportunity of delineating at full length. Oppoſed to him was general Beaulieu, a leader of talents, but unbending, and deficient in conciliatory manners, and too far advanced in years to be capable of the ſame vigorous and inceſſant exertion as his young and active antagoniſt.

It was on the ſide of Italy that the republicans intended to begin the campaign. This was neceſſary, to give the French army ſufficient time to force the paſſes of the mountains, and eſtabliſh itſelf ſolidly in Piedmont and Lombardy, before the two armies on the Rhine had begun their operations. While they were meditating the deciſive blow, the Directory, with great art, contrived to lull their enemies into a falſe ſecurity, with reſpect to the ſafety of the Piedmonteſe territory. During the winter, they allowed their Italian army to remain in apparently a weak and undiſciplined ſtate; and they not only gave unlimited permiſſion to all diſcontented officers and ſolders to quit it, but even overlooked the departure, without permiſſion, of many thouſands of thoſe men on whoſe courage or fidelity they could not fully depend. But, at the ſame moment, they took meaſures to fill up, with better materials, the chaſm which was occaſioned by theſe permitted abſences and deſertions. The diſturbances, in the South of France, ſerved as a plauſible pretext for collecting forty thouſand of their beſt troops in the Southern Provinces; which troops were ſilently and ſucceſſively diſpatched to ſtrengthen the army of general Buonaparte. By forced marches, the major part of them arrived in the Genoeſe territory, in the month of March and the beginning of April. Before the middle of the latter month, Buonaparte was at the head of more than ſixty thouſand men.

The Auſtrian Cabinet was doubtleſs deceived by the ſeeming weakneſs and diſorder of the republican army. Though it was repeatedly and urgently ſolicited,

by the king of Sardinia, to ſend effectual reinforcements to the Imperial Army, it did not make thoſe exertions which a wiſe policy would certainly have prompted. Some troops were, indeed, ſent; but, even after their arrival, general Beaulieu had not under his command more than thirty-five thouſand men, including a diviſion of ſeven thouſand Neapolitans. The Piedmonteſe army, under general Colli, was about twenty thouſand ſtrong. Another corps, of fifteen thouſand Piedmonteſe, led by the Duke of Aoſta, made head, on the ſide of Savoy, againſt a republican diviſion of twenty-five thouſand men, called the Army of the Alps, under general Kellerman.

While the republican commander was making his final arrangements for invading Piedmont, the campaign was ſuddenly opened by his veteran opponent. Partly with an intention of ſupporting a revolution, which he expected to take place in Genoa, and partly with a wiſh of inducing Beaulieu to extend his line, which, occupying twenty leagues, was already too extenſive, Buonaparte had puſhed, as far as Voltri, a corps of ten or twelve thouſand men, under general Cervoni. The declared object of this movement was, to penetrate by the Bocchetta, and make a diverſion in the neighbourhood of Aleſſandria and Tortona, while the chief force of the republicans opened a way into Piedmont, on the ſide of the Monferrat. Alarmed by this meaſure, general Beaulieu fortified the Bocchetta, ſent a diviſion to the vicinity of Genoa, and extended his right, to form a cloſer communication with the Piedmonteſe army.

To rid himſelf more effectually of the danger that threatened him, he determined to drive back the republican right wing and center from the poſitions which they occupied. Accordingly, he gave inſtructions to generals Argenteau and Roccavina, to attack the French poſts round Montenotte, while he himſelf marched to diſlodge general Cervoni from Voltri. On the ninth of April, he fell upon Cervoni, with ſo much impetuoſity, that the latter was compelled to retire, in diſorder, and with ſome loſs, to the heights of Savona. Argenteau, however, inſtead of attacking on the ſixth, as he had been directed, did not carry the commands of his general into effect till the morning of the tenth, by which time the poſts had been conſiderably reinforced. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, carried all the poſitions, except the redoubt of Montenotte, which was defended by brigadier Rampon, with fifteen hundred men. As it was late in the evening when the Auſtrians, fatigued with the toils of the day, arrived before this redoubt, Argenteau and Roccavina deemed it proper to halt, and reſt the troops previouſly to giving an aſſault. It was reſolved, therefore, that the ſtorming of the redoubt ſhould be attempted in the courſe of the night. But Roccavina, meanwhile, receiving a dangerous wound, the ſole command devolved on Argenteau, who, either from ignorance or treachery, decided upon poſtponing till the morning the projected operation.

The time thus loſt by the republican commander was carefully turned to account by Buonaparte. During the darkneſs, he drew together, in the vicinity of the con-

teſted

teſted redoubt, all the troops of his right, under general Laharpe; while he himſelf, with a part of his center and left, marched by Altare, and took poſt on the right flank and rear of the Auſtrians. At break of day, Argenteau advanced againſt the redoubt; but he ſoon experienced the fatal conſequences of his delay. He was turned on his left by Laharpe, and on his right by Buonaparte; and the Auſtrians were, at length, put to the rout, and ſuſtained a heavy loſs in killed and priſoners. This firſt ſucceſs was rapidly followed up by Buonaparte. He eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Carcare, and ſent diviſions to occupy Cairo, and the heights of Dego, Bietro, and Saint Margaret, the poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary for the execution of his plans. His intention was to ſeparate, if poſſible, the Sardinian from the Imperial army, and, thus divided, to overwhelm each of them by a ſuperiority of numbers.

At dawn of day, on the thirteenth of April, general Augereau forced the defile of Milleſimo, while generals Menard and Joubert made themſelves maſters of ſeveral poſitions, and enveloped the corps of Lieutenant-general Provera, which conſiſted of fifteen hundred men. Inſtead of laying down his arms, the gallant Provera threw himſelf into the old caſtle of Coſſaria, which ſtands on a hill, and had been ſlightly entrenched. It was in vain that, in the courſe of the day, the republicans repeatedly aſſaulted this poſition. They were uniformly repulſed with great ſlaughter; two of their generals were killed, and a third was wounded. Buonaparte now had recourſe to large pecuniary offers, but he had the mortification to find that Provera was not leſs incorruptible than brave. His offers were diſdainfully rejected. Night coming on, he diſcontinued the attack, cloſely blockaded the caſtle, and raiſed ſeveral batteries, to prevent the Auſtrian general from breaking ſword in hand through the ſurrounding republicans.

On the following morning, Buonaparte determined to give battle to the Auſtrian army. But the ardour of his troops was ſo much damped, by their repulſe at Coſſaria, that it became neceſſary for him to reanimate them by an harangue; in which he held up the riches, the luxuries, and the women of Italy, as the reward of victory. This produced the deſired effect. Eager to indulge in pillage and licentiouſneſs, the republicans declared their readineſs to be led to the field. While, therefore, the French left wing held Provera inveſted, the centre and right attacked the Auſtrian army. The battle was long and obſtinate. The Imperialiſts made ſeveral deſperate but fruitleſs efforts to pierce the republican center. The victory, nevertheleſs, remained ſeveral hours in ſuſpenſe. It was finally decided by the republicans outflanking the Auſtrians, and pouring down on their left with freſh and irreſiſtible numbers. General Beaulieu was then compelled to quit the field, and retire beyond Dego; with a loſs, according to the enemy's incredible ſtatement, of ten thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners. All hope of ſuccour being at end, general Provera capitulated, upon honourable terms.

Notwithſtanding this ſeveral defeat, neither the ſpirit of Beaulieu, nor the ſtrength of his army

was

was ſo broken, as to prevent him from forming, on the ſpot, the bold and deciſive plan of recovering, by an unexpected attack, the ground which he had unfortunately loſt. He calculated that the republicans, giving themſelves up to a moral and phyſical intoxication, and believing their enemy to be entirely crippled, would neglect the uſual precautions, and might eaſily be taken by ſurpriſe. Accordingly, before dawn the next morning, he fell upon Dego, with a choſen body of troops, and expelled the French from it, with terrible ſlaughter. Buonaparte, who felt all the value of this poſt, ordered Maſſena to recover it. In three aſſaults, however, Maſſena was ſeverely repulſed. General Cauſſe next led up a diviſion to the combat, but was ſtill more unfortunate. He was ſlain, and his troops were driven back. The conteſt laſted till the afternoon, when, by dint of bringing forward freſh troops, and making inceſſant efforts, Buonaparte ſucceeded in regaining the poſition. Beaulieu retreated towards Acqui, with the ſhattered remains of his forces. While, on this ſide, theſe events were paſſing, generals Ruſca and Augereau, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral poſts in the valleys of the Bormida and Tanaro, and eſtabliſhed a communication with the diviſion of general Serrurier, which was on the Upper Tanaro.

Believing that the Auſtrian army was ſufficiently weakened to hinder it from acting againſt him with vigour, Buonaparte, in purſuance of his original plan, reſolved to direct his principal efforts againſt the Sardinian army. This ſcheme was but too well ſeconded by the diſunion which reigned between generals Beaulieu and Colli, who accuſed each other of having cauſed the recent diſaſters, and who, inſtead of concentrating and combining their armies, perſiſted in keeping them ſeparate, and acting without concert.

Leaving, therefore, a part of his army to keep Beaulieu in check, Buonaparte marched with the remainder, and joined his left wing under Serrurier, which was already poſted in the vicinity of Ceva. In front of Ceva, the Piedmonteſe occupied an entrenched camp of conſiderable ſtrength. On the ſixteenth, the French attacked this camp, but without effect. Finding, however, that the republicans were preparing to turn their flank, the Piedmonteſe in the courſe of the night, abandoned the camp, threw a garriſon into the citadel of Ceva, and retired to a ſtrong poſition at the conflux of the Curſaglia and Tanaro. Here, though vigorouſly attacked, they held the French at bay till the twenty-firſt, when Buonaparte, having accompliſhed, in two places, the paſſage of the Tanaro, general Colli found it neceſſary to retire towards Mondovi. At Vico, however, he was overtaken by the republicans, and an action enſued, in which his army was worſted. The French, with their wonted exaggeration, eſtimated his loſs at between three and four thouſand men. Colli then withdrew behind the Stura; his front being covered by that river, his right by Coni, and his left by Cheraſco. In this poſition, which protected all the approaches to the plain of Piedmont, he hoped to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, till ſuccours could arrive. But his

his expectations were disappointed, by the fall of Cherasco; which, though it was capable of a good defence, the governor chose to evacuate, before a cannon had been fired against it. In Cherasco the French found a large quantity of artillery and considerable magazines. The invaders immediately began to throw bridges over the Stura; and Colli deeming his post no longer tenable, fell back, across the Po, to Carignan, for the protection of Turin.

The surrender of Cherasco, and the progress of the republican invaders, struck the Sardinian Monarch with dismay. The French were within seven leagues of the capital, and the king, never possessed of the spirit of his great ancestor, and now, perhaps, rendered, by his advanced age, more than ever open to the impression of terror, could find no resource but in submission. He dispatched Plenipotentiaries to Genoa, to treat for peace, under the mediation of the Spanish court; and, at the same time, he ordered general Colli, to request, from general Buonaparte, a suspension of arms. This request the leader of the French army refused to grant, unless the king would consent to deliver to him two out of the three fortresses, of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona.

April, 23.

When, however, conferences were opened on the subject, Buonaparte did not content himself with merely the delivery of two fortresses. He insisted upon the possession of Coni, Tortona, and the citadel of Ceva, and of all the country which he had conquered between the Genoese territory, the Tanaro, the Bormida, and the Po. Till Tortona could be given up to him, Alessandria was to be garrisoned by the French. He likewise obtained the liberty, which he did not mean to use, of passing the Po at Valenza. It is said that his Sardinian Majesty also agreed, by a secret article, to join his troops with those of the republicans, in order to expel the Austrians from Piedmont, if the latter did not retire within eight days. This armistice was signed on the twenty-eighth of April.

Those who place themselves at the mercy of a cunning and inveterate enemy, must not expect to escape without loss and dishonour. The conditions on which an armistice had been sold to the king of Sardinia, put it out of his power to refuse any terms of peace, which the Directory were disposed to dictate. The treaty * was accordingly signed at Paris, on the fifteenth of May by his Ambassador, the Chevalier Tonso; and it was such as might be looked for by a Sovereign who had, in reality, made a virtual surrender of his throne.

That the cession of the Duchy of Savoy, and of the countries of Nice, Tende, and Beiuel, should be required by the republicans, was not wonderful; and had their demands been carried no further, there would perhaps have been little reason to complain of their conduct. But among the articles of the treaty there were some which not only degraded the King of Sardinia, but struck at his very existence as a sovereign. They clearly proved, indeed, the fixed design of the republican rulers to

* See State Papers, p. 252*

to reduce him to a ſituation ſo helpleſs, as to make it impoſſible for him to reſiſt them, whenever they choſe to wreſt the ſceptre from his hand. By the firſt of thoſe articles, they ſecured to themſelves formidable allies in the heart of his territories. They obtained a full and entire amneſty for all his ſubjects, who had been proſecuted for political opinions; the revocation of all the ſentences which had been paſſed on rebels and traitors, and the immediate reſtitution, or payment of the value of, all property which had been ſeized. That no obſtacle might be thrown in the way of their communication with their Piedmonteſe allies, they ſtipulated that, independently of the fortreſſes which they held under the terms of the armiſtice, they ſhould alſo occupy thoſe of Aleſſandria, or Valenza, if Buonaparte preferred it, Chateau-Dauphin, Aſſiette, Exilles, Brunette, and Suſa. The three latter were, however, to be demoliſhed, at the expence of his Majeſty, on the return of a general peace; and he likewiſe bound himſelf not to eſtabliſh or repair any fortification, on that ſide of his dominions. The meaning of theſe articles is too obvious to ſtand in need of explanation. It will be remembered, that Savoy was now become a French poſſeſſion, and that Suſa, Brunette, and Exilles, which are ſituated on its frontier, are not more than ten leagues diſtance from the capital of Piedmont. Nor were the reſt of the fortreſſes to be reſtored till a new frontier line was marked out; a treaty of commerce ſettled; and a general peace concluded. Ample room was thus left for chicane and bad faith on the part of the Directory. By another article, it was agreed that the country which, according to the armiſtice, was to remain in the occupation of the French army, ſhould be ſubject to military contributions, and to ſupply whatever forage and proviſions might be demanded by the generals of the French. A free paſſage, through the Sardinian States, was alſo granted for the republican troops.

Such was the tenor of the treaty which was made public. Onerous as were the conditions of it, there is ſome reaſon to believe that others, ſtill more ſo, remained unpubliſhed. It has been aſſerted that the Sardinian Monarch conſented to ſecret articles, two of which were, that he ſhould ſhut the ports of Sardinia againſt Engliſh veſſels, and that he ſhould reduce his army to the ſcanty number of twelve thouſand men.

After the disjunction of the Sardinian and Auſtrian armies, the latter, reduced to leſs than twenty-five thouſand men, continued its retreat towards the Tanaro. While Beaulieu was on his march, he received, from the Imperial Ambaſſador at Turin, a diſpatch which informed him that an armiſtice was concluded by his Sardinian Majeſty, and that a peace would neceſſarily follow. This was a fatal blow to the Auſtrian general, whoſe army was utterly incompetent to oppoſe the progreſs of the victorious republicans. In this emergency, he reſolved upon ſtriking a bold ſtroke, to enable him to keep the enemy in check, till ſuccours could be ſent to him by the Auſtrian government. His plan was to ſeize the three ſtrong and neighbouring fortreſſes of Aleſſandria,

Tortona,

Tortona, and Valenza, and thus keep the French, for a while, at leaſt, from puſhing forward into the Milaneſe. Unfortunately, this ſcheme failed in execution. Valenza was, indeed ſecured, but the governors of Aleſſandria and Tortona were on their guard, and fruſtrated the deſigns of the Auſtrians. As Valenza alone could not anſwer any beneficial purpoſe, it was abandoned, and Beaulieu withdrew behind the Ticino, where he fortified himſelf; leſs in the hope of making an effectual ſtand, than for the purpoſe of gaining time to remove the magazines from Pavia and the city of Milan.

The moment the armiſtice was ſigned, the French army was put in motion towards the Po. We have ſeen that, with a view to miſlead his antagoniſt, Buonaparte had cauſed to be inſerted among the conditions of the armiſtice, an article, by which he ſtipulated for the liberty of croſſing the Po, at Valenza. This ſeems to have anſwered its end, by inducing Beaulieu to direct his attention almoſt entirely to the defence of the Ticino. The real purpoſe of Buonaparte was however, to croſs the Po by ſurpriſe, at a great diſtance from Valenza, turn the left flank of Beaulieu, and thus nullify all the ſteps which had been taken for the protection of Milan. While, therefore, Beaulieu was kept in alarm, by feints on the ſide of Valenza, Buonaparte, by a rapid march, reached the vicinity of Piacenza, on the ſeventh of May, with a diviſion, conſiſting of five thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry; and gained poſſeſſion of a ſufficient number of boats to accompliſh the paſſage of the Po. The troops croſſed the river without encountering any oppoſition, and were followed, in the courſe of the day by all the other republican diviſions.

As ſoon as he was informed that the republicans were on the left bank of the Po, Beaulieu ſent againſt them a diviſion, in the hope that they might not yet be in ſufficient numbers to maintain their ground. But this diviſion ſoon found that the French were too numerous to be attacked, with any chance of ſucceſs; and it accordingly halted at the village of Fombio, where it entrenched itſelf. The French now advanced, attacked the village, and after an obſtinate conteſt, compelled the Auſtrians to retreat beyond the Adda. Another diviſion, which was ſent from Caſal Puſterlengo to the ſuccour of the routed troops, came up with the diviſion of General Laharpe at Codogno, before daybreak, on the following morning, and a combat enſued, in which Laharpe was killed, and the republican out-poſts were driven back. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, ſoon diſcovered that it was not poſſible either to diſlodge their antagoniſts, or retain their own poſition; and they conſequently withdrew. The Auſtrian army now retired acroſs the Adda, and took poſt along that river, oppoſite the town of Lodi, which town was likewiſe occupied by a detachment of Auſtrian troops.

The defection of the Sardinian Monarch, and the continued triumphs of the French, naturally enough inſpired the Sovereigns of the ſmaller States with heavy fears, reſpecting the fate of their dominions. The Duke of Parma

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was the firſt to follow the example which had been ſet him by the King of Sardinia. On the morning after the paſſage of the Po by the republicans, he ſolicited a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was granted, through the mediation of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at his court. The terms upon which he obtained this favour were, among other things, that he ſhould pay a military contribution of two millions of livres, and furniſh ſeventeen hundred horſes ready equipped for the field, two thouſand oxen, and large quantities of forage and corn. It was here that commenced the ſyſtem of deſpoiling Italy of thoſe maſter-pieces of art, which had ſo long, and with ſo much juſtice, been her boaſt and her glory. The Duke was required to give up twenty of his fineſt pictures, at the choice of the republican general. This precedent, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of many and even French artiſts, was faithfully copied in every ſucceeding treaty, and the major part of the wonders of Italian ſculpture and painting, were thus ſucceſſively torn from their native and claſſic ſeats, to gratify the vanity and rapacity of the modern Gauls.

The road to Milan was now open, but was not ſafe, while Beaulieu retained his poſition behind the Adda; on the right bank of which river Buonaparte arrived on the tenth of May. When the French advanced-guard came up, an Auſtrian detachment evacuated Lodi, and retired to the main army. Inſtead of breaking down the bridge, as he might eaſily and ought to have done, major Malcamp, who commanded the corps which had quitted Lodi, only ordered ſeveral pieces of cannon to be placed at the end of it, and others on the right and left, to obtain a flanking and croſs fire. The republicans, he imagined, would never think of paſſing the bridge, while it was protected by ſuch a numerous and well-placed artillery. In this, however, he was miſtaken. Prudence and feeling would certainly have dictated to the French general the propriety of accompliſhing the paſſage of the Adda by means of manœuvres, and he might have ſo accompliſhed it with a trifling delay; but his diſregard of the lives of his ſoldiers, his impetuoſity, and his vanity, prompted him to prefer a paſſage by main force over the bridge, to the leſs brilliant and leſs ſanguinary mode of diſlodging his antagoniſt by dint of military ſkill. Accordingly, having aſſembled his general officers, he communicated to them his deſign of paſſing the bridge, in ſpite of the Auſtrian batteries. Finding that his plan was diſapproved of by all the officers, he called a council of grenadiers, to whom he made an animating and flattering harangue. "Give us ſome brandy," exclaimed the grenadiers, "and we will ſee what can be done." The brandy was liberally ſupplied, and the troops in conſequence prepared themſelves for the perilous attack.

A ſolid column, of four thouſand grenadiers and carabiniers, advanced towards the bridge. It no ſooner arrived at the extremity, than it was met by a diſcharge of grape ſhot, ſo terrible as to compel it to fall back, with great ſlaughter. Twice more it came on to the charge, and each time it was received in the ſame manner,

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and with the ſame effect. The carnage was enormous. Bonaparte, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in his deſign. Freſh troops were ordered to reinforce thoſe which had ſuffered ſo much. Six generals put themſelves at the head of the column, and by their preſence and exhortations gave courage to the ſoldiers. Seizing a favourable moment, when the thickneſs of the ſmoke prevented the Auſtrians from ſeeing the enemy, and making a general diſcharge, the republicans ruſhed over the bridge, and were fortunate enough to overthrow the corps, and capture the cannon, by which it was guarded. The remainder of the French army ſoon followed the victorious column, and Beaulieu, convinced that he could not keep his ground, retired in good order, and was little moleſted in his retreat. The loſs ſuſtained by the conqueror was generally eſtimated at four thouſand men; and by many at a ſtill larger amount.

After the battle, general Beaulieu continued his retreat to the Mincio, behind which he eſtabliſhed himſelf, with his right to the lake of Garda, and his left near Mantua. Into Mantua he threw a ſtrong garriſon, and he made the greateſt exertions to put that fortreſs in a ſtate of defence, and to furniſh it with the neceſſary ſupplies.

Cremona, Pizzighitone, Pavia, and Milan, opened their gates to the republicans, who were now in poſſeſſion of all the Milaneſe, with the ſingle exception of the citadel of Milan. Buonaparte, made his triumphal entry into Milan, on the fifteenth of May, and took up his reſidence in the palace of the Archduke. Here he waſted ſeveral days in balls, feaſts, and other pleaſures. A contribution of twenty millions of livres was laid upon the inhabitants of Lombardy; and a ſuſpenſion of arms was granted to the Duke of Modena, at the price of ten millions of livres, and twenty of his fineſt pictures.

Having ſatiated himſelf with luxury and triumph, Buonaparte prepared to march againſt the Auſtrian army. By a proclamation he called on his troops to beware of finding a Capua in Milan, and to remember that they had ſtill injuries to avenge, laurels to gather, and the Roman people to deliver from a ſtate of ſlavery. He had reached Lodi, on his way to join his army, when he was called back by an unexpected and alarming event.

The heavy contributions impoſed upon the Milaneſe; the ſeizure of the church plate, and of the property belonging to the charitable inſtitutions; and the ſpirit of pillage and cruelty, and particularly of brutal licentiouſneſs towards the women, which was diſplayed by the republican ſoldiery; drove the people of the dutchy of Milan to deſpair, and inſpired them with an unconquerble deſire of revenge. An extenſive and formidable inſurrection was planned, with the greateſt ſecrecy, which, on the ringing of the alarm-bell, from one of the ſteeples of Milan, was to commence in that city, and by means of the ſame kind of ſignal, was almoſt inſtantaneouſly to be ſpread, from place to place, over the whole of the country.

At Milan the republicans obtained a knowledge of the plot in time

time to take precautions, and prevent the alarm-bell from being rung. The populace, nevertheleſs, gathered together, trampled the French cockade under foot, and endeavoured to pull down the Tree of Liberty. The republican garriſon, however, after a ſharp ſtruggle, defeated the inſurgents, and put numbers of them to the ſword. But though the ſignal had not been given from Milan, the alarm-bell was almoſt generally ſounded, and the people flew to arms. The Tree of Liberty was every where torn down, and the ſcattered ſmall detachments of French were either killed or made priſoners. This ſpirit manifeſted itſelf with peculiar vigour at Vareze, Lodi, and Pavia. At the latter place the inhabitants, aided by about five hundred peaſantry, diſarmed and took priſoners the republican garriſon. Every thing ſeemed to indicate that Italy was on the point of once more becoming the grave of its invaders.

24th May.

On receiving intelligence of theſe events, Buonaparte hurried back to Milan, with a part of his forces. Thence, after having given ſevere orders for the puniſhment of the captive inſurgents, he marched towards Pavia. The inhabitants of the village of Binaſco, about ſeven or eight hundred in number, attempted to ſtop the march of the column, but they were inſtantly routed, and many of them ſlain. The village was then committed to the flames, by order of the republican general. On his arrival at Pavia, the citizens ſhut the gates, and refuſed to ſurrender. The gates were, however, ſpeedily broken open by cannon, the citizens were defeated, all that fell into the hands of the French were put to the ſword, and the town was delivered over to pillage. In a ſhort time reſiſtance was every where quelled, and the victors indulged themſelves in a cruel vengeance for the dangers to which they had been expoſed. Heavy contributions were levied, the inhabitants were diſarmed, and ſubjected to greater inſult and exactions than before, and innumerable executions took place, of thoſe who had been concerned in the revolt, or were ſuſpected of being well-wiſhers to the Auſtrian government.

The Milaneſe being once more bent under the yoke, Buonaparte recommenced his march againſt the Auſtrian army. Previouſly to his entering the Venetian territory, he iſſued a proclamation in which he promiſed to maintain the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and "not to forget the long friendſhip which united the two Republics." The French army reached the Mincio, on the twentieth of May, and drove acroſs the river a diviſion which was ſtationed at Borghetto. As the magnitude of Buonaparte's army put it in his power to attack Beaulieu in front, and at the ſame time cut off his retreat from the Tyrol, and as he was evidently making movements for that purpoſe, the Auſtrian general did not attempt to defend the line of the Mincio, but retired on the thirtieth to the Tyrol, with fourteen thouſand men, in good order, and without ſuſtaining any loſs.

The fifteen days which, after the battle of Lodi, Buonaparte unaccountably threw away, had enabled Beaulieu to place Mantua in

in a ſtate to reſiſt effectually the republican attacks. Had Buonaparte preſſed cloſely upon the retreat of the Auſtrian commander, he might, perhaps, have obtained ſome deciſive advantage over him, and would certainly have hindered him from ſtrengthening the works, and furniſhing the magazines, of Mantua.

The French took poſſeſſion of Verona on the firſt of June, and here Buonaparte gave a ſplendid inſtance of his reſpect for "the friendſhip which had ſo long united the two republics." At Verona the unfortunate Louis the eighteenth had for ſome time found a refuge. But when the French opened the campaign, and before they had gained their firſt ſucceſſes, the ſenate of Venice cauſed it to be intimated to him, that he was expected to quit the Venetian territories. This meaſure, too, was rendered more painful to him, by the vulgar and brutal language, in which the podeſtat of Verona replied to his remonſtrances. The fugitive ſovereign, however, obeyed the commands of the ſenate, and the republicans, therefore, had long ceaſed to have any pretext for complaint. Yet Buonaparte, when he entered Verona, did not ſcruple to expreſs his reſentment in the moſt extraordinary mode.—"I did not," ſays he, in his diſpatch to the Directory, "conceal from the inhabitants, that if the King of France had not quitted their city before I paſſed the Po, I ſhould have given to the flames a city audacious enough to think itſelf the capital of the French empire!" It would be difficult to diſcover how the French general could, on ſuch grounds, have acquired a right to burn a city belonging to a friendly ſtate. Nor is the barbarous inſolence of his threats more wonderful than the manner in which, writing to a republican government, he gives Louis the title of King of France, and uſes the phraſe of the capital of the French empire.

It was on the fourth of June that the republicans began to form the inveſtment of Mantua. The heavy artillery, deſigned for the ſiege, having been captured by commodore Nelſon, they could at preſent only blockade the fortreſs. At the outſet they were fortunate enough to drive the Auſtrians from the ſuburb of St. George, and ſome other works of leſs importance, and thus circumſcribe them within ſomewhat narrower bounds than they could otherwiſe have done.

Having, for ſome time to come, nothing to fear from the Auſtrians, Buonaparte, as ſoon as he had completed the inveſtment of Mantua, reſolved to turn his arms towards the ſouth of Italy, and compel the Pope, and the King of Naples, to ſue for a peace. The latter did not wait for the approach of the republican army, to prompt him to expreſs a deſire of putting an end to hoſtilities.—Early in June, he concluded with the French general an armiſtice, the terms of which were moderate, becauſe the Neapolitan reſources were yet unbroken, and the ſituation of affairs forbade Buonaparte to entangle himſelf too far in the Italian Peninſula. The ſeparation of the Neapolitan from the Auſtrian forces, and the ſending an ambaſſador to Paris to conclude a

treaty, were the ſole conditions which, at this moment, it was deemed prudent to require from the ſovereign of the Two Sicilies.

The holy Father, on the contrary, was more ſafely acceſſible to republican vengeance, and was too much an object of hatred to the fanatical irreligion of the French rulers, to be ſuffered to eſcape on ſuch eaſy terms as had been granted to his ſtronger neighbour. The diviſion of General Augereau croſſed the Po, at Borgoforte, on the ſixteenth of June, and arrived on the nineteenth at Bologna, the garriſon of which ſurrendered without reſiſtance.—The example of Bologna was followed by Fort Urbino, and the citadel of Ferrara. In the two latter places, the conquerors found nearly two hundred pieces of heavy artillery; a capture of the utmoſt importance, as it enabled them to convert the blockade of Mantua into a regular ſiege.

Alarmed by the rapid progreſs of the enemy, the Pope haſtened to ſeek the means of ſaving from their rapacity at leaſt a part of his dominions. Under the mediation of the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Rome, an armiſtice was concluded between his holineſs and the republican general. Oppreſſive as the terms were, they would, doubtleſs, have been ſtill more ſo, had not Buonaparte been anxious to free himſelf from all oppoſition in the ſouth, that he might be at liberty to direct his undivided efforts againſt Mantua, and againſt that force which he was aware would ere long be diſpatched to its relief. Among other terms, of leſs moment, the Pope agreed to pay a contribution of twenty-one millions of livres; to give up a hundred pictures or ſtatues; and five hundred curious manuſcripts; to ſend a plenipotentiary to Paris; to cloſe his ports againſt the ſhips of the coaleſced powers; to leave the French in poſſeſſion of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara; and to place in their hands the citadel of Ancona, with all its proviſions, artillery, and military ſtores.—Theſe articles were ſigned at Bologna on the twenty-third of June.

As the Grand Duke of Tuſcany was at peace with the French rulers, he might not unnaturally have ſuppoſed that his territories would not be entered by their troops, with any hoſtile deſigns. His neutrality, however, proved but an ineffectual protection againſt the republican avarice and ambition. Deſirous of ſeizing upon a large amount of Britiſh property, ſhutting out the Britiſh commerce, and procuring a convenient point of communication with the diſcontented Corſicans, the Directory inſtructed Buonaparte to ſeize upon Leghorn. A column, commanded by general Vaubois, entered Tuſcany, under the pretext of marching, by the route of Sienna, againſt the ſtates of the Pope. This deluſion was kept up as long as poſſible, to prevent the Engliſh in Leghorn from taking alarm and removing their property. But when the column had paſſed Piſtoia, the maſk was thrown off, and, by a rapid movement, the republicans, on the twenty-eighth of June, took poſſeſſion of Leghorn. This ſtep was announced to the Grand Duke by a letter from Buonaparte; and was defended on the ground that the neutrality of

Leghorn

Leghorn had been repeatedly violated by the Engliſh, that the French merchants were inſulted, and that his royal highneſs had not ſufficient power to puniſh theſe alleged criminal proceedings. In one of the great objects which they had in view the republicans were almoſt wholly diſappointed. The vigilance of the Britiſh miniſter at Florence had diſcovered their intentions, and he had conſequently diſpatched ſuch timely information to Leghorn, as enabled the merchants to carry nearly all their property on board their veſſels, the whole of which ſailed from the harbour before the arrival of the enemy. Buonaparte was ſo enraged at the loſs of his expected prey, that, in groſs contempt of decorum, he ſent the governor of the place under an arreſt to Florence, and demanded that he ſhould be brought to trial. The pretext for this outrage upon decency was, that the governor had favoured the Engliſh, that he hated the French, and had endeavoured to excite againſt them the populace of Leghorn.

Whatever, on this occaſion, might have been the ſentiments of the Grand Duke, he did not manifeſt any ſigns of diſſatisfaction. On the contrary, when Buonaparte, and ſeveral of his ſtaff officers, paſſed through Florence, he invited them to a ſplendid dinner, and treated them with great diſtinction. While Buonaparte was at dinner with his royal highneſs, a courier brought him intelligence of the ſurrender of the citadel of Milan. The trenches were opened on the eighteenth of June, and the place capitulated on the twenty-ninth; the garriſon of two thouſand eight hundred men becoming priſoners of war. A large quantity of powder, ſtores, and proviſions were found in the place. By the reduction of this citadel, a conſiderable additional ſecurity was given to the republican poſition in Italy.

While Buonaparte was thus humiliating the foes, and extending the conqueſts, of the republic, he was again expoſed to danger, from the hatred which had been excited in the minds of the Italians, by the licentiouſneſs of the republican ſoldiery. Diſturbances aroſe in the diſtricts called the Imperial Fiefs, which are encloſed by the territories of Piedmont and Genoa. In theſe diſtricts armed bands were formed, which impeded the communications, killed the couriers, and attacked the convoys. To prevent theſe beginnings of revolt from growing to a more alarming magnitude, and to take a terrible vengeance for the paſt, General Laſnes was diſpatched with twelve hundred men; and he fully carried into effect the commiſſion with which he was charged. He ſhot numbers of the chiefs, burned ſeveral villages, laid heavy contributions on the country, and ſecured obedience, by depriving the people of their arms, and compelling them to give hoſtages for their future peaceable conduct.

This inſurrection was ſcarcely ſuppreſſed before another broke out, in the midſt of the province of Romagna. A report having been ſpread that the Auſtrians had raiſed the blockade of Mantua, and were advancing into the papal

dominions, the people ruſhed to arms for the purpoſe of joining them, and in a few days ſeveral thouſand men were aſſembled, who fixed their head quarters at Lugo, and fell upon and deſtroyed ſome of the French detachments which were devaſtating the country. A large body of infantry and cavalry with cannon, under General Augereau, was immediately ſent againſt them. The populace, however, were not intimidated by the danger which threatened them.—They boldly marched to meet the republicans; and it was not till after a deſperate and ſanguinary action of three hours, that they were at length broken and put to flight. Lugo was entered ſword in hand by the victors, and was delivered over to all the horrors of pillage, and of ſlaughter. To prevent the ſpirit of oppoſition from again manifeſting itſelf, the moſt rigorous meaſures were adopted. All perſons who refuſed to deliver their fire-arms within twenty-four hours were ſentenced to be ſhot; meetings of every kind were ſtrictly forbidden; and all villages which ſhould revolt were ordered to be burnt, as were likewiſe all towns and villages in which a Frenchman ſhould happen to be killed. By theſe means open reſiſtance was prevented; but they could not ſuppreſs the deſire of revenge; and the conſequence was, that the republican ranks were daily thinned by the murderous ſtilettoes of the vanquiſhed Italians.

Having thus put down inſurrection, ſecured himſelf from attack in the ſouthern quarters of Italy, and obtained by his conqueſts a ſufficient quantity of heavy artillery, Buonaparte reſolved to lay regular ſiege to Mantua.—Before, however, we proceed to the narrative of operations, it may not be improper to give the reader ſome idea of the local and artificial ſtrength of that celebrated fortreſs.

Deſcending from the lake of Garda towards the Po, the Mincio begins to widen near Rivalta, and in its courſe from thence, gradually expands, till it forms a marſhy lake, twenty miles in circumference and more than two miles broad, in which is ſituated the city of Mantua. This collection of water was partly produced by the means which, amidſt the diſſentions of the twelfth century, the citizens of Mantua employed, for the purpoſe of obſtructing the courſe of the river, to procure to their walls the defence of an inundation. They ſucceeded in their deſign, but at the expence of the ſalubrity of their city; Mantua being in the ſummer ſeaſon, rendered extremely unhealthy by the ſtagnation of the water in a portion of the lake.

The city, and the ſtrongly fortified ſuburb of Borgo del Te, which is ſeated on an iſland cloſe to the city, can only be approached by ſeveral narrow cauſeways of conſiderable length. The heads of theſe cauſeways on the main land are covered by various works; the principal of which are the citadel, the ſuburb of St. George, and the horn work of Pradella.—Even when a beſieging army has maſtered theſe, it has advanced but little towards its object; as it ſtill has to encounter the difficulty of carrying on the trenches along the confined and inadequate ſpace which the cauſeways afford. It

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is obvious, too, that the beſiegers muſt labour under many diſadvantages, from being compelled to ſpread their forces, in order to form ſuch an extenſive line of inveſtment as is made neceſſary by the ſingular poſition of Mantua.

During the time which had elapſed ſince the inveſtment, the garriſon of Mantua had frequently ſallied forth, and in general with ſucceſs. It was, indeed, not yet wholly cooped within the works of the fortreſs, as it ſtill held an entrenched camp in the vicinity of the ſuburbs. Buonaparte now took ſteps to confine it within narrower limits. Previouſly, however, to making any attempt on the camp, he reſolved to try if, by means of a ſudden nocturnal ſurpriſe, he could not gain poſſeſſion of the town; or at leaſt abridge the duration of the ſiege. Accordingly, eight hundred grenadiers were embarked, on the night of the ſeventeenth of July, for the purpoſe of ſeizing one of the gates. This enterpriſe was fruſtrated by a ſudden fall of the waters, and the French general was conſequently compelled to reſort to other meaſures. On the following night he attacked the entrenched camp in all quarters, and ſucceeded in expelling from it the Auſtrian troops. At the ſame moment the trenches were commenced, within one hundred and ſixty yards of the place, and a terrible fire of red hot ſhot and ſhells, was opened from three batteries, conſiſting of ſix mortars and fourteen pieces of cannon. A part of the city was ſpeedily in flames; the cuſtom-houſe, the Collerodo palace, and ſeveral convents were reduced to aſhes. Under theſe circumſtances, Buonaparte imperiouſly ſummoned the governor, Count Canto d'Irles, to ſurrender the fortreſs. But the count was not to be intimidated either by the threats of the French general, or the fury of the cannonade and bombardment. He laconically replied, that, "the laws of honour and of duty dictated to him to defend to the laſt extremity the place which was intruſted to his care." The ſiege was, therefore, continued with the utmoſt activity. Showers of balls and ſhells were inceſſantly poured into the town; in a few days the ſecond parallel was completed; and Buonaparte began to indulge hopes that he ſhould effect the important object of reducing Mantua, before the Auſtrian army, which was now preparing to take the field, would be able to advance to its relief. It will, however, in the following chapters, be ſeen, that his hopes were too ſanguine, and that he was deſtined to fight many hard battles, and even to ſuſtain ſeveral heavy loſſes, ere he could crown the conqueſt of Italy by the reduction of Mantua.

CHAP. VIII.

Exertions made by the Auſtrian government to reinforce the army in Italy. The command of that army is conferred on marſhal Wurmſer. Plan of operations. He commences his operations againſt the republicans. Firſt ſucceſſes of the various Auſtrian diviſions. General Buonaparte determines to bear down with the whole of his force upon the army advancing againſt him on the ſide of Breſcia, and commanded by general Quoſdanowich. He is compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Mantua, in order to put this plan into execution. Quoſdanowich is entirely routed, after ſeveral ſanguinary encounters. Progreſs of marſhal Wurmſer. Having freed himſelf from Quoſdanowich, general Buonaparte returns rapidly to ſtop the progreſs of Wurmſer. Indeciſive battle of Caſtiglione. Second battle, in which Wurmſer is defeated, with great loſs. Buonaparte compels him to abandon the line of the Mincio, and retreat into the Tyrol. Loſs of the Imperialiſts and French in theſe various actions. Hatred ſhewn to the Republicans by the Italians, while they entertained hopes of Wurmſer's ſucceſs. The blockade of Mantua reſumed by Buonaparte. Several poſts taken from the Auſtrians. Preſentation of the captured Auſtrian ſtandards to the Directory. The two hoſtile armies receive large reinforcements. The Directory hope to realize their plan of attacking Vienna with their three armies, and they, in conſequence, give orders to Buonaparte to penetrate through the Tyrol into Bavaria. Shameful proclamation, addreſſed to the people of the Tyrol by Buonaparte. Plan of Wurmſer to fruſtrate the deſigns of his antagoniſt. Deſcription of the Auſtrian poſitions in the Tyroleſe. Firſt movements of the Republican army. The Auſtrians are driven from their advanced poſts. The French enter Trent, after having defeated the Auſtrians with great loſs. Buonaparte marches againſt Wurmſer. Battle of Baſſano. Wurmſer throws himſelf into Mantua, with the remnant of his army. Two battles of St. George, in the laſt of which the French are victorious. Various ſallies made by Wurmſer from Mantua. Diplomatic proceedings in Italy. Treaties concluded by the Directory with the King of Naples and the Duke of Parma. Plan of Carnot to enlarge the territories of the Duke. The Duke of Modena deprived of his dominions. Commencement of the deſign of eſtabliſhing a republic in Italy. Negotiation with the Pope. Hatred and inſolent conduct of the Directory. They propoſe terms which it is impoſſible for him to accept. Preparations made by the Pope for the defence of his dominions.

IT has frequently been remarked of the Auſtrian government, that, after having ſuſtained ſevere defeats, far from being diſcouraged by its reverſes of fortune, it has been ſtimulated to efforts of ſuch magnitude as, if they had been previouſly made, would have more than ſufficed to enſure its triumph. Such was certainly its conduct on the preſent occaſion. No ſooner did the Emperor find that his fer-

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tile Italian provinces were already in the power of the enemy, and were even on the point of being irrevocably wrefted from him by the fall of Mantua, than he determined to fend into that country reinforcements fo formidable, that, had they been difpatched at the opening of the campaign, Savoy and Nice might not only have been recovered, but the war might, perhaps, have been fuccefsfully carried into the territory of France.

Relinquifhing his original plan of an offenfive campaign on the Upper Rhine, the Emperor, early in June, difpatched thirty thoufand men, from his army in that quarter, to reinforce his defeated army in Italy. Orders were alfo given to all the troops in Styria and Carinthia to proceed by forced marches to the Tyrol. At the fame time, the Tyrolians, having manifefted an ardent defire to ferve their country, feveral thoufands were armed and formed into corps of *chaffeurs*. The remainder of June, and a conficerable part of July, paffed away, before the majority of this force could reach the fcene of action, and recover fufficiently from its fatigues to take the field againft the enemy. Marfhal Wurmfer, to whom the chief command in Italy was now confided, arrived at the head quarters, at Roveredo, in the Trentine, on the fourth of July.

The great exertions which the French were making againft Mantua, induced Marfhal Wurmfer to refolve upon attempting to relieve the place, even though he had not yet received the whole of his expected reinforcements. Ten thoufand of the troops drawn from the Upper Rhine were left in the bifhoprick of Infpruck, to watch a French corps, which threatened an irruption into that territory, from the fide of Swabia. With the reft of his army, confifting of forty-feven thoufand men, the marfhal made difpofitions for a fimultaneous attack on three widely feparated points of the republican line. On his left, General Mezaros, with five battalions and feven fquadrons, was to move by Legnano towards the Po, in order to turn the right flank of the enemy. At the other extremity, Lieut. Gen. Quofdanowich, at the head of feventeen battalions and fourteen fquadrons, was to direct his courfe along the right fhore of the lake of Garda, by Salo on Brefcia, to affail the enemy's left. The centre, which was compofed of twenty-nine battalions and fourteen fquadrons, commanded by Generals Melas and Davidowich, under the marfhal himfelf, was divided into two columns; the firft of which was to force all the hoftile pofts between the Adige and the lake, and to be fupported by the fecond, on the other bank of Adige, which was ultimately to join it, between Dolci and Rivoli.

The feveral columns were put in motion early on the morning of the twenty-ninth of July. At the commencement of their operations the plan was crowned with great fuccefs. The divifion of General Quofdanowich forced the pofts of Salo and Brefcia, took prifoners two thoufand men and three generals, and advanced on the roads which lead from Brefcia to Mantua and Verona. The center of July 29.

the Auſtrians was equally fortunate. The French poſition of La Corona, on the ſummit of Monte Baldo, covered by an immenſe ravine, was carried by the Auſtrians, who croſſed the ravine, under General Melas, and ſcaled the eminence, in ſpite of a tremendous fire of grape ſhot from the republican artillery. The narrow paſs of Brentino, between the mountain and the lake, was likewiſe attacked with equal gallantry, and with equal ſucceſs. Purſuing their victorious career, the Auſtrians, on the ſame evening, made themſelves maſters, by aſſault, of Rivoli and La Chiuſa. In theſe various encounters, nine pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men, were taken by the Imperial forces.

The victorious Auſtrian center continued its march, at dawn of day on the following morning, towards Caſtel Nuovo and Peſchiera. The republicans, to the number of between twelve and fifteen thouſand men, endeavoured to make a ſtand on the heights of Campara. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were, nevertheleſs, compelled to retreat, with the loſs of four pieces of cannon, and many killed and priſoners. The ſame fate awaited them on the heights of Calmaſino, whence they were driven by the Auſtrian advanced guard under general Bajalitſch. In the courſe of the night, their detachments, which occupied Verona and Porto Legnano, finding themſelves in danger of being cut off, abandoned thoſe places, and fell back upon Roverbella, which, however, they quitted the next day, on the approach of Marſhal Wurmſer, who fixed his head-quarters at Valeggio.

All the perilouſneſs of his ſituation was now plainly ſeen by general Buonaparte. He learned that the diviſion of general Quoſdanowich had taken Breſcia, and was advancing to Lonato, to fall probably upon his rear, while he was engaged in front by the diviſions under marſhal Wurmſer. It had at firſt been his intention to give battle to the marſhal; but that deſign he relinquiſhed, on hearing of the progreſs of Quoſdanowich, and, with no leſs judgment than promptitude, he formed a new and bolder plan. The ſeparation of the two parts of the Auſtrian army gave him an advantage which he ſaw, and reſolved to ſeize without the delay of a moment. Though ſomewhat, perhaps, inferior in ſtrength to the whole of the Imperial army, his central poſition would enable him to direct againſt either of the hoſtile generals a force ſuperior to that which they could ſingly oppoſe to him. This advantage, however, would be loſt, if they once ſucceeded in effecting a junction. He, therefore, determined to unite the whole of his troops, and, by a rapid movement with them, to cruſh the diviſion of general Quoſdanowich, before marſhal Wurmſer could come to the ſuccour of that general.

To accompliſh this plan it was neceſſary, mortifying as ſuch a ſtep undoubtedly was, to raiſe, with the utmoſt haſte, the ſiege of Mantua, the approaches of which were by this time puſhed within a hundred yards of the covered way. This was accordingly done, on the night of the thirty-firſt of July. The garriſon, while the operation was performing, made a vigorous

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ſally, in which they took ſix hundred priſoners. The republicans were compelled to leave behind them all their battering train and ammunition; conſiſting of 134 cannon and mortars, and 190,000 ſhot and ſhells. In order to concentrate his army ſtill more, Buonaparte alſo withdrew the garriſon which he had placed in the citadel of Ferrara.

Intending to bear down Quoſdanowich with nearly the whole weight of his collected ſtrength, Buonaparte only left a corps of eighteen hundred men at Caſtiglione delle Stivere, to watch and retard the progreſs of Wurmſer, and another corps at Bozolo, to cover the road to Cremona. On the night of the thirtieth, he put all his remaining diviſions in motion, towards the points of Breſcia and Salo. The diviſion of general Quoſdanowich was, at this moment, ſplit into various corps, which occupied Salo, Breſcia, Lonato, Montechiaro, and Dezenzano. Theſe corps were furiouſly attacked by Buonaparte, on the thirty-firſt, and the conteſt was continued, with ſhort intervals, through the three following days. The Auſtrian troops, numerically inferior as they were, maintained, nevertheleſs, a gallant ſtruggle with the republicans. In ſome of the actions which took place they even defeated the latter; particularly at Lonato and Dezenzano. The freſh and overwhelming force, which was continually brought up by Buonaparte, at length prevailed. The various corps under general Quoſdanowich were entirely routed, and ſcattered in all directions, and the broken remnants of them compelled to eſcape in the beſt manner they could to the Tyrolian mountains.* Nearly one half of general Quoſdanowich's diviſion was either killed or made priſoners in this obſtinate and ſanguinary conflict. The French on their ſide, ſuffered greatly, and loſt ſeveral generals. Twice in the courſe of the conteſt, Buonaparte himſelf was on the point of being taken priſoner, and he eſcaped only by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe.

The difficulty which the republican leader experienced, in driving back this part of the Auſtrian army, affords reaſon to believe that the reſult would have been extremely different, had general Quoſdanowich had at his diſpoſal the troops which, under general Mezaros, were employed in the worſe than uſeleſs movement on the ſide of Porto Legnano. They might, at leaſt, haye enabled him to keep his poſition till he was diſengaged by the forward march of his commander in chief.

Marſhal Wurmſer was, in the mean time, making every exertion in his power to puſh his firſt ſucceſs, and open a communication with general Quoſdanowich. His progreſs was, however, impeded by the violent heat of the weather, the fatigue which the troops had undergone, and the difficulty of procuring ſupplies. On the

* We have not noticed in the text, the wonderful ſtory told by Buonaparte, of his having, by the mere terror of his threats, compelled 4,000 Auſtrians to lay down their arms at Lonato. The ſtory is nothing more than a ſort of military romance, with which the French general thought proper to embelliſh his diſpatch to the Directory.

fecond of Auguſt he removed his head-quarters to Goito, and diſpatched general Liptaye, with an advanced guard of about three thouſand men, to Caſtiglione delle Stivere, in the hope of aiding Quoſdanowich's operations. Liptaye drove the republicans from the village, made two or three hundred priſoners, and took ſome pieces of cannon.

This trivial ſucceſs was ſpeedily followed by a ſerious reverſe of fortune. Buonaparte, having accompliſhed the firſt part of his plan, was now rapidly returning towards the Mincio, at the head of twenty-eight thouſand men. With this force he fell upon general Liptaye, in the neighbourhood of Caſtiglione. The Auſtrian general retired ſlowly, defending every inch of ground with ſtubborn bravery, that he might give time to the marſhal to come to his ſuccour. When, however, he reached the heights in the vicinity of Solfarino he was nearly ſurrounded, and, deſpairing of aſſiſtance, he came forward with his officers, to propoſe to ſurrender. At this critical moment the cavalry of the Auſtrians was diſcovered, coming up at full gallop to his aid. This reinforcement gave freſh ſpirits to his troops, and compelled the republicans to retire haſtily, for the purpoſe of taking a new poſition. Aug. 3.

While this was paſſing, marſhal Wurmſer arrived, with a conſiderable portion of his army. But, even now, he had not on the field more than thirteen thouſand infantry, and fifteen hundred cavalry, to oppoſe to double that number. Well aware of the great advantage which he ſhould have over troops who had made a long and fatiguing march, under a hot ſun, and who were unexpectedly called into action, Buonaparte impetuouſly attacked the Auſtrians as they came up, and before they were able to form in regular order of battle. Yet, notwithſtanding the ground was highly diſadvantageous to them, and they were ſo far outnumbered by the republicans, they reſiſted all the numerous charges of the French infantry and cavalry, till night put an end to the conteſt. They would probably, however, have been forced to give way, had not the well-ſupported fire of twelve pieces of cannon, from an eminence on their left, prevented the republicans from penetrating into the plain between their left and their right. The loſs on each ſide was about two thouſand ſix hundred men.

Both armies were too much exhauſted to make any hoſtile movement during the following day.—In the courſe of it, however, Buonaparte received a ſeaſonable reinforcement from the Milaneſe. Wurmſer, though manifeſtly not ſtrong enough to cope with his enemy, could not, nevertheleſs, bring himſelf to reſolve upon making a timely retreat behind the Mincio, to wait the coming up of ſuccours, and to collect the ſcattered remnants of Quoſdanowich's diviſion, the bad ſucceſs of which he muſt by this time have conjectured. On the contrary, he continued in his defective poſition, and determined to attack, on the ſeventh, the republican army.—His left was poſted in the vicinity of Medoli, extending to a plain, and his right occupied the high grounds in front of Solfarino.

Buonaparte,

Buonaparte, more prompt than his antagoniſt, had already made diſpoſitions to drive him beyond the Mincio. On the morning of the fifth, he began a general and vigorous attack upon the whole of the Auſtrian line. But it was againſt their left, which he hoped to ſurround and overwhelm, that he directed his principal efforts. In addition to the force which was oppoſed to the front of the wing, he directed a ſtrong column, under general Serrurier, to march from Marcaria, by San Martino, and fall upon the rear. This combined movement was executed with celerity and ſkill; and had very nearly produced its intended effect. The left wing was, in conſequence, ordered to change its front, and fall back towards the high ground which was occupied by the right. While this was performing, the republicans compelled ſome of the battalions on the right to give way, and, by the meeting of theſe battalions with the retiring left, much confuſion was occaſioned. A retreat became abſolutely neceſſary, to ſave the Auſtrian army from total deſtruction. In this ſtate of things, the peril is ſaid to have been greatly increaſed, by the reluctance of the Marſhal to give orders for retiring from the field. Colonel Graham at length prevailed on him to diſcontinue the conteſt. The Imperialiſts recroſſed the Mincio, and poſted themſelves at Valeggio; having loſt nearly three thouſand men, a hundred and twenty ammunition waggons, and thirty pieces of artillery. It was a fortunate circumſtance that the victors were too fatigued to continue the purſuit to a diſtance from the ſcene of action.

Aug. 5th.

The junction, which now took place, of the diviſion of general Mezaros, did not ſufficiently ſtrengthen Marſhal Wurmſer to enable him to defend the line of the Mincio. On the ſixth, the republicans drove the Auſtrians from the entrenched camp, which the latter had formed in front of Peſchiera, to blockade that place, and ſupport their right; and, on the ſucceeding day, the two diviſions of Augereau and Serrurier effected the paſſage of the river. Marſhal Wurmſer was compelled to withdraw haſtily to his former poſition in the Tyrol, which, however, he did not reach without having been ſeverely haraſſed by the triumphant republicans.

This diſaſtrous expedition coſt the Imperialiſts no leſs than ſeventeen thouſand men, of whom nearly four hundred were officers. Nor did the republicans buy their ſucceſs at an eaſy rate. Their loſs amounted to ten thouſand men; four thouſand of whom were priſoners. Defeated as the Auſtrians were, they, nevertheleſs, accompliſhed one great purpoſe for which their exertions were made. Mantua was effectually relieved. The communication with the place having been open, for five or ſix days, Marſhal Wurmſer had time to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers, remove the ſick, reinforce the garriſon, and ſupply it with ſuch a ſtore of proviſions and ammunition, as put it in a ſtate to ſet the republican efforts at defiance, for a very conſiderable period.

Had Marſhal Wurmſer obtained a deciſive advantage over the republican army, Italy would, perhaps,

haps, have once more merited its ancient character, of the grave of the French. On the news of the firſt reverſes which Buonaparte had ſuffered, the Italian populace gave ſtrong proofs of the hatred which they felt againſt their republican invaders. At Caſal Maggiore, Cremona, and other places, crowds aſſembled, inſulted thoſe who wore the republican cockade, and gave unequivocal ſigns of their intention to take ſignal vengeance on their enemies, as ſoon as the favourable moment arrived. The liſt of the victims, who, on the near approach of the Auſtrians, were to expiate with their blood their attachment to the French, was already made out, and even publicly circulated, at Cremona.

As far as Milan, Genoa, and Rome, the tidings of Wurmſer's ſucceſs were rapidly ſpread; and excited a general exultation, and a general thirſt of revenge. In Rome, it was with infinite difficulty that the government kept down the violence of the people. At Genoa, ſuperſtition was called in to ſtimulate ſtill more the paſſions of the multitude. New miracles were ſaid to have been lately performed in that city, and thoſe miracles were conſidered as predictive of the rout and deſtruction of the republican army. God, it was declared, had now proſcribed the French, whom he had permitted to enter Italy only for the purpoſe of recalling the children of the church to penitence, and to the practice of the chriſtian virtues. Publications, breathing a ſimilar ſpirit, were alſo profuſely ſcattered in all quarters. Had Buonaparte been compelled to make a rapid and diſorderly retreat, through a country generally inflamed by ſuch doctrines, his loſs would undoubtedly have been immenſe: probably his ruin would have been complete. The Sicilian veſpers might have been repeated, on a more extenſive and terrible ſcale. The partiſans whom the French had gained, not numerous enough to afford them effectual aſſiſtance, would only have ſerved to ſwell the number of the ſlain. On the preſent occaſion, the fears of thoſe partiſans were obvious; and in ſome places, the moſt active of them loudly called for arms, that they might join their friends, and endeavour to avert the danger which threatened them.

The blockade of Mantua was now reſumed by Buonaparte. Two combats, however, took place, at Governolo and Borgoforte, before the garriſon could be driven within the walls of the fortreſs. Meanwhile, two diviſions of the republican army, led, by generals Maſſena and Soret, had attacked and carried the poſts which Wurmſer ſtill held at Rocca d'Anſo, on the lake of Idro; and, at Montebaldo, Corona, and Preaboco, between the Adige and the lake of Garda. According to their own account, they made in theſe various affairs nearly two thouſand priſoners. Marſhal Wurmſer fell back with his army, behind the city of Trent.

The ſtandards, which had been taken from the Auſtrian general, were ſent to Paris, to be laid at the feet of the Directory. The bearer of them aſſured the five Sovereigns of France, that the defeated army was the laſt hope of Auſtria, and that the ſole ambition

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of his comrades was to exterminate even to the very laſt of the enemies of the republic. To this ſpeech the Preſident of the Directory replied in a ſtyle which was not a little bombaſtic. Among other things, he declared that the prodigies which the republican troops had performed in Italy, rendered probable, ſince they ſurpaſſed, thoſe which were related in ancient hiſtory; and he added a ſplendid anticipatory panegyric, upon the civic virtues which would be manifeſted by the warriors of France, whenever they returned to their own habitations.

During the reſt of Auguſt no movement of any conſequence was made on either ſide. Both parties were actively preparing for vigorous hoſtilities. Very conſiderable reinforcements were ſent to Marſhal Wurmſer, by the Auſtrian government; ſo that, by the cloſe of the month he had again under his command, nearly fifty thouſand men. General Buonaparte likewiſe received an equal acceſſion of ſtrength. From the army of Kellerman he drew freſh ſuccours; and his army was daily encreaſed by the arrival of thoſe troops which the ſuſpenſion of the royaliſt efforts enabled the Directory to detach from the departments of the weſt. There ſeems alſo reaſon to believe that, during this tranſient pauſe from active warfare, he was buſily employed in extending his uſe of the powerful auxiliary of corruption, from which he had already derived many important benefits. To bribe, with an unſparing hand, the ſpies and traitors who ſerved him, and to multiply as much as poſſible their number, was one of his leading military principles.

The Directory believed that the moment was now come when they might accompliſh their favourite project of uniting the three French armies in the heart of Germany, and penetrating to the capital of the Auſtrian monarchy. Moreau was at this moment advancing into Bavaria, and the defeats of Jourdan not being yet known, he alſo was ſuppoſed to be triumphantly puſhing forward in the ſame direction. Orders were in conſequence ſent to Buonaparte, to force the paſſes of the Tyrol, and form a junction with Moreau, whoſe right wing extended towards the Tyroleſe frontiers.

Previouſly to his commencing his operations, Buonaparte addreſſed a proclamation to the natives of the Tyrol. Unlike a former addreſs to them, which breathed nothing but ſoftneſs and flattery, which they had ſcorned, it was filled only with menaces, which proved how much he had been harraſſed by their ſtubborn bravery. In ludicrous vaunting of the French proweſs, and vulgar contempt of the Auſtrians and their ſovereign, it was ſufficiently laviſh. It was, in truth, a maſterpiece of barbarity and brutal inſolence. Regardleſs that the conſtitution of their province impoſed on them the duty of taking the field, whenever their country was threatened with an invaſion, Buonaparte declared that every Tyrolian found in arms ſhould be inſtantly ſhot; that thoſe diſtricts of which the military contingents had not returned before the arrival of the French, ſhould be given to the flames, and the inhabitants ſent as hoſtages to France; and that, in the diſtricts which ſubmitted, the Aug. 30th.

houſes

houſes of all the Tyrolians who were bearing arms ſhould be burned; and their relations, as far as the third degree, ſhould be impriſoned in France as hoſtages. One other paſſage of this diſgraceful compoſition has been rendered worthy of notice, by events of a long ſubſequent date. Diſclaiming all ideas of further aggrandizement, its author declared that nature had traced the limits of France by the Rhine and the Alps, in the ſame manner that ſhe had marked out the Tyrol as the proper limits of the houſe of Auſtria.

Marſhal Wurmſer was informed of the deſign of Buonaparte to force his way through the Tyrol, into the Electorate of Bavaria, and he reſolved to follow a plan which was well calculated to baffle the republican general. This plan conſiſted in leaving about a third of his army to defend the entrance of the Tyrol, while with the remainder he marched down the valley of the Brenta, to turn the right flank, and menace the rear of the French. The diviſion in their front was, meanwhile, to fall back as ſlowly as poſſible, and to be ſtrengthened, as it retired, by the Tyrolian levy in maſs, and a body of regular troops. It was probable that the enemy would be compelled to abandon their deſign. If, however, they ſtill perſiſted in puſhing forward, he would be enabled at leaſt to cut off their communication with the troops which inveſted Mantua, and would moſt probably ſucceed in releaſing that place from the cloſe blockade in which it was now held. In execution of this project, Wurmſer moved from Trent towards Baſſano, on the ſame day that Buonaparte put his army in motion to invade the Tyrol.

The poſitions held by the Auſtrian army, which protected the entrance of the Tyrol, were of ſuch ſtrength, as to juſtify the hope that they would not be forced by the enemy, without much difficulty, and loſs of time. The firſt of theſe was about two miles in front of Roveredo, and the whole line of defence was ſcarcely two miles in extent. On the left was the narrow and almoſt impregnable defile of Marco, one flank of which was covered by mountains, and the other by the Adige. Beyond the Adige, on the right, was the ſtrongly-entrenched camp of Mori, the flanks of which alſo were covered by the mountains and the river. In the rear of Roveredo, another poſition, ſtill more formidable, barred the paſſage to the city of Trent. This was the defile of Calliano. In this place the Adige runs between lofty and inacceſſible mountains, which leave only a narrow paſs on one ſide, between them and the ſtream. The paſs was cloſed by the village of Calliano, a fort, and a wall, which filled the whole of the ſpace betweeen the water and the rock. Behind Trent, at the town of Lavis, near the confluence of the Lavisio and the Adige, is another paſs, leſs ſtrong than the former, but, nevertheleſs, of great ſtrength. All the intermediate country is likewiſe rugged, interſected, and abounding with defiles, and is conſequently of a kind extremely favourable to defenſive warfare. The reſources of nature and art are, however, laviſhed in vain, when they are placed at the diſpoſal of cowardice and treachery.

Buonaparte

Buonaparte commenced his operations on the ſecond of September. The main body, led by Maſſena, advanced along the Adige, by the high road to the Tyrol, while another diviſion, under general Vaubois, proceeding between the Adige and the lake of Garda, joined, at Torbole, a diviſion which had been landed from Salo. At the ſame time, Augereau was ordered to march from Verona, with the troops under his command, and take poſt on the heights between Lugo and Rovere, for the purpoſe of ſupporting Maſſena, and alarming the Auſtrians on the ſide of Vicenza.

As the republicans moved forward, they ſucceſſively drove the Auſtrian outpoſts from Alla and Serravalle, and compelled them to retire, with the loſs of three or four hundred men, to Marco and Mori. At ſix in the morning, the two latter poſts were attacked by the French, and by noon the Auſtrians were not only expelled from them, but were purſued through Roveredo, as far as the defile of Calliano. Buonaparte did not pauſe for a moment. He ordered the diviſion of Maſſena to advance immediately againſt this almoſt impregnable paſs. The order was obeyed, the defile was carried, and the troops which defended it were thrown into utter confuſion, with aſtoniſhing rapidity. By night-fall, the routed Auſtrian army was driven beyond Trent; having, in the courſe of the day, ſuffered, independently of the killed and wounded, a loſs of five thouſand men taken priſoners, twenty-five pieces of cannon, ſeven ſtandards, and a profuſion of ammunition and baggage. On the following morning the republicans entered Trent; to which place no French army had ever before been able to penetrate. From Trent a diviſion was diſpatched againſt the poſition of Lavis, which was maſtered with as little trouble as either of the former.

As Wurmſer expected, his march upon Baſſano fruſtrated the deſign which the French general had formed of forcing his way into Germany. Buonaparte was too wiſe to entangle himſelf among the intricate paſſes of the Tyrol, and leave a formidable enemy in his rear. Inſtead, therefore, of taking the road to Inſpruck, he reſolved to puſh rapidly down the valley of the Brenta, and deſtroy or diſperſe the remainder of the Auſtrian army. This taſk was not an eaſy one; the defiles of the Brenta being ſcarcely, if at all, leſs difficult of acceſs than thoſe of the Adige. Here, as there, the river, for a conſiderable part of its courſe flows confined between lofty and precipitous mountains. But here alſo, as was the caſe there, the advantage of poſition was rendered uſeleſs, by a want of courage, or, more probably, by a want of fidelity.

Leaving a diviſion beyond the Laviſio, to watch the Auſtrian corps in the Tyrol, Buonaparte, on the ſixth of September, entered, with the remainder of his army, into the Valſugana, which is the commencement of the valley of the Brenta. On the following morning, he arrived at the village of Primolano, which he found occupied and entrenched by the advanced guard of the Auſtrians. The village was attacked by general Augereau, and was carried, after ſome reſiſtance. That part of the Auſtrian corps which ef-

fected its retreat, rallied at the fort of Cavelo, which ſtands at no great diſtance from Primolano, and completely ſhuts up the road to Baſſano. From this ſtrong poſt, however, they were driven with much facility, and purſued as far as Campo San Martino, with ſuch ſucceſs that few of them eſcaped. Nearly, four thouſand priſoners, ten pieces of cannon, and nine ſtandards, were taken by the republicans. Buonaparte halted his troops for the night at the village of Ciſmone.

Half the difficulty of the march ſtill remained to be overcome. Between Ciſmone and Baſſano, the defile is ſo rugged that ſome of the French generals could not refrain from expreſſing, in the preſence of their Chief, their aſtoniſhment at his having ventured to lead his army into a ſituation of ſuch apparent peril. Buonaparte replied only by an evaſive ſpeech and a ſmile. The reſult juſtified the confidence which he felt. Early in the morning, his army arrived unoppoſed at Solagna, where the defile opens into the plain of Baſſano. Here was poſted an Auſtrian corps; which was ſpeedily overthrown by an impetuous attack. The republicans followed the fugitives on both ſides of the Brenta, and reached Baſſano before Marſhal Wurmſer was informed of their approach. An entrance into the town was forced in all quarters; and the marſhal had barely time to provide for his own ſafety, and to ſecure the military cheſt of his army. The fruits of theſe two attacks were thirty-five pieces of cannon, ſeveral ſtandards, large magazines, and five thouſand priſoners. It has been aſſerted, that an officer of rank in the Auſtrian army withheld from his commander the intelligence which he had received of the rapid advance of the republicans; and this aſſertion is probably well founded, as, unleſs we ſuppoſe treachery in ſome of his officers, it is almoſt impoſſible to account for the complete ignorance in which the marſhal appears to have been, with reſpect to the movements of Buonaparte, ſubſequently to the capture of Trent.

Only one part of Wurmſer's army was yet unbroken. This was a column of about nine thouſand men, under general Baron Otto, which he had previouſly diſpatched towards Verona, to act againſt the rear of the French in the Tyrol, and which was now at Montebello, not far from Vicenza. To throw himſelf into Mantua, with the remnant of his forces, in order to protract as long as poſſible the defence of that fortreſs, and thus give the government time to draw together new levies for its ſuccour, was the ſtep which the Auſtrian general determined to take in the preſent emergency; and it was, indeed, almoſt the only one which was practicable, as his retreat toward Trieſte was already cut off by a republican diviſion.

The neareſt route to Mantua was likewiſe cloſed againſt him; Verona being held by a French garriſon, which had recently foiled all the efforts of general Otto to expel it from that city. He, therefore, by a forced march, deſcended the Adige to Porto Legnano, which he fortunately found unoccupied by the enemy, the republican commander at Verona not having

having been able to ſpare a detachment, which he had been directed to ſend to ſecure Porto Legnano, and prevent the paſſage of the river. Hoping ſtill to intercept his veteran antagoniſt, either on the Tartaro, the Tione, or the Molinello, Buonaparte ordered the bridges to be broken down, and put three ſtrong diviſions in motion, to occupy all the roads to Mantua. Wurmſer, however, puſhed on in ſuch a rapid manner that he paſſed all the rivers, defeated two of the diviſions at Cerea and Villa Impenta, made more than a thouſand priſoners, and arrived under the walls of Mantua, on the twelfth of September. The force with which he joined the garriſon was little ſhort of ten thouſand men.

The Auſtrians now encamped on the outſide of the fortreſs, between Formagoſo and the ſuburb of St. George. In this poſition they were attacked, on the following day, by two diviſions of the French army. The conteſt was obſtinately maintained on both ſides; but it terminated in the defeat of the republicans, who loſt fifteen hundred priſoners, and ten pieces of cannon. Buonaparte, nevertheleſs, having brought up additional diviſions, renewed his efforts next morning, to make himſelf maſter of the ſuburb of St. George, and the poſt of la Favorita, the poſſeſſion of which by the enemy enabled them to procure forage, and to prevent the place from being effectually inveſted on the left of the Mincio. After a ſanguinary conteſt, the center of Wurmſer's army was broken, the ſuburb and la Favorita were carried, and the Auſtrians were compelled to retire into the fortreſs, leaving behind them twenty-five pieces of artillery, two thouſand priſoners, and many wounded and ſlain. The republicans did not buy their ſucceſs cheaply. In the two actions no leſs than ſeven generals were among the wounded. The loſs of inferior officers and of men, though not ſpecified, was undoubtedly conſiderable.

The great change of circumſtances which had taken place, made it neceſſary for Buonaparte to give up all thoughts of purſuing his victorious career into Germany. Leaving, therefore, a corps in the biſhoprick of Trent, and another in the Trevigiano, to watch the motions of the enemy, he collected the great body of his forces in the vicinity of Mantua. The chief object of Buonaparte was, of courſe, to confine the numerous garriſon within the narroweſt bounds; while that of Wurmſer, on the contrary, was to break continually, in ſome part, through the chain which ſurrounded him; and to procure ſubſiſtence and forage, without which the troops that he had brought with him would only ſerve to accelerate the fall of Mantua. In conſequence of this, the reſt of September, and the whole of October, were ſpent in almoſt daily conteſts between the blockaded and the blockading army. Both ſides ſuffered ſeverely. Wurmſer, however, though ſometimes worſted, was frequently able to accompliſh, and to a conſiderable extent, his purpoſe of obtaining the needful ſupplies. In other quarters active military operations were, for the preſent, ſuſpended.

In the mean time, the French government was actively employ-

ed, in concluding treaties with ſome of the Italian princes, and in deſpoiling and inſulting others. It was Buonaparte himſelf who ſuggeſted to the Directory, that policy required them to diminiſh by negociation the number of enemies with which the republican army had to encounter. Among theſe enemies the moſt formidable, next to the Emperor, was the King of Naples. Hitherto, indeed, he had made no vigorous efforts, but his reſources, if properly applied, were adequate to the raiſing of a large force, and he now ſeemed diſpoſed to bring thoſe reſources into action, unleſs he could obtain a peace upon reaſonable terms. In caſe of his being compelled to recommence hoſtilities, his troops would be joined by thoſe of the Pope; and this combined army, hanging on the right flank, and even the rear of Buonaparte, and obliging that general to divide his forces, while he was fully occupied on his front and left by the Auſtrians, would at leaſt occaſion much embarraſſment, and might be productive of diſaſtrous conſequences to the republican cauſe. Beſides, till the King of Naples was detached from the confederacy, it was obviouſly not practicable to accompliſh the favourite object of humiliating the Pope, and extorting from him the definitive ceſſion of a part of his territories. Rewbell, nevertheleſs, who was the Director charged with the diplomatic concerns of the republic, and whoſe hatred to kings appears to have blinded his reaſon, was ſtrongly averſe from negociating with the Neapolitan ſovereign. By the exertions of Carnot, however, a treaty was at length concluded. It contained no ſtipulation which it is neceſſary to notice*. But, in a ſecret article, the King of Naples is ſaid to have engaged to pay eight millions of livres; a part of which ſum was to be furniſhed in naval ſtores. Oct. 10th.

This treaty was followed by one with the Duke of Parma†, which procured to the French republic ſeveral commercial advantages, but required no further ſacrifice from his Royal Highneſs. For the mildneſs of the terms the Duke was entirely indebted to the mediation of the Spaniſh monarch, to whom he was nearly related. Carnot even propoſed to cede to him a portion of the Papal and Modeneſe territories, in exchange for Florida and Louiſiana, which the king of Spain would have given up, in order to procure an extenſion of the Duke's dominions. In propoſing this arrangement, Carnot was actuated by the two-fold motive of obtaining the means of holding the United States in awe of the French, and of ſecuring Italy againſt the Emperor, by making the King of Spain highly intereſted in the protection of that country, and conſequently deſirous to prevent any ſhare of it from returning under the domination of the Houſe of Auſtria. A republic alone, would not, the Director was of opinion, form a ſufficient barrier againſt his Imperial Majeſty. His colleagues, however, were alarmed leſt his plan ſhould lead to the revival of the kingdom of Lombardy, and Nov. 6th.

* See State Papers, page *263.

† See State Papers, page *265.

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they refuſed, therefore, to give it their concurrence. In this inſtance Carnot certainly proved himſelf a more enlightened politician than any of his aſſociates.

It will be remembered that the Duke of Modena, whoſe dominions the French Director was thus ready to transfer to another ſovereign, had purchaſed an armiſtice, at an extravagant price. But, with the republican rulers, this was no valid reaſon for allowing him the benefits of neutrality. His ſtates were deſtined to compoſe a part of the materials for commencing, on a ſmall ſcale, the long-intended experiment of a new republic in Italy. Accordingly, towards the latter end of Auguſt, the populace of Reggio, the birth-place of Arioſto, were incited to revolt, and drive out the ducal troops. Their example was followed by other towns; and, at length, on the eighth of October, a French detachment ſeized upon the city of Modena, made priſoners the garriſon, arreſted the members of the regency, and proclaimed that the Modeneſe were taken under the protection of the French republic.

Bologna and Ferrara had already been completely revolutionized; and meaſures were now adopted by the revolted natives, to form into a republican ſtate the whole of the revolutionized diſtricts which were ſituated beyond the Po. Theſe meaſures we ſhall relate when, in our next volume, we give a connected view of the civil proceedings, which, under the controul of the French, took place in the conquered countries of Italy, down to the period of the foundation of the Ciſalpine republic.

The hatred which the Directory felt againſt religion, and againſt every thing connected with it, had from the beginning, left little room for doubt, as to the manner in which they would act towards the venerable Pius, as ſoon as their victorious armies obtained for them a complete aſcendency in Italy. One of them, in particular, regarded the head of the Catholic Church with even more malignity than did the reſt of his aſſociates. This was Lareveillere Lepaux, who was ambitious to be the Pontiff of a new ſect, denominated the Theophilanthropiſts and who ſeems to have conſidered, and deteſted, the Pope, as a ſort of rival and perſonal enemy. Carnot, equally irreligious with his colleague, but leſs fanatically ſo, has ludicrouſly deſcribed him as being "ſo much afraid of the Pope, that he continually fancied he ſaw his Holineſs purſuing him, and holding up his fingers to give him his benediction." From men like theſe the Pope could not poſſibly expect any other than the hardeſt and moſt humiliating terms.

The very outſet of the negociation marked the haughty and inſulting ſpirit which animated the republican rulers. They required that the Pope ſhould not ſend an eccleſiaſtic to negotiate with them, as they would not hold conference with an eccleſiaſtical character. Count Petracci was, in conſequence, ſent to Paris as ambaſſador, immediately after the granting of the armiſtice by Buonaparte. On his arrival, a ſeries of articles was preſented to him for his ſignature; the tenor of ſome of which rendered it impoſſible for him to ſubſcribe to them. He was, therefore, ſpeedily diſmiſſed.

The Directory now pointed out Salicetti and Garrau, their commiſſioners with the army of Italy, as the medium through which the negotiation might be continued. The Pope accordingly nominated Monſignor Galeppi, as his plenipotentiary, to proceed to Florence, for the purpoſe of treating with the two commiſſioners. The ſame articles, ſixty-four in number, which had been delivered to Count Petracci, were preſented to M. Galeppi, who was peremptorily informed, that the whole of them muſt either be acceded to, or abſolutely refuſed; and that, if he thought it neceſſary to communicate them to the Pope, a delay of only ſix days would be granted. If that time were ſuffered to elapſe, without their being aſſented to, the circumſtance would be conſidered as a refuſal on the part of his Holineſs. This was, indeed, the Gaul throwing his ſword into the ſcale, and exclaiming, woe to the vanquiſhed.

The Directory demanded the renunciation of Avignon and the Comtat Venaiſſin; the ceſſion of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and the duchies of Caſtro, Ronciglione, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo; the privilege of ſending troops through the papal territories, and of garriſoning Ancona and Civita Vecchia, not only in the preſent but in all future wars; the payment of 300,000 livres monthly, till the concluſion of a peace with the Emperor and the King of Naples, and likewiſe the payment of 500,000 livres, as an atonement for the murder of Baſſeville; a proviſion for all French prieſts, friars, and nuns, who choſe to reſide in his States; a promiſe never to proſecute or impriſon any perſon for religious tenets; and the ſetting at liberty, and reſtoring to their properties, all perſons puniſhed, ſince 1788, for political opinions, particularly ſuch of his own ſubjects as had ſuffered for that cauſe. Exorbitant rights and immunities were likewiſe claimed for French merchants, and perſons inveſted with a diplomatic or conſular character. The clauſe which called upon the Pope to cede the duchies of Caſtro, Ronciglione, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo, plainly ſhews that, even in a treaty of peace, the Directory were anxious to lay the foundation of future war, and to procure the means of future ſubverſion and plunder. Theſe ſmall and inſulated diſtricts, the two former ſituated on the frontier of Tuſcany, and the two latter within the Neapolitan dominions, could only have been coveted from there being a poſſibility of converting them into a kind of places of arms, whence the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, and the King of Naples, might at all times be watched and menaced by the republican forces. Had the Directory, as was naturally to be expected, looked to the magnitude, compactneſs, and intrinſic value, of the ceſſion which they inſiſted on, they would not have required theſe ſcattered duchies, but the province of Romagna, which joins to the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. But they well knew that the poſſeſſion of Caſtro and Roncglione would enable them, without the trouble of croſſing the Alps, at once to invade Tuſcany, and to ſeize on the Roman capital, which they would in a manner overlook, at a diſtance,

tance of ſomewhat leſs than thirty miles. Small, too, as were the other duchies, they would, in ſuch hands, afford to France ample means of becoming a dangerous neighbour to the Neapolitan monarch.

Yet, though theſe articles would, in reality, have left nothing but the ſhadow of ſovereignty to the Pope, ſuch was his love of peace, that there is every reaſon to believe they would have obtained his aſſent, had they not been accompanied by others, which it was impoſſible for him to ſanction, without violating one of the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed maxims of the Catholic Church, and ſtriking a deadly blow at the very root of his ſpiritual authority. The firſt and moſt prominent of theſe ſeems to have been ſtudiouſly drawn up in the ſtrongeſt and moſt obnoxious language. "His Holineſs," it is ſaid, "acknowledges, in the moſt pointed terms, that the common enemy have abuſed his confidence, and impoſed on his religion, as a plea for iſſuing, publiſhing, and diſſeminating, in his name, different edicts, of which the principle and the effect are equally contrary to his true intentions, and to the reſpective laws of nations. His Holineſs, therefore, diſapproves, revokes, and annuls, all ſuch bulls, briefs, apoſtolical mandates, circular or other letters, monitors, inſtructions from the paſtoral ſtaff, and in general all other writings iſſued from the authority of the Holy Chair, and from every other authority, as relate to the affairs of France, from the year 1789, to this day." In addition to this, there were ſeveral articles of an almoſt equally offenſive and inadmiſſible character.

In an aſſembly of Cardinals, which was convened by the Pope, it was unanimouſly determined that, imminent as was the danger which menaced the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, thoſe articles which concerned religion muſt, at all hazards, be rejected. A fruitleſs attempt was again made by the Pope, to obtain better terms, through the mediation of the Chevalier Azzara, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at Rome. But the commiſſioners refuſed even to allow of the ambaſſador's intervention. The negotiation was, therefore, broken off; and the Pontiff, ſorely lamenting that his pacific efforts had been baffled, reluctantly prepared to abide by the deciſion of the ſword. He took meaſures for increaſing his army to as great an extent as poſſible; intreated aſſiſtance from the Emperor; called on his ſubjects to take up arms in defence of their country; and did every thing in his power to ſtimulate into vigorous action their enthuſiaſm and loyalty. His exhortations were not addreſſed to deaf ears nor cold hearts. A patriotic ſpirit was very generally diſplayed by the Romans. The Princes Colonna, Borgheſe, Guiſtiniani, and others engaged to raiſe regiments; while individuals of humbler rank haſtened to form, or to enrol themſelves in, volunteer corps. Offers of money and valuable effects were likewiſe liberally made by bankers and opulent perſons.

CHAP. IX.

Great exertions made by the Emperor to ſuccour Mantua. His army is raiſed to fifty thouſand men, the command of which is given to General Alvinzi, who has under him General Davidovich. Situation of the republicans. Plan of attack formed by the Auſtrians. General Davidovich drives the French General Vaubois from Trent to Roveredo. Advance of Alvinzi. Buonaparte collects his forces and attacks Alvinzi. Sanguinary, but indeciſive battle. Davidovich carries the defile of Caliano, and forces Vaubois to retire to Rivoli. Buonaparte concentrates his army and withdraws behind the Adige. He threatens to burn Vicenza, becauſe the children of the towns-people had inſulted him. Alvinzi follows him cloſely on his retreat. He attacks the Auſtrians, but, after a hard conteſt, is repulſed. He forms a plan for turning the left of the Auſtrians, and carrying off their artillery and baggage. He is diſappointed, by Alvinzi having ſtationed troops in the village of Arcole. Strength of the village. Buonaparte determines to carry Arcole by an aſſault on its front. He is repulſed, with terrible ſlaughter, after repeated attacks. The conteſt unſucceſsfully renewed on the ſecond day. The Auſtrians attack the French on the third day, but are defeated after a hard fought battle. Succeſſes of General Davidovich. Buonaparte marches againſt him, and compels him to retire. Errors of the Auſtrian generals. Sallies made from Mantua by Marſhal Wurmſer. Inaction of the hoſtile armies during November and December. New contributions required from the Italian States. Diſſention between Buonaparte and his generals. Buonaparte receives reinforcements. Exertions mades by the Imperial government to recruit the army in Italy. Movements of Alvinzi. Seizure of the Citadel of Bergamo by Buonaparte. Alvinzi prepares to attack the Republicans. March of General Provera on the Lower Adige. Alvinzi drives the French from la Corona. Battle of Rivoli. The Auſtrians are defeated, after having nearly obtained the victory. Buonaparte hurries to Mantua to ſtop the progreſs of Provera. Joubert defeats the Auſtrians on the Upper Adige. Battle under the walls of Mantua. Provera compelled to lay down his arms. The Auſtrians are compelled to fall back in all quarters. Surrender of Mantua. Honourable terms of capitulation granted to Marſhal Wurmſer. Cloſe of the campaign in Italy. Reflections.

IT was not, however, his own exertions, but thoſe of a much more formidable power, which ſaved the Pope for a while from the republican reſentment and vengeance. Convinced that the ſurrender of Mantua would ſhut the gates of Italy againſt him, the Emperor ſtrained every nerve to put his army in a ſituation at leaſt to relieve that fortreſs, if not to obtain advantages of ſtill greater conſequence. The regiments which had ſuffered in the late battles were completed, and twenty-five thouſand additional troops

troops were sent into the Tyrol and the province of Friuli. By this means his army was again raised to the amount of nearly fifty thousand men. In Mantua were more than twenty thousand, under the orders of Warmser. The force destined to succour Mantua was divided into two parts; one of which, consisting of about twenty thousand men, was confided to lieutenant-general Davidovich, while the other was led by lieutenant-general Alvinzi, as commander-in-chief.

To cope with this force, the republicans had sixty thousand men; twenty-five thousand of whom blockaded Mantua, while Massena, with fifteen thousand, guarded the banks of the Brenta, and Vaubois, with ten thousand, was posted behind the Lavisio, to watch the movements of the Austrians in the bishoprick of Trent. The remainder were employed to garrison Bologna, Ferrara, Leghorn, and Milan. A native corps, under the title of the Lombard Legion, was now raising, in aid of the French, by the revolutionary administration of Lombardy. The districts beyond the Po were also preparing to furnish their military contingent.

According to the plan which was arranged with general Alvinzi, the army under his command was to march through the Trevigiano, upon Bassano, force the passage of the Brenta, and advance to the Adige, whilst the army under general Davidovich, descending the valley of the Adige, and carrying successively the French positions at Trent, Caliano, Roveredo, Corona, and Rivoli, should proceed towards the point of junction in the neighbourhood of Verona. Here we see a repetition of that erroneous measure, which had already been so fatal, of pursuing operations with divided strength upon distant points, and thus putting it in the power of the enemy to crush his antagonists separately, by rapid movements from his central station. Instead, too, of chusing, as commander-in-chief, a general vigorous both in body and mind, the Austrian government selected a man who, whatever might be his talents, was seventy years of age, and consequently could not be expected to act with that prompt and daring spirit, which circumstances imperiously required.

At the commencement of November, the Austrian army took the field. General Davidovich led the way. On the second and third, he routed the republicans, made a thousand prisoners, recovered Trent, and compelled general Vaubois to fall back towards Roveredo. Alvinzi, on the other hand, advanced to the Brenta, on the fourth, and, driving before him the detached corps of the enemy, secured the passages of that river. With twelve thousand men he himself occupied Bassano, and he sent, under lieutenant-general Provera, an equal number to Fontenina; the remainder of his army being employed on his flanks, to cover his left, and to communicate with the army in the Tyrol.

Buonaparte did not long suffer the Austrians to proceed unopposed. With his usual celerity, he called together, in the neighbourhood of Vicenza, the divisions which were scattered in the posts

of Legnano, Ferrara, Montebello, and Verona. Quitting Vicenza in the night, he began, early in the morning of the ſixth, a furious attack upon the corps under Provera, and, ſhortly after, he likewiſe fell upon general Alvinzi's diviſion at Baſſano. The battle raged through the whole of the day, and along the whole of the line. In ſpite, however, of the impetuoſity of the French, they were unable to gain any ground. They merely ſucceeded in breaking down the bridge which Provera had thrown over the Rozza, a branch of the Brenta. The night put an end to the conteſt; leaving each party in the ſame poſition which it held in the morning. In this indeciſive but ſanguinary battle, four thouſand republicans, and as many Auſtrians, were ſlain or wounded.

While general Alvinzi was thus engaged on the Brenta, general Davidovich was puſhing forward on the Adige. Vaubois, after his expulſion from Trent, poſted himſelf in the defile of Caliano, which he carefully entrenched; hoping that the ſtrength of the poſition would put it in his power to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, till he could obtain aid from his commander-in-chief. He was ſucceſsful in baffling the repeated efforts which the Auſtrians made on the ſixth; but when, on the following day, they returned to the charge, his good fortune deſerted him. His troops were completely defeated, and driven from the paſs, with the loſs of two thouſand killed, a thouſand priſoners, and five pieces of cannon. The beaten general retired to the heights of Rivoli and La Corona.

Informed of the advantages which Davidovich had gained, Buonaparte haſtened to concentrate his forces. He accordingly broke up from the neighbourhood of Vicenza, and, without even attempting to defend the ſtrong poſition of Montebello, retired acroſs the Adige, at Verona. The neceſſity of making this retrograde movement ſeems to have ſoured his temper, and a circumſtance which occurred during his retreat irritated him ſtill more, and occaſioned him to burſt into one of his characteriſtic and violent fits of paſſion. On his quitting Vicenza, to attack Alvinzi, he had vauntingly declared, to a deputation of the nobility, that he was going to lead his victorious army to Trieſte. The vaunt was ſoon generally known, and when, on his retreat, he paſſed through the city, ſome of the children ſportively exclaimed, welcome back from Trieſte, Senior Buonaparte. This ſally of childiſh indiſcretion he had the weakneſs of mind to conſider as a public inſult; and, having ordered deputies to be ſent to him from the towns-people, he threatened to burn the place, if they did not ſilence the juvenile ſcoffers. One of the deputies, however, had the ſpirit to reply, that, if he dared attempt to carry into execution an act of ſuch flagrant barbarity and injuſtice, the alarm-bell ſhould be rung from all the churches, and in leſs than an hour fifty thouſand peaſants, who deteſted him, would aſſemble to exterminate his army.

Relying, perhaps, on the great ſtrength of the poſitions which Vaubois now held at the entrance of the Trentine, Buonaparte determined to rid himſelf, if poſſible,

of

of Alvinzi, before he turned his arms againſt Davidovich. In his retreat he had been cloſely followed by Alvinzi, who arrived, on the eleventh, at Villa Nova, between Verona and Montebello. The next morning the republican general, who, in the courſe of the preceding evening, had advanced from Verona, and taken poſt in the mountains, commenced an univerſal and deſperate attack upon the Auſtrian line. The battle laſted throughout the day, and the aſſailants gained at firſt ſome unimportant advantages; but they were finally worſted by a ſkilful manœuvre of the Imperialiſt general. While the French were bending all their efforts to drive back his front, he diſpatched two columns, to fall upon their flanks. As ſoon as theſe columns reached the deſtined ſpot, the republicans precipitately retired. In this action the French general Launay was killed, another general was taken priſoner, and two were wounded. The loſs in men was ſevere on both ſides.

Nov. 12th.

Undiſcouraged by this repulſe, and ever active, Buonaparte, while his army was repoſing for a day, formed the deſign of taking a heavy revenge upon the Imperialiſt army. His intention was to croſs the Adige unawares, turn the Auſtrian left, ſeize their baggage and train of artillery, which were at Villa Nova, and attack them at once in flank and rear. At all events, he hoped that this meaſure would induce general Alvinzi to direct the greateſt part of his force towards the Lower Adige, and thus prevent him from acting in concert with general Davidovich.

In purſuance of this project he marched, during the night of the fourteenth, with the columns of Augereau and Maſſena, along the Adige, and conſtructed a bridge of boats at Ronco. The Auſtrians had, however, taken precautions, by which he was fruſtrated in his principal object. Alvinzi had fortunately obtained ſome information of the republican movements, and, for the purpoſe of covering his left, had ſent a regiment of Croats, and a body of Hungarians, to poſt themſelves in Arcole; which, from its ſituation in the midſt of marſhes and canals, is exceedingly ſtrong and difficult of approach. In its front is the ſmall river Aldego or Alpon, over which is a bridge. The paſſage of this bridge the Imperialiſts had rendered almoſt impracticable, by raiſing batteries, and by piercing all the adjacent houſes with loop-holes, whence the ſoldiers might fire in ſecurity, and with a deadly aim.

In ſpite of all theſe obſtacles, Buonaparte ordered the village to be carried by aſſault. The troops advanced to the bridge with the utmoſt courage, but they were received by ſuch a ſtorm of muſket and cannon ſhot, that they were ſpeedily driven back. It was in vain that they repeatedly returned to the charge, and that each time the generals marched foremoſt, to ſtimulate their efforts. After ſeveral of the generals had been killed or wounded, Augereau ſeized a ſtandard, and ruſhed on the bridge, where he remained ſeveral minutes. His example produced no effect. He continued alone. Buonaparte next put himſelf at the head of his troops, and,

and, reminding them of the bridge of Lodi, called on them to follow him. Animated by his preſence, they again moved forward to within thirty paces of the bridge, when they were once more broken and diſperſed by the Auſtrian fire. In their hurry the fugitives overturned Buonaparte into a marſhy ditch, whence he was not extricated without much difficulty. A Negro ſoldier is ſaid to have been his preſerver.

Nearly the whole of the day was conſumed in theſe uſeleſs and murderous attacks, before the pride of Buonaparte would allow him to deſiſt from his plan of penetrating into Arcole by the front of the village. At length he diſpatched a column, under general Guieux, to croſs the Adige at Albaredo, and fall upon the village in flank. This movement was ſucceſsful. The republicans obtained poſſeſſion of the place, which, however, for ſome unknown reaſon, they thought proper to abandon in the courſe of the night. Before day-break the Auſtrians again occupied it, with a more conſiderable force.

With the return of light the combat recommenced, and it continued, without intermiſſion, from one end of the line to the other, till it was terminated by the darkneſs. On the republican left, Maſſena gained ſome trifling advantage. Augereau was not ſo fortunate on the right. In repeated aſſaults upon Arcole he was conſtantly repulſed, with terrible ſlaughter. Buonaparte was likewiſe baffled in an attempt to croſs the marſhes and canals, and turn the extremity of the Auſtrian left.

Irritated by his loſſes, and ſtill obſtinately determined upon carrying this point, the republican general ſpent the night in throwing bridges acroſs the canals and marſhes, and ſending over the diviſion of Augereau. The Auſtrians, however, did not wait to receive battle. At ten in the morning they fell upon the French army with great impetuoſity. The firſt effort was directed againſt the center, which, at length, they drove back. They next aſſailed the republican right, commanded by Augereau, which they alſo compelled to give way, and retire in confuſion as far as the bridge of Ronco. At this important moment, when victory ſeemed to be declaring in their favour, their progreſs was arreſted by a charge which a part of the French left wing, placed in ambuſh in a wood, made upon the flank of their advancing center. By this unexpected charge their center was thrown into confuſion; and the remainder of the republicans, having now rallied, became in their turn, the aſſailants. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, retired ſlowly, till they were attacked in the rear by a column, which Buonaparte had ordered to march from Porto Legnano. This column completed their defeat. They were finally driven from the long-conteſted poſt of Arcole; but the approach of night, and the ſevere loſs which the victors had ſuſtained, prevented the purſuit from being continued further than San Bonifacio, a ſhort diſtance from the field of action. Nov. 17th.

In theſe obſtinate battles the loſs on both ſides was enormous. The republican general eſtimated that of his antagoniſts at eight thouſand killed or wounded and

between

between four and five thouſand priſoners; while general Berthier rated their killed and wounded at only three thouſand. It was undoubtedly very great. His own loſs, Buonaparte prudently forbore to eſtimate. It was certainly not leſs than that of the Auſtrians. This will eaſily be believed, when it is known that thoſe who had the means of procuring authentic information have declared, that four thouſand men were ſacrificed in the multiplied and ſanguinary aſſaults which were made upon the village of Arcole alone. Buonaparte himſelf confeſſed that twelve or fifteen of his generals and ſtaff officers were killed; that there was not one who had not his clothes perforated with bullets; and that he had, indeed, ſcarcely any generals left.

From the purſuit of Alvinzi, who, though defeated, was ſtill formidable, the attention of Buonaparte was ſuddenly called off to another quarter. After an unaccountable pauſe of ten days, general Davidovich ſeems to have remembered that it was his duty to bear a part in the attempts to throw ſuccour into Mantua. Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth, while the other diviſion of the Imperial army was making its laſt ſtruggles at Arcole, he put his forces in motion. Early in the morning he attacked Vaubois, who was entrenched on the heights of Rivoli. For ſeven hours the French made a ſtrenuous reſiſtance, but they were, at laſt, entirely defeated, and purſued as far as Campara, leaving twelve pieces of cannon, two generals, and eleven hundred men priſoners, in the hands of the Auſtrians. In the night, the republicans received reinforcements. Theſe, however, were not ſufficient to enable them to keep their ground. Davidovich, on the following day, again attacked them, and was again victorious. He made himſelf maſter of the heights of Campara, and compelled the routed enemy to retire beyond Peſchiera. At the cloſe of the conteſt he encamped between the Adige and the lake of Garda, and within little more than twenty miles of the fortreſs of Mantua.

Fully aware of the danger which would ariſe from ſuffering general Davidovich to puſh any further, Buonaparte left only a ſmall corps to watch Alvinzi, and hurried with a conſiderable part of his army to Caſtel Novo; diſpatching, at the ſame time, the diviſion of Augereau towards Dolce, to intercept the Auſtrians in their retreat. On the twenty-firſt he attacked the Imperialiſts on the heights of Campara. Too inferior in ſtrength to think of hazarding a deciſive battle, Davidovich, after a ſlight engagement, retired to Rivoli, and from thence to Dolce, Peri, and Alla. Fortunately the diviſion which had been ſent to cut off the retreat of the Auſtrian general, and which conſiſted of four thouſand men, was baffled by the firmneſs and ſkill of colonel Luſignan, who, with no more than eight hundred troops, kept it in check, till his commander-in-chief had ſafely arrived at Alla, with the whole of the baggage and artillery.

While Buonaparte was repelling Davidovich, general Alvinzi appeared diſpoſed to make a movement againſt Verona, which place

had only a feeble garriſon, and was full of the ſoldiers wounded in the late engagements. This movement would have placed Alvinzi on the right flank of the troops with which Buonaparte was preſſing the diviſion of Davidovich. The menace of it was ſufficient to compel the republicans to fall back towards Rivoli, from the poſition of Peri. Alvinzi, however, to the great diſſatisfaction of his army, countermanded the orders which he had given, and retired to Vicenza. It is certainly difficult account to for this conduct, as, though he had loſt the recent battle, he had really loſt nothing but the field of battle, and was ſtill comparatively as ſtrong as he was before.

Such was the reſult of the third effort to raiſe the blockade of Mantua. This reſult was the natural conſequence of a defective plan, which plan was rendered far worſe by the want of union in the generals who were to carry it into effect. It is evident that widely ſeparated attacks, upon the poſition of a general ſo rapid as Buonaparte, could have no chance whatever of ſucceſs, unleſs they were executed almoſt at the ſame inſtant, in order to tie him down on all ſides, and thus prevent him from recurring to his favourite meaſure of concentrating his forces, and cruſhing with ſuperior weight his inſulated antagoniſts. Had general Davidovich preſſed vigorouſly forward, at the moment when Buonaparte firſt led his army againſt Arcole, he would, undoubtedly, either have compelled the French commander to withdraw a large part of his troops from that quarter, in which caſe general Alvinzi might have advanced; or he would have overwhelmed the weak diviſion of Vaubois, which was not then reinforced, and would conſequently have ſucceeded in the grand object of opening a communication with Mantua. We have ſeen that, even when he made his tardy motion, on the ſeventeenth, he was able to bear down the reinforced Vaubois, and move onward as far as Peſchiera. Alvinzi, on the other hand, was equally blameable, in refuſing to join Davidovich, by a forced march in the night, when the latter had reached the neighbourhood of Rivoli, and no ſerious obſtacle exiſted to hinder the two armies from accompliſhing their junction. It has already been remarked in what manner he abandoned his meditated enterpriſe upon the city of Verona.

Though the Auſtrians could not accompliſh the ſuccour of Mantua, their exertions were not wholly unproductive of benefit. While the bulk of the republican army was occupied in repelling them, marſhal Wurmſer made, on the nineteenth and twenty-third, two ſallies, with the major part of his force, on San Antonio and La Favorita, and was fortunate enough to introduce into the fortreſs a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. We may, perhaps, be allowed to wonder that, with more than twenty thouſand men, twice the number requiſite to ſuſtain a ſiege, he did not attempt to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt ſome quarter of the enemy's lines, ſince, as we have before ſtated, from the local ſituation of the place, thoſe lines were of immenſe extent, and the communications were in conſequence more than

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uſually difficult. The lines, too, were not yet ſo ſtrongly fortified as at a ſubſequent period, and were guarded by leſs than thirty thouſand men. The gain of a battle would have produced at leaſt a temporary raiſing of the ſiege; the loſs of a battle would not have endangered the ſafety of Mantua.

Theſe violent efforts were, on both ſides, ſucceeded by inaction. At firſt, cauſes which have never been explained, and which it would not be eaſy to conjecture, and afterwards the ſetting in of the rigorous ſeaſon, prevented the Auſtrian army from making any hoſtile movement during the remainder of November, and the whole of December. It occupied a ſemi-circular line, extending from the upper end of the lake of Garda as far as the Piavego. The French were chiefly poſted on the right bank of the Adige.

But, though not engaged in the field, Buonaparte was far from inactive. His army was in want of equipments, cloathing, and almoſt of ſubſiſtence. The vaſt contributions which had been raiſed were all exhauſted, and the French government was not in a financial condition to furniſh the requiſite ſupplies. Exhauſted, therefore, as Lombardy was, by public military exactions, and the ſhameleſs pillage in which the generals indulged, Buonaparte was compelled, in the beginning of December, to call together at Milan an aſſembly of the nobility and clergy of the duchy, in order to procure the means of continuing the war. A new contribution of about two hundred and ten thouſand pounds was impoſed, and a levy was ordered of twenty-five thouſand men. Similar demands were made upon the Ferrareſe, Bologneſe, and other conquered countries. Theſe freſh extortions excited loud murmurs, and the ſtiletto would doubtleſs have been more frequently uſed than it even was, had not the Italians been ſomewhat reſtrained by the well-founded dread of the republican torch and bayonet. In ſome places the diſcontent broke out into acts of reſiſtance. Lodi was ſo conſpicuous in its oppoſition, that it was declared in a ſtate of ſiege.

While Buonaparte was thus embarraſſed in obtaining the two main nerves of war, he is ſaid to have been involved in diſputes with his generals and ſtaff officers, at the head of whom was Berthier. The cauſes of their diſſatisfaction were, his haughtineſs, and his laviſh waſte of the blood of his ſoldiers. Theſe diſſentions were, however, ſuppreſſed by the ſuperior authority of the Directory, which was interpoſed in good time to prevent any ſerious conſequences.

At this period the Directory diſpatched general Clarke, through Italy, to Vienna, to prevail on his Imperial Majeſty to enter into a ſeparate negotiation. This ſtep was not productive of the deſired effect; the Emperor even refuſing to allow the negotiator to proceed to the Auſtrian capital.

The late hard-fought battles had made ſuch havock in the ranks of Buonaparte's army, that, notwithſtanding his levies from the conquered countries, he was under the neceſſity of preſſing the Directory to ſend him immediately at leaſt fifteen thouſand men, to put him in a condition to cope with

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the Imperial forces. His wiſhes were more than complied with by the director Carnot, who was entruſted with the care of the military department. Thirty thouſand troops were ordered to march without delay from the army of the Rhine, of which number one half was to be replaced by drafts from the army of the Sambre and Meuſe. In the courſe of December, a very conſiderable part of theſe troops arrived at their deſtination, together with a large train of battering artillery from Piedmont.

The Imperial government, meanwhile, was indefatigably active in making preparations for a fourth effort to deliver Mantua. General Frolich, with ſix thouſand men, and a battalion of volunteers, raiſed in Vienna, whoſe colours were embroidered by the Empreſs, were ſent to join the army in Italy, all the regiments of which were once more recruited to their full compliment. Sanguine hopes were entertained that fortune would at length prove propitious. Theſe hopes were not unauthorized by reaſon. The Auſtrian army again amounted to nearly fifty thouſand men, while that of the French was ſomewhat inferior in number. Experience, too, it might have been expected, would have taught the generals to avoid thoſe errors which had proved fatal on former occaſions. Even in the reſult of the laſt attempt to ſuccour Mantua there was nothing abſolutely diſcouraging. In their great object the Auſtrians, it is true, had been foiled; but their army had not been broken to pieces; their honour had not been tarniſhed; they had not ſuffered more than the republicans; and they had recovered no inconſiderable portion of territory, as well on the ſide of the Trevigiano and Vicentino as on that of the Tyrol. They could now ſet out from points which they did not reach before without many obſtinate combats.

Towards the latter end of December, the Auſtrian general began to make ſome movements, for the purpoſe of dividing the attention of his republican adverſary, and inducing him to diſſeminate his forces. From his left wing he detached a corps acroſs the Adige at Boara, and through the Poleſine de Rovigo, to alarm the enemy for the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, protect in ſome meaſure the Papal territories, and facilitate the junction of his troops with thoſe of the Pope, which were collecting at Faenza. On the other extremity of his line he ordered general Laudohn, a nephew of the celebrated field-marſhal, to puſh a corps between the lakes of Iſeo and Garda, in order to lead the French to believe that their enemies meant to carry the war between the Oglio and the Adige, as prince Eugene had formerly done. Laudohn advanced as far as Breſcia, but only met with a few of the republican out-poſts.

Theſe movements did not induce Buonaparte to make any important change in the poſition of his army. It was moſt probably, however, the march of Laudohn which prompted him, on the twenty-eighth of December, to ſeize the citadel of Bergamo. This additional violation of the Venetian territory he defended, on the pretext that the Venetians had

had ſhewn a marked kindneſs to Alvinzi's army, that a committee for ſpreading ridiculous news was eſtabliſhed at Bergamo, and that the natives of the Bergamaſco aſſaſſinated his ſoldiers, and aſſiſted by every means in their power the eſcape of the Auſtrian priſoners. He likewiſe, with better reaſon, ſtated that this ſtep was neceſſary, to ſecure from the Auſtrian parties the communication between the Adige and the Adda. On taking poſſeſſion of the citadel, general Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was charged with this commiſſion, iſſued a proclamation, filled with thoſe promiſes of good diſcipline, friendſhip, and reſpect to perſons and property, which the French had uniformly made, and as uniformly broken. Among other ſtrange things, general d'Hilliers aſſured the people of the province, that they need not fear the republican bayonets; thoſe bayonets never being employed but to ſtrike the criminal, and vanquiſh the foes of liberty.

To lengthen out as much as poſſible his ſtock of proviſions, marſhal Wurmſer made ſeveral ſallies, in the courſe of December. The moſt ſucceſsful of theſe were on the eleventh and fourteenth, when he captured ſome boats, laden with proviſions and ammunition for the republican army. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all his exertions, and of the ſtricteſt economy, ſubſiſtence grew ſo ſcanty that he found it requiſite to apprize general Alvinzi that the garriſon could not poſſibly hold out beyond the end of January. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-ninth, under cover of a vigorous ſally, colonel Graham, who had followed the marſhal after the battle of Baſſano, quitted the fortreſs to proceed to Alvinzi's head-quarters, which he reached in ſafety on the fourth of January, though not without having encountered infinite difficulty and danger. The ſally, during which he made his way through the enemy, though deſtructive to the republicans, who loſt great numbers in killed and priſoners, was not of much benefit to the beſieged, the environs of Mantua being by this time nearly exhauſted.

At this moment Buonaparte was at Bologna to which place he had marched with a column of two thouſand men, in the double view of intimidating the Pope, and of putting the finiſhing ſtroke to a negotiation, or rather a ſcheme of extortion, which he had ſet on foot, for the purpoſe of obtaining from the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, two millions of livres, as a payment of the expences incurred by the republic, in defending againſt the Engliſh the port of Leghorn. From Bologna, and his unfiniſhed negotiation, he was, however, imperiouſly called away, by the hoſtile movements of the Auſtrian forces.

The information received from colonel Graham ſeems to have prompted general Alvinzi to commence operations earlier than was either neceſſary or prudent. Accordingly, without waiting for the approach of the Papal troops, who were to ſtrengthen his left wing, he put his army in motion. His plan was to alarm the republicans on various points, and to hold them in ſuſpenſe, as long as poſſible, as to thoſe which were really in danger; but to attack

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with the bulk of his force on the ſide of the lake of Garda, while general Provera, with a convoy of proviſions, forced a paſſage over the Lower Adige, and haſtened to reach Mantua.

In purſuance of this plan, general Provera ſet out, from the vicinity of Padua, on the ſeventh of January, with ten thouſand men, and directed his march upon Porto Legnano. On the following day he drove the French from Caſella, Meclara and Salvara, to Bevilaqua. There the republicans obtained ſuccours, which enabled them to make an attempt to recover the poſts they had loſt. In this attempt they failed. They were even expelled from Bevilaqua, and obliged to fall back towards Porto Legnano. The next day Provera continued to advance, and with the ſame vigour and ſucceſs. He chaced the enemy from Menerbe, San Zeno and Boſca, to Porto Legnano and Bonavigo. In the various engagements, during theſe two days, he took ſeveral hundred priſoners, and three pieces of cannon. He was now arrived on the left bank of the Adige, where we ſhall, for the preſent, leave him, that we may trace the march of the other diviſions of the Auſtrian army.

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On the twelfth, general Alvinzi attacked, almoſt at the ſame moment, the center and the left of the republican poſition. The attack on the center, at the village of San Michel, was only intended to keep the enemy occupied in this quarter. It laſted throughout the day, with alternate fortune, but without any deciſive conſequences. Buonaparte arrived at Verona while the two parties were warmly engaged. The principal attack was made by Alvinzi in perſon, on the Upper Adige, againſt the French redoubts on the heights of La Corona. Some of the works the Auſtrians carried. They failed, however, in their attempts to maſter the main redoubts. They ſucceeded better on the enſuing morning, when, having ſent round a column by Montagna and Caprino, to turn the flank of the republicans, they compelled the latter to fall back on Rivoli, with a conſiderable loſs.

Buonaparte had hitherto remained in the center, at Verona, doubtful on which point Alvinzi deſigned to penetrate with the chief part of the Auſtrian army. His uncertainty was now at an end, and he was convinced that the Upper Adige was to be the grand ſcene of action. The moment he was ſatisfied on this head, he ordered Maſſena to march to Rivoli with his diviſion, and general Rey to proceed rapidly to the ſame place, with another diviſion, which was in the vicinity of Dezenzano. Accompanied by the whole of his ſtaff, he himſelf ſet off poſt for Rivoli, where he arrived in the middle of the night.

Alvinzi, meanwhile, was entirely ignorant that general Joubert, who commanded at Rivoli, had received any reinforcements; and he flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſucceed in ſurrounding and capturing the whole of that general's diviſion. The diſpoſitions which he made to accompliſh his purpoſe were well conceived. To turn the French, and, by getting in their rear, ſhut up the road from Rivoli to Caſtel Novo and

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Peſchiera, he ſent over the mountains a column of four thouſand men, which was intended to arrive on the other ſide of Rivoli, at the critical moment when the republicans were attacked in front by all the remainder of his forces. Preparatory to their attack in front, the Auſtrians had already carried the important poſt of San Marco, the poſſeſſion of which was highly neceſſary to their ſubſequent operations, as it was the ſole point by which they could bring into effective action their cavalry and artillery. The projected attack was to be carried into execution on the morning of the fourteenth.

At four in the morning, however, while he was preparing to begin the conteſt, Alvinzi was diſagreeably undeceived, as to the amount of the force with which he was to encounter. The falling on of the French upon his advanced poſts, and the recapture of San Marco, which Buonaparte on his reaching Rivoli had inſtantly taken meaſures to recover, convinced him that his enemy had been reinforced. But his diſpoſitions for the combat were partly executed, and, though his ſituation was no longer as advantageous as before, it was too late to form any new arrangements. At five the battle commenced. The French right attacked the Auſtrian left near San Marco, but while, without making any progreſs, it was hotly engaged, the Auſtrians fell with ſuch impetuoſity on the republican left, that they compelled it to give way, and retire from height to height. The Auſtrians next aſſailed the center of their enemies, which, alſo, was obliged to retreat, though more ſlowly. By the ſucceſs of the Imperialiſts on the left, the republican center was in great peril, its flank being uncovered, and nearly turned. At the ſame time, the right, alarmed by the retrograde movements of the reſt of the line, began to yield ground. All would have been loſt, had not Maſſena opportunely arrived on the field, with his diviſion from Verona. This diviſion Buonaparte immediately ordered to the ſuccour of his left wing, to which he himſelf haſtened, leaving the center under the care of Berthier. Aided by this diviſion,* the defeated left returned to the charge, and, after a hard ſtruggle, regained ſome of the poſts which had been wreſted from it.

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But, while the left was thus advancing to its former ſtation, the right and center were on the verge of deſtruction. The center maintained a feeble and precarious hold of the poſts which it occupied, and was every inſtant in danger of being enveloped and overwhelmed, by the rapid progreſs of the Auſtrians on its right flank. The right wing was driven in diſorder as far as Rivoli, and the Auſtrians were already maſters of ſome of the entrenchments, and were preparing to aſſault the reſt. The main point for them to ſeize was a height, with a flat

* It was on this occaſion that Maſſena obtained the flattering appellation of "the ſpoiled child of victory;" his title to which has ſince been annihilated by Britiſh genius and Britiſh valour.

ſummit, near Rivoli, which commanded the whole of the republican poſitions. A vigorous attack gave them the poſſeſſion of this valuable poſt, and drove the republicans to their laſt redoubts, beyond the village of Rivoli. Juſt at this juncture, the column which had been diſpatched to come upon the enemy's rear, was ſeen forming in order of battle on the hills in the diſtance. It had marched two days and nights, without halting, over mountains covered with ſnow, where not a buſh could be found to make a fire; and it now ſeemed to have arrived in time to throw a deciſive weight into the Auſtrian ſcale.

To recover the height near Rivoli was indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in order to prevent his utter ruin. Buonaparte, therefore, after leaving a ſufficient force to check the column in his rear, attacked the Auſtrians, with ſuch numbers and ſpirit, that he regained the height. Equally aware of its importance, the Auſtrians once more ruſhed to the charge, and again eſtabliſhed themſelves on its ſummit. Determined by a deſperate effort to expel them from it, Buonaparte collected more forces, and arranged a combined attack. It is ſaid, with what degree of truth we know not, that to gain time for executing his projected movements, he requeſted from Alvinzi a ſuſpenſion of arms for an hour, that they might enter into a treaty; and that as ſoon as his purpoſe was accompliſhed, and while his antagoniſt was unprepared, he ſuddenly renewed the conteſt. Berthier with the cavalry, was directed to charge the Auſtrians in the plain, while he himſelf marched againſt the height. After a ſanguinary ſtruggle the Auſtrians were defeated on both ſides, and compelled to retire with precipitation. While this was paſſing on the right, Maſſena, with the republican left, impetuouſly bore down on the right flank of the Auſtrians, and threw them into diſorder. Theſe two ſucceſſes decided the battle in favour of the French. Alvinzi drew off his ſhattered army, and retreated to a ſhort diſtance from the ſcene of action.

By the diſcomfiture of the Auſtrian army, the column which had been ſent againſt the republican rear was left alone, hopeleſs of ſuccour or eſcape. Buonaparte ſpeedily began to hem it in with an overpowering ſuperiority of force. Yet, though it was without cannon or cavalry, it, nevertheleſs, made a gallant reſiſtance, and endeavoured ſword in hand to open a way through the enemy. It was at length broken; and almoſt all thoſe who compoſed it were either killed or made priſoners.

Buonaparte, however, could not ſtop to follow up in perſon the advantages which he had gained. Provera, he was informed, was rapidly marching towards Mantua, and threatened to deprive him of the fruits of the battle of Rivoli. He, therefore, ordered a part of his troops to hurry back to the neighbourhood of Mantua; to which quarter he likewiſe ſet out, on the night of the fourteenth, leaving the command in the hands of Joubert.

In obedience to his inſtructions, Joubert, on the following morning, engaged the retreating Auſtrians. In the courſe of the night he had diſpatched a column, by a circuitous

circuitous route, to turn the poſt of La Corona, and cut off their retreat. This column reached the ſpot at the appointed time, and produced the expected effect. When the Auſtrians, purſued by Joubert, and already diſcouraged and worn out, found themſelves anticipated at La Corona by the French column, and aſſailed in flank, they were thrown into confuſion, and eaſily defeated. Great numbers were made priſoners; and the remainder continued their flight to the defiles of the Tyrol.

Turning now to follow the march of Provera, we ſhall ſee that it was not without good reaſon that Buonaparte haſtened from Rivoli, to ſtop the progreſs of that general. The firſt ſucceſſes of Provera had brought him to the banks of the Adige, but the chief obſtacle, the paſſage of the river in the face of the enemy, ſtill remained to be overcome. To effect this, and deceive Augereau, who was oppoſed to him, he made various feints on different parts of the river, from Ronco to Legnano; and, while the attention of the republicans was thus diſtracted, he raiſed, during the night of the thirteenth, a formidable battery oppoſite to Anguiari, under the protection of which he completed his bridge, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous reſiſtance of the French. His troops then croſſed the river, and drove the enemy from Anguiari. Well knowing that rapidity of motion could not be diſpenſed with, he called in his detachments, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, through Cerea, Sanguinetto, Nogara and Caſtellara, that, by noon on the fifteenth, he arrived before the ſuburb of San Giorgio, which the blockading army had ſtrongly fortified. He was followed by generals Guieux and Augereau, who cut off his rear guard, and made priſoners two battalions, which he had left on the Adige; ſo that on his reaching the vicinity of Mantua he had little more than five thouſand men.

Finding the ſuburb much too well entrenched to allow of his venturing an aſſault, Provera, in the courſe of the evening, contrived to communicate with marſhal Wurmſer, and to agree with him on the plan of a conjoint attack, which was to be made, early the next day, on another part of the republican lines, which was ſuppoſed to be of inferior ſtrength. The poſts of Montada, and La Favorita were thoſe which the two generals determined to attack. In the night, however, Buonaparte and Maſſena came up with the diviſions from Rivoli, and loſt no time in reinforcing the points which were menaced by the Auſtrians. The French were now ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong, and were hourly increaſing in numbers.

Before dawn, marſhal Wurmſer marched out of the citadel, carried the poſt of San Antonio, and advanced againſt that of La Favorita, which he vigorouſly aſſailed. At the ſame moment, general Provera alſo fell upon La Favorita with equal bravery. But all the daring exertions of the two generals were entirely fruitleſs. Neither of them was able to gain an inch of ground; yet without the poſſeſſion of this poſt it was impoſſible to form a junction. Wurmſer was finally obliged to return to the citadel. In the mean time, Buonaparte was ſhutting in, on every

ſide, the ſmall army of general Provera. At length the Auſtrian commander was completely ſurrounded. Hopeleſs as his ſituation was, he for a long while gallantly defended himſelf, and made a terrible ſlaughter of his antagoniſts; nor did he ſurrender till his troops were worn down by fatigue, their cartridges were exhauſted, and they were overborne by the growing numbers of the republicans. The remains of his diviſion were priſoners of war, but the officers were allowed to return home on their parole. In this obſtinate engagement, as in all thoſe which preceded it, the Vienna volunteers, though ſo newly raiſed, highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour and conduct.

The reſult of the few laſt days was deciſive as to the fate of Italy. Broken and reduced as the Auſtrian army now was, it could not renew the conteſt, nor even keep the field, without a certainty of being deſtroyed. It had loſt about twenty thouſand men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners; and the reſt were thoroughly diſcouraged by their repeated misfortunes. Buonaparte, on this occaſion, owed his victories, and the Auſtrians their defeats, to a ſtrict adherence to their former modes of action. The one perſiſted in dividing; the other in concentrating. Perhaps, too, the French general was largely indebted for his ſucceſs, to his laviſh expenditure among ſpies and traitors. It is certain that he was perfectly well informed of the plans of the Auſtrian generals; and was thus enabled always to move readily to the quarter which was endangered, and to act at the critical moment with promptitude and effect.

Having allowed his army a ſhort repoſe, of which it ſtood greatly in need, Buonaparte put it in motion againſt the diſpirited Auſtrians. While one part of it advanced up the valley of the Brenta, and chaſed the Imperial forces from Baſſano and Carpanedo, another part puſhed up the valley of the Adige, carried all the poſitions as far as Trent, and took poſt on the Laviſio. In all directions the Auſtrians retired before their enemies. They finally halted behind the Piave; their line extending from the mouth of of that river to Botzen, in the mountains of the Tyrol.

At length the republican general gathered the fruits of his good fortune and long perſeverance. Though, after the defeat of Alvinzi, all hope of ſuccour was at an end, marſhal Wurmſer nevertheleſs protracted the defence of Mantua for more than a fortnight. Neceſſity then compelled him to terminate his reſiſtance. All the horſes in the place were nearly eaten up, and a very ſhort time would leave his troops without the ſmalleſt means of ſupport; beſides, his garriſon was now reduced to eighteen thouſand men, of whom ſix thouſand were in the hoſpitals, and the reſt were weakened by diſeaſe, want, and inceſſant fatigue; while the republicans, on the contrary, were increaſed in numbers, and too ſtrongly intrenched on all ſides to allow him to expect that he could penetrate their lines. The environs of the place were likewiſe ſo exhauſted, that little could be procured from them, even by ſucceſsful ſallies.

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In this ſtate of things, nothing was left for him but to preſerve the remnant of his force, by a ſpeedy and honourable capitulation. Accordingly, on the ſecond of February, he ſigned the fourteen articles which put the French in poſſeſſion of Mantua. Buonaparte, with a moderation and generoſity which his paſt conduct had afforded little reaſon to look for, granted highly favourable terms, in order to manifeſt his reſpect for the conſtancy and courage diſplayed by his veteran antagoniſt. The garriſon were to march out as priſoners of war, but were to be immediately ſent into the Imperial States, and exchanged in preference to all others. The marſhal himſelf, his generals, and ſtaff officers, together with two hundred cavalry, and five hundred perſons choſen by the marſhal, were permitted to retire, without being conſidered as priſoners; and to carry away with them ſix pieces of cannon accompanied by the neceſſary number of artillery-men. The inhabitants of the city were likewiſe ſecured in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their property, and of all their peculiar rights and privileges. To thoſe who preferred emigrating into the dominions of the Emperor, a year was allowed to remove or diſpoſe of their effects. It was alſo ſtipulated that none of the citizens ſhould be moleſted for the military ſervice which they had rendered to their Sovereign, during the continuance of the ſiege.

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In Mantua, the conquerors found nearly ſix hundred pieces of artillery of various calibres, and an enormous quantity of arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. The fall of this celebrated fortreſs, which put the ſeal on the republican conqueſts in Italy, excited an enthuſiaſtic joy in the minds of the Directory, and of their partiſans; but ſo tired of the war were the people of France, and ſuch a leaning towards peace began to appear in the two councils, that ſome of the victorious general's ardent admirers, who wiſhed to confer on him by a legiſlative decree the ſurname of Italicus, did not dare to bring forward the motion, leſt it ſhould be rejected, or at leaſt carried only by a ſmall and conſequently degrading majority.

This event cloſed the long and fortunate campaign againſt the Imperial forces in Italy. For their ſucceſs the republicans were at leaſt as much indebted to the faults of their enemies, as to the talents of their leader. Had the Emperor ſufficiently reinforced his army at the opening of the campaign, or had the King of Sardinia poſſeſſed the ſpirit and conſtancy of his illuſtrious anceſtor, Buonaparte would, in all probability, never have penetrated as far as the walls of Mantua. It appears, too, from what has been related, that, even after the French had obtained a footing in the country, the fate of Italy might have been ſuſpended, if not averted, by a judicious employment of thoſe immenſe means which were brought forward by the Auſtrian Cabinet. The troops ſucceſſively ſent againſt the republicans, after the retreat of Beaulieu into the Tyrol, amounted to the number of nearly eighty thouſand men. But, independant of the great and obvious

errors, which we have already noticed, of widely ſcattering inſtead of concentrating the forces, and employing generals too old to diſplay the neceſſary vigour and activity, there was another fundamental error which the Imperial government committed, and which was productive of equally fatal conſequences. With ſtrange and almoſt inſane arrogance, the council of war at Vienna did not merely furniſh the generals with the plan of the campaign, but likewiſe rigidly dictated the manner in which all the minute and local points of it ſhould be carried into effect. No argument is requiſite to ſhew the folly of ſuch conduct. To diſcover and to ſeize the fleeting opportunity offered by momentary circumſtances, and rapidly to adapt his meaſures to the changes of his ſituation, are among the chief merits of a commander. But the council of war left nothing to the diſcretion of the generals; and by ſending them thus fettered into the field, robbed them of more than half their powers. The plans of the council were not bad in all their parts, when abſtractedly conſidered; and they would, perhaps, have been crowned with ſucceſs, had the republican general acted preciſely according to the mode in which it was ſuppoſed he would act. Buonaparte, however, was not complaiſant enough to enſure his own defeat, by adopting the ſchemes of the council.

If we turn to the other ſide, to enquire what ſhare of praiſe is due to the republican general, we ſhall find that, dazzled by his victories and conqueſts, his eulogiſts beſtowed on him a ſplendid reputation, which he certainly did not earn by any extraordinary diſplay of talents during the preſent campaign. He ſeemed in their eyes to leave behind every leader of ancient and modern fame. Yet, throughout the whole of his Italian career, we ſeek in vain for any of thoſe maſter-ſtrokes which characterize genius, and almoſt appear to have been prompted by a ſort of inſpiration. In Cæſar, reducing Afranius and Petreius to extremity on the banks of the Segro; in Turenne, burſting unexpectedly into Alſace, and driving before him a ſtronger enemy; in Eugene, haſtening from the banks of the Adige to thoſe of the Doria, and bearing down every obſtacle in order to ſuccour Turin; we at once recognize the tranſcendant warrior. But there is nothing in the exploits of Buonaparte which might not, with the ſame means, have been achieved by a third or fourth-rate general. Italy, notwithſtanding its many fortreſſes, ſubdued in nine months, ſtrikes at firſt as a wonderful event; but the wonder vaniſhes, when we call to our recollection that, of all thoſe fortreſſes, the French were under the neceſſity of beſieging only Mantua and the citadel of Milan. It muſt, at the ſame time, be remembered, that the Auſtrian army was always weaker than the French, except in one inſtance; and in that one inſtance, the advantage of ſuperiour numbers was thrown away by a faulty diſtribution. Buonaparte had, too, an unbounded command of money to gratify his numerous ſpies, and he ſcattered his rewards to them with a wiſe profuſion. Treachery, and the groſs errors of his antagoniſts, likewiſe

warred

warred in his favour. He, nevertheleſs, committed miſtakes, which would, perhaps, warrant no ſmall ſeverity of military criticiſm. It may not indeed, be too much to aſſert, that his merit conſiſted entirely in the occaſional rapidity of his movements, and in his carefully availing himſelf of his compact and central poſition. Not to have ſeen and turned to account the advantages of that poſition would have betrayed an uncommon degree of culpable negligence, or equally culpable ignorance.

When, turning from the combinations of the campaign, we come to examine attentively the various actions which he fought, we diſcover that little if any thing was accompliſhed through the uſe of thoſe maſterly manœuvres, by which thoſe who are really great generals confound and overwhelm their adverſaries. We never ſee him, like Frederic at Leuthen, ſupplying the want of numbers by conſummate military ſkill. The higher power of mind was ſeldom brought in aid of his groſſer inſtruments. Force, and force alone, was almoſt conſtantly employed. Nor, while we are conſidering this part of the ſubject, can it fail to be remarked, with what an invariable and iniquitous indifference Buonaparte poured forth the blood of his ſoldiers. His companions in arms were looked upon as of no greater value than the powder and ſhot which they expended. No one ever played the dreadful game of war with a wilder extravagance. His laurels were won by the fall of between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand of his countrymen. That occaſions may occur in which, however painful it may be to his feelings, a general is not merely authorized, but called on by duty, to make the ſacrifice of thouſands, and that ſuch a ſacrifice may be the trueſt humanity, it is impoſſible to deny. A deciſive battle may prevent a tedious and deſtructive campaign; or even reſtore the bleſſings of peace. But he who laviſhes the lives of his men, without an important object to juſtify him, is only a murderer on a larger ſcale. Such was the conduct of Buonaparte at Lodi, at Arcole, and at other places. On the whole, we may ſafely pronounce, that had he been oppoſed to a Marlborough, an Eugene, a Saxe, or a Frederick, or even to many, their inferiors in military renown, he would never have entered Italy, or having entered, would have been ſpeedily ſcourged back from it with loſs and diſgrace.

CHAP. X.

Campaign in Germany. Strength, plans, and poſitions of the Auſtrian and French armies. The Auſtrians put an end to the armiſtice. The French commence hoſtilities on the Lower Rhine. The Prince of Wirtemberg driven from the Sieg by geneal Kleber. He is again defeated at Altenkirchen. The Prince of Wirtemberg retires beyond the Lahn. General Jourdan croſſes the Rhine at Neuwied. The Archduke Charles quits his poſition in the Hundſruck, and marches to meet the French on the Lahn.

Position of the left wing of the French, under Lefebre, on the Lahn and Dille. An obstinate battle is fought in which the French are defeated. Jourdan raises the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein, and recrosses the Rhine. General Kleber retires with the left wing, toward Dusseldorf. General Kray, with a far inferior force, defeats him. Kleber reaches the lines of Dusseldorf. Operations on the Upper Rhine. The Austrian army in that quarter weakened by detachments to Italy. The Austrian general withdraws into an entrenched camp before Manheim. Attacks upon the entrenched camp. The French, under General Moreau, effect the passage of the Rhine opposite Strasburgh, and, through the cowardice of the Swabian troops, carry the redoubts of Kehl, and establish themselves firmly. Cowardice or treason of General Stein, the Swabian commander. The French drive the Swabians from the camp of Wilstet. They make themselves masters also of the camp of Bihel. General Latour defeated on the Renchen. The French army divided into two separate bodies. Plan of the French. Moreau carries the important posts of the Kniebis and of Freudenstadt. The Archduke Charles hastens from the Lower Rhine, leaving General Wartensleben with thirty thousand men, to oppose the enemy. Jourdan again advances on the Lower Rhine. General Wartensleben obliged to retire over the Lahn. Several actions. General Wartensleben retires to Frankfort. Saves his magazines at that place. The French enter Frankfort. Surrender of Konigstein. Proceedings on the Upper Rhine. General Latour defeated on the Murg. The Archduke Charles assumes the command. Intends to attack Moreau, who, however, anticipates him. Second battle on the Murg. The Austrians, though they repel the enemy on their center and right, are forced on their left, and consequently compelled to retire. The Archduke quits the Rhine, after throwing strong garrisons into Manheim and Philipsburg, and retreats to Pfortzheim. Continuation of his retreat. French repulsed at Canstadt, and at Eslingen. The Archduke continues his retreat through the Swabian Alps. Progress of the republican force under General Ferino. Jourdan presses onward, and Wartensleben slowly retires before him to Amberg. The Duke of Wirtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and the circles of Swabia and Franconia enter into treaties with the republicans. The Elector of Saxony retires from the coalition. The Archduke Charles retreats to Nordlingen. Ferino continues to advance on the right of the Danube. Gallant conduct of the emigrants at Kamlach. Plan formed by the Archduke Charles. Battle of Neresheim. Change in the Archduke's plan. Conduct of the French in Germany.

THE campaign in Germany was not less active, and was still more chequered with alternate victory and defeat, than the campaign in Italy. Before the opening of it, the Austrians, whose strength, including the contingents of the Empire, did not reach a hundred and fifty thousand men, appeared to entertain thoughts of carrying on offensive operations, either on the side of the Saar, or of Alsace. To observe the French on the Lower Rhine, they stationed,

ed, on the Sieg, an army of leſs than twenty thouſand men under Prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg. The remainder of their forces occupied the Palatinate, the Hundſruck, and part of the Duchy of Deux-Ponts, from the lines of Spire to Bacharach on the Rhine. It was divided into two armies; that which was poſted in the Palatinate, was commanded by Marſhal Wurmſer, under the orders of the Archduke Charles, who commanded in perſon the army in the Hundſruck.

The French, on the other hand, were, as we have already ſeen, reſolved to carry the war not only into the Empire, but into the very heart of the Emperor's dominions, and to compel him to accept of an humiliating and ruinous peace. Since the formation of this plan, their ſucceſſes in Italy had given additional ſtrength to their hopes of accompliſhing it. Their armies on the German frontier, which were more than a hundred and ſixty thouſand ſtrong, were ready for action, and impatiently waited the ſignal. The army of the Sambre and Meuſe was poſted on the Lower Rhine, from Coblentz to Duſſeldorf, before the latter of which places it had an entrenched camp. The army of the Rhine and Moſelle was poſted in Alſace, and a part of the Duchy of Deux-Ponts, and oppoſed to the Imperialiſts, under Marſhal Wurmſer.

By the agreement, made at the cloſe of the laſt campaign, it was ſtipulated that ten days notice ſhould be given, on either ſide, prior to the commencement of hoſtilities. The Auſtrians were, on this occaſion, the readieſt to appeal to the ſword. On the twenty-firſt of May, they made known to the republicans that the armiſtice muſt ceaſe to exiſt at the expiration of the fixed period. To the Auſtrian troops the rupture of the armiſtice was announced by an animated proclamation from the Archduke, calling upon them to diſplay their wanted valour, and declaring that a peace was rendered impoſſible by the unjuſt and extravagant pretenſions of the republican government.

Hoſtilities were commenced by the French, on the very inſtant that the armiſtice expired. In the Hundſruck, ſome ſharp, but not important, actions took place; in all of which they were worſted. It was not, however, to that quarter that they intended to direct their great efforts. The comparatively unprotected ſtate of the Lower Rhine and the Sieg induced them to chuſe thoſe points for the theatre of their operations. They knew, too, that if they could obtain a firm footing on the right bank of the Lower Rhine, the Hundſruck and the Palatinate would, almoſt certainly, be abandoned by the Auſtrians.

In purſuance of this plan, General Kleber, with a conſiderable part of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, marched, on the laſt of May, towards the Sieg. The advanced poſts of Prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg were in front of that river. On the firſt of June, General Kleber attacked the Auſtrians along the whole of their line; and, after an obſtinate engagement of ſeveral hours, forced all their poſitions, and compelled them to retire to Uckerath. The loſs of the Auſtrians was aſſerted by

by the republicans to be two thouſand four hundred men, of whom a thouſand were priſoners.

The poſition of Uckerath is uncommonly ſtrong in front, and the Auſtrian general might, perhaps, have maintained himſelf there, had he been allowed time to receive reinforcements, and to take proper meaſures of defence. Aware of this, and of the difficulty and peril of attacking in front, Kleber, on the enſuing morning, availed himſelf of his vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, to turn the poſition on both its flanks. The Prince of Wirtemberg, finding himſelf on the eve of being ſurrounded, quitted Uckerath, and took poſt at Altenkirchen.

Following up his ſucceſs, Kleber rapidly advanced to Altenkirchen, and again gave battle to the Auſtrians. Their reſiſtance was of the moſt gallant kind; but, in ſpite of their bravery, they were finally overpowered by the multitude of their aſſailants. Altenkirchen was carried, and the republicans, if their report may be credited, made three thouſand priſoners, took twelve pieces of cannon, part of the Auſtrian baggage, and which was far more valuable, ſeveral well-ſtored magazines. Prince Ferdidand retired behind the Lahn, where he was joined by ſome reinforcements.

June 4th.

While his left wing, under Kleber, was purſuing its triumphant progreſs, Jourdan, the republican commander-in-chief, was preparing to paſs, with the remainder of the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, to the right bank of the Rhine. The bridges being at length eſtabliſhed, at Neuwied, he, on the twelfth, effected his paſſage. The fortreſs of Ehrenbreitſtein was now cloſely inveſted.

The rapid advance of the French to the Lahn, rendered it neceſſary for the Auſtrians in the Hundſruck to relinquiſh the idea of acting on the ſide of Alſace or the Saar, and to haſten to the relief of Germany. As ſoon, therefore, as the Archduke learned the reverſes which had been ſuſtained by Prince Ferdinand, he broke up from his poſition, and leaving, behind the Seltz, a conſiderable diviſion under General Mercantin, he croſſed the Rhine with his army at Mentz, and puſhed forward to the Upper Lahn. To prevent the enemy from moving over the Lower Lahn, he poſted a ſtrong corps at Limburg, and two of inferiour ſtrength near Weilburg and Naſſau.

The left wing of the republicans, now commanded by General Lefebre, extended towards the Dille, which falls into the Lahn oppoſite Wetzlar, and the hills on the right bank of which are woody, ſteep, and conſequently of difficult acceſs. By occupying theſe hills, and likewiſe the poſition between Hermanſtein on the Dille and Altenberg on the Lahn, the enemy would have precluded the Auſtrians from paſſing the Lahn at Wetzlar, and compelled them to effect the paſſage higher up, and to manœuvre circuitouſly towards the ſources of the Dille.

This ground was not yet occupied by the French, and the Archduke Charles, who had reſolved to turn their left flank, flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to ſeize upon it before they could arrive.

arrive. General Werneck's corps was deſtined to perform this ſervice, and was to be ſeconded by a Saxon diviſion. The advanced poſts croſſed the Lahn and the Dille on the fourteenth, and were followed, on the next day, by the whole of the corps. General Lefebre, however, who had received orders from Jourdan to croſs the Lahn, and was now in motion for that purpoſe, was beforehand with the Auſtrians. The heads of his columns met, on their march, the Auſtrian advanced-guard, and a deſperate conteſt enſued. At laſt, too weak to continue their ſtand, the Auſtrians fell back, and the diſputed poſition was gained by the enemy.

This poſition conſiſted of a range of heights, the ground in front of which was broken by hollow ways and ravines. A wood, reaching from the Dille to the Lahn, covered the heights in an angular form, the ſalient angle of it being on the face of the central point of the heights. General Lefebre loſt none of the advantages which the poſition afforded him. In the ſalient point of the wood, he poſted a formidable body of infantry, and, on his right, he occupied, with ſtrong diviſions of infantry, the heights and the village of Altenberg. The principal part of his cavalry was formed on his left, on a height above Hermanſtein, and was ſupported by infantry, which held the wood in the rear. His artillery was diſpoſed along the front, ſo as to command and enfilade the difficult and rugged approaches. In this poſture General Lefebre waited the coming up of the remainder of his troops.

The Auſtrians, meanwhile, though repulſed, had maintained themſelves at the foot of the heights, whence, from a battery of twelve pounders, they replied to the enemy's fire. The Archduke, knowing that if he gave time for the whole of the republican left wing to arrive, he could not hope to diſlodge it, determined to commence the action as ſoon as he was reinforced by the Saxon cavalry, which was advancing to join him. It was not till ſeven in the evening that the junction took place. Diſpoſitions were immediately made for the attack. It was arranged that the Auſtrian left ſhould be held back, or, in military language, refuſed, and that the enemy's center, in the ſalient part of the wood, ſhould be attacked by the Auſtrian grenadiers, while the cavalry regiment of Karaczay, ſupported by that of Naſſau, ſhould charge the left, and the Saxon cavalry the front, of the heights above Hermanſtein.

Before the Saxon cavalry, or the grenadiers deſtined to attack the wood, could get into action, the regiment of Karaczay forced its paſſage through the ravines and hollow ways, aſcended the heights, and charged the enemy with the moſt daring intrepidity. Being, however, ſomewhat diſordered by the ruggedneſs of the ground over which it had advanced, and being received by a numerous and well-poſted cavalry, it was repulſed. It nevertheleſs rallied, under the protection of the regiment of Naſſau, which had by this time aſcended the ſummit, and formed. The two regiments then charged, and, after a brief but ſevere conteſt, broke the republican cavalry, and put it utterly to the rout. The infantry of the French center, which

which was placed in the angle of the wood, finding itſelf taken in flank, alſo abandoned its poſt with the utmoſt precipitation. The two victorious regiments purſued the fugitives, cut to pieces a battalion, which endeavoured to make a ſtand, and captured ſeveral pieces of cannon; but, puſhing on too far, found themſelves in front of the ſecond line of French infantry, which poured in upon them ſo hot a fire that they were obliged to quit the wood, in order to form again. The Auſtrian grenadiers coming up at this moment, attacked the French infantry, defeated it, and drove it from the wood.

The battle being loſt, Lefebre withdrew his right from the heights of Altenburg, and ſtationed it in the wood on the rear of the heights. To cover the retreat of his routed left, he placed, in the neighbourhood of Burghauſen, three battalions, and a battery of artillery, on a commanding height, at the foot of which was an almoſt impracticable ravine. Determined to have their ſhare in the honour of the day, four ſquadrons of Saxon cavalry, ſeconded by a ſquadron of the regiment of Karaczay, without waiting to be ſupported by infantry or cannon, reſolutely puſhed their way through the ravine, under the fire of the enemy, gained the height, and, though not till they had ſuffered ſeverely, deſtroyed the battalions, and made themſelves maſters of the cannon. The fall of the night put an end to the battle. The victory coſt the Imperialiſts about five hundred men. The loſs of the vanquiſhed was much more conſiderable.

The Archduke, on the morning after the battle, was joined at Greffenſtein by General Kray, who had croſſed the Lahn at Lehun. The corps at Limburg, Naſſau, and Weilburg, likewiſe croſſed the Lahn, and advanced againſt the army of Jourdan.

The reſult of the engagement was deciſive as to the retreat of the French. The left of Jourdan being completely turned, it was impoſſible for him to make a ſtand, and he, therefore, raiſed the blockade of Ehrenbreitſtein, and, with the four diviſions which he led in perſon, retired haſtily to Neuwied, at which place he, on the eighteenth, recroſſed the Rhine.

The republican left wing, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, of which Kleber had reſumed the command, directed its retrograde march towards the Sieg. This wing was tracked ſo cloſely by its purſuers, that General Kleber having made a ſhort halt, on the heights between Kirchrup and Uckerath, to give time to his reſerve ammunition and baggage to paſs the Sieg; the Auſtrian advanced guard of eleven thouſand men, under General Kray, came up, and a battle enſued. The combat was begun by the Auſtrians. But general Kleber, quickly diſcovering the ſlender numbers of his opponent, became, in his turn, the aſſailant. Advancing with the whole of his force, he carried ſeveral points of the Auſtrian poſition, and would, perhaps, have gained a complete victory, had he not been ſtopped in his progreſs by the gallantry of three Auſtrian battalions. Nine republican battalions, and a body of cavalry, ſupported by a formidable artillery, moved

moved againſt the Auſtrian center, where the three battalions were poſted. The three battalions never fired till the French were within a hundred paces of their line. They then gave a general and deſtructive volley, and ruſhed forward with fixed bayonets. This intrepid conduct changed and decided the fate of the day. The republicans were broken; and the Auſtrian cavalry opportunely falling on, the ſucceſs was perfect in the center. The victors, nevertheleſs, were not ſufficiently ſtrong to follow up the blow, and attack the poſition of the French. During the evening general Kleber withdrew his right wing from the ground which it had gained at the commencement of the engagement. At the extremity of his left, a battalion, which he had diſpatched to turn the Auſtrian right, was cut off, and obliged to ſurrender. Between five and ſix hundred of the Imperialiſts were killed or wounded; the republicans had fifteen hundred men wounded or ſlain, and left ſeven hundred priſoners in the hands of the conquerors. In the courſe of the night Kleber paſſed the Sieg, and precipitately continued his retreat to the lines of Duſſeldorf.

Severe as was the loſs, and mortifying as was the diſappointment, of the republicans on the Lower Rhine, they were amply compenſated by the ſucceſs which attended their operations on the Upper Rhine. From the Auſtrian army in the latter quarter, the Imperial government was, as we have ſeen, compelled, at the opening of the campaign, to draw a force of thirty thouſand men, which was deſtined to proceed, by forced marches, to Italy, to oppoſe the alarming progreſs of Buonaparte. The commander of the army of the Rhine and Moſelle was ſo well ſerved by his ſpies in the cabinet of Vienna, that he received intelligence of this draft from the Auſtrian army, even before the Auſtrian general himſelf was apprized of it, and he accordingly prepared to take advantage of the diminiſhed ſtrength of his opponent.

In the beginning of June, the firſt Auſtrian column began its march towards Italy. Too weak to preſerve his extenſive poſition in the Palatinate, marſhal Wurmſer, on the night of the ſeventh, withdrew his main body to the right bank of the Rhine, leaving a diviſion on the left bank, in an entrenched camp, oppoſite to Manheim. This camp was choſen with great ſkill. It extended from Frankendal to the Rehbach, and, both on the flanks and in front, was covered by rivulets, canals, and deep inundations.

It was not on this ſide that the French general deſigned to act. To occupy, however, the attention of marſhal Wurmſer, and to prevent him from ſtrengthening thoſe points which were really menaced, he made, on the fourteenth and twentieth of June, two conſiderable attacks upon the entrenched camp. Several hundred men were ſlain in theſe attacks. On the Auſtrian camp no impreſſion was made. As ſoon as the ſecond attack was ended, general Moreau left a ſmall corps to watch the Auſtrian camp, and marched rapidly to Straſburgh with the remainder of his force.

The preparations for the paſſage of the Rhine had long been carrying on at Straſburgh, with the

greateſt

greateſt celerity and ſecrecy. The point which Moreau fixed on, for the diſembarkation of the main body of his troops, was a little above the fort of Kehl. Another diviſion, of ten thouſand men, was to effect a landing, lower down the Rhine, oppoſite to Gambſheim, in order to take poſſeſſion of the road to Raſtadt, and intercept any ſuccours which might be ſent from the Auſtrian army, which was now commanded by General de la Tour, marſhal Wurmſer having been diſpatched to aſſume the command in Italy. Theſe two real attacks were to be ſeconded by ſeveral falſe ones, both above and below Straſburgh, and, by a warm cannonade, along the whole left ſhore of the Rhine, from Huningen to Manheim.

In the courſe of the night three thouſand troops were ſilently embarked in the narrow branch of the Rhine, near Straſburgh, and before break of day they landed on ſeveral ſmall iſlands, at a ſhort diſtance from the right bank of the river. The troops who guarded theſe iſlands were completely taken by ſurpriſe, and fled without making any reſiſtance. They even, in retreating, neglected to break down the bridges, an operation which might have been performed in an inſtant, as the bridges conſiſted of only a few looſe planks. The French availed themſelves of this neglect, haſtened to paſs over, and attacked the redoubts of the fort of Kehl, which were occupied by ſome troops of the circle of Swabia. Though the French had no artillery, the cowardly Swabians were almoſt as quickly routed as attacked; and the aſſailants became maſters of the works, in which were fifteen pieces of cannon. By ten in the morning the republicans had obtained a firm footing on the right bank of the Rhine. The attack on the ſide of Gambſheim not having ſucceeded, the troops, who had been engaged in it, were diſpatched to join their comrades at Kehl. During the whole of the day the French were buſily employed in eſtabliſhing bridges between Kehl and Straſburgh.

June 24.

A few days previouſly to the paſſage of the Rhine, a camp of ſix thouſand Swabian troops, under general Stein, had been formed at Wilſtett, not more than three leagues from Kehl. Had general Stein marched againſt the invaders while they were yet few in number, unprovided with cavalry and cannon, and their communication with Straſburgh was precarious, he would, it is probable, have prevented them from accompliſhing their purpoſe. Inſtead of taking this obvious ſtep, he remained inactive in his camp. This, and his ſubſequent conduct, expoſed him to a charge, apparently well-founded, of having ſold to the enemy thoſe poſts which he was entruſted to defend.

By noon on the twenty-fifth, the bridges between Kehl and Straſburgh were completed. The remainder of the republican army now croſſed to the German ſhore of the Rhine. On the enſuing day, Moreau began to move forward in every direction. General Ferino, with the right wing, paſſed the Schmutter, and advanced to Honhurſt and Langenhurſt, to force back the corps of the Prince of Condé. A diviſion, under general

neral Saint Suzanne, moved, in the oppoſite quarter, to Lings, on the road to Raſtadt. A third diviſion, led by general Beaupuy, was ordered to attack the camp of Wilſtett. The latter diviſion, while the head of it was forming, after the paſſage of a defile at the village of Korch, was vigorouſly attacked in flank by two ſquadrons of the regiment of Anſpach cuiraſſiers. By this timely and ſpirited charge all the troops which had paſſed the defile were overthrown, and a great number of them were cut to pieces. General Beaupuy himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. The cuiraſſiers, however, were not ſufficiently numerous to obtain any permanent advantage. The republicans having, at length, rallied, and compelled them to retreat, continued their march to Wilſtett, and drove, with little or no difficulty, the Swabians from the camp.

The Prince of Condé, meanwhile, had made a rapid march with his corps, to ſecure the valley of the Kintzig. He arrived at Offenburg, and joined the troops of the circles, and ſome Auſtrian detachments. The united force, which did not exceed fifteen thouſand men, occupied a camp at Bihel, about half a league in front of Offenburg. To drive it from this poſition, general Moreau put in motion the greateſt part of his army. His intention was, to attack the camp on all ſides. Fortunately, the progreſs of ſome of his columns was retarded by rain, and by ſkirmiſhes; and the Auſtrians had time enough to abandon their camp, and effect an unmoleſted retreat. The republicans took poſſeſſion of Offenburg.

General Latour, on hearing that the French had croſſed the Rhine, collected the troops which were neareſt the ſcene of action, and marched to ſtop, or at leaſt retard, the career of the enemy. He poſted himſelf in a good poſition on the Renchen. The left wing of the republican army, commanded by Deſaix, was ordered to diſlodge him. The Auſtrians fought with much gallantry, and, inferior as they were in ſtrength, even made ſeveral deſperate efforts to turn the flanks of their opponents. They were, however, ultimately defeated, and compelled to relinquiſh their poſt, with the loſs of ten pieces of cannon, and ſeveral hundred men. June 29.

The republican army, eighty thouſand ſtrong, had hitherto acted in one body. It was now divided by general Moreau. The right wing, conſiſting of ſomewhat more than twenty thouſand men, was formed into a ſeparate army, which was entruſted to general Ferino. It was deſtined to expel the Auſtrians from the Briſgaw, open the paſſes of the valleys of Kintzig and St. Peter, and of the foreſt towns, and penetrate between the Upper Danube and the lake of Conſtance. The center and right, meanwhile, led by general Moreau himſelf, were to deſcend the right bank of the Rhine, and, after having diſperſed or driven back the Imperial army, were to proceed by the route of Stutgard, through the duchy of Wirtemberg, to the left bank of the Danube. Ulm was the point where the whole of the French army was to reunite, in order to invade Bavaria.

Loſing ſight, for the preſent, of the army of Ferino, we muſt turn

to

to follow the operations of the main army, under Moreau. It was, as we have ſtated, the deſign of Moreau to move down the valley of the Rhine, and round the flank of the Black Mountains, by the route of Stutgard. That he might make this movement with ſafety, it was neceſſary for him to ſecure thoſe paſſes of the Black Mountains, by which, from the Upper Neckar, the Auſtrians might, if they retained them, menace his rear, and interrupt his communications. He diſpatched, therefore, a part of his center, to attack the almoſt unaſſailable poſts of the Kniebis and of Freudenſtadt, which were held by a corps of the Wirtemberg and Swabian troops. Thoſe troops made a better defence than they had made at Kehl, but they were, at length, routed, and the French remained maſters of both the poſitions.

While theſe events were taking place, the Archduke Charles, who, from the weakened ſtate of the Auſtrian army on the Upper Rhine, anticipated diſaſter in that quarter, was hurrying towards Swabia, to prevent, or remedy, that which he dreaded. For the defence of the Lower Rhine he was unable to leave more than thirty thouſand troops, the command of which he gave to general Wartenſleben. On his way he was informed of the loſs of Kehl, and the ſubſequent advance of the republicans. Before, however, we trace his operations againſt Moreau, it will, to preſerve the unity of the narrative, be expedient to detail the effects of his departure from the provinces which he had ſo recently liberated.

The progreſs of the French in Swabia, and the ſmallneſs of the force which general Wartenſleben commanded, were productive, on the Lower Rhine, of the natural conſequences. In that quarter alſo the republicans purſued the war with redoubled energy. The diviſion of general Grenier paſſed the Rhine, at Cologne, on the twenty-ninth of June, and joined the diviſion of general Kleber, which had marched from Duſſeldorf on the preceding day. Theſe columns, together with a third, under general Lefebre, which moved upon Siegen, advanced towards the Sieg, which they croſſed without difficulty, the Auſtrians having merely an inconſiderable number of light troops poſted on that river. Jourdan himſelf, with a diviſion, paſſed the Rhine, at Neuwied, on the ſecond of July. The Auſtrian general, Fink, who was ſtationed to guard the paſſage, ſuffered himſelf to be taken by ſurpriſe, and conſequently made no oppoſition to the invaders. He was even on the point of falling into their hands. The four republican diviſions now effected a junction. Their ſtrength was ſixty-five thouſand men; a quite ſufficient number to authorize their ſanguine hopes of rapid and brilliant ſucceſs.

The ſuperior force of general Jourdan enabled him to manœuvre with effect on the flanks of general Wartenſleben, and even to menace his rear. All that the Auſtrian commander had it in his power to do, was to diſpute the ground, as long as prudence would allow, and by that means gain time for the arrival of ſuccours, and for the execution of the meaſures planned by the Archduke Charles. To

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gain time was, indeed, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, an object of the utmoſt importance.

Notwithſtanding their numbers, the republicans were not uniformly ſucceſsful in their attempts to puſh forward. On the third of July, one of their diviſions was defeated near Montabauer, by general Werneck, who took from them ſome cannon, and ſeveral hundred priſoners. This advantage, however, was not of ſufficient magnitude to produce any beneficial effect. It was counterbalanced, too, by a defeat which an Auſtrian diviſion ſuffered near Willerſdorf. This defeat rendered it impracticable for general Wartenſleben to maintain any longer, without imminent danger of being ſurrounded, his entrenched camp at Neukirchen. In conſequence, he quitted his poſition during the night, and retired, unmoleſted, acroſs the Lahn.

The republicans effected, on the ninth, the paſſage of the Lahn. A ſevere engagement took place between their left wing, and the Auſtrian diviſion, under general Kray, which was poſted in the neighbourhood of Butzbach. The republicans were defeated. This defeat did not prevent them from advancing, on the following day, againſt the Auſtrian poſition at Friedberg. As the poſition was threatened, both in the front and rear, general Wartenſleben quitted it, and took another between Alten Fauerbach and Roſbach, where he made a gallant ſtand, but whence he was ultimately driven. In another quarter, likewiſe, the Auſtrians were over-maſtered. After a whole day's combat, they were expelled from the poſition of Eſch. At the cloſe of the conteſt the Auſtrian commander retired to Frankfort. The fort of Konigſtein was immediately inveſted by the French. Its ſupply of water being cut off, it ſurrendered in a few days. The troops in garriſon were allowed to return home, on condition of not ſerving again till they had been exchanged.

In Frankfort were the principal magazines of the Auſtrians, the ſaving of which was of the greateſt conſequence. The place, though ſecured by a rampart and ditch from any ſudden attack, was utterly incapable of holding out againſt a ſiege. The Auſtrians, nevertheleſs, put on the ſemblance of a reſolution to defend it to extremity. The magiſtrates were, on the thirteenth, ſummoned by the republicans to open their gates, but with this ſummons it was obviouſly not in their power to comply. Batteries were, therefore, erected by the enemy, and a warm cannonade and bombardment was commenced, which ſet fire to the town in ſeveral places. On the renewed intreaties of the terrified inhabitants and magiſtrates, general Wartenſleben at length conſented to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of Frankfort. Forty-eight hours were allowed for his troops to quit the place; and thus his great object of ſaving his magazines was completely attained. The Auſtrian general directed his retreat towards Aſchaffenburg, and the republicans, on the ſeventeenth, entered Frankfort, upon the citizens of which they impoſed a contribution of eight millions of livres. Before he quitted the vicinity of the Rhine, M. de Wartenſleben took the wiſe precaution of ſtrengthening, very conſiderably,

the garriſons of the two important fortreſſes of Ehrenbreitſtein and Mentz.

We muſt now return to the Upper Rhine. The Archduke Charles reached that quarter at the commencement of July; and, on the third, aſſembled, near Graben, the troops which he had brought to encounter the republican general. Before, however, he could make the needful arrangements for action, the French gained a new advantage. General Latour occupied, in front of the Murg, a good poſition, extending from Gerſbach to Raſtadt. In this poſition he was attacked, on the fifth, by Moreau, with nearly the whole of the French army. The attack commenced, in the valley of the Murg, on the Auſtrian left, and the engagement quickly became univerſal and animated. The battle laſted the whole of the day, and the carnage, on both ſides, was terrible. Not a ſingle poſt was relinquiſhed by the Auſtrians, without the moſt vigorous reſiſtance, nor, when loſt, without repeated deſperate efforts for its recovery. At length, through the progreſs which the French had made on their flanks, their ſituation becoming perilous, they croſſed the Murg, and retired, during the night, to Etlingen, where they were joined by the reinforcements brought by the Archduke Charles. The command of the whole was aſſumed by his Royal Highneſs.

On the evening of the battle of Raſtadt, the Archduke received intelligence of the loſs of the important poſts of Freudenſtadt and the Kniebis. This loſs was even more painful to him than the loſs of the recent battle. It enabled the enemy to act, with great effect, againſt his left flank; it cut off his communication with the Prince of Condé, and with general Frolich, who was ſtationed in the Briſgaw; expoſed to imminent hazard the Auſtrian magazines at Rotweil and Villingen; and opened to the republicans an entrance into the duchy of Wirtemberg. It alſo compelled him to weaken his already too weak army, by ſending a ſtrong corps into the mountains on his left, to cover his flank, and re-open his communication with general Frolich and the Prince of Condé.

In this ſtate of affairs, rendered ſtill more embarraſſing by the events which had occurred on the Lower Rhine, the Archduke was convinced that nothing ſhort of a deciſive victory would enable him to maintain his ground; and, therefore, inferior as his army was in ſtrength to that of Moreau, he determined to hazard a battle. The deſign of the Archduke was to attack Moreau in front, and, at the ſame time, to turn his right, and menace his rear, by marching a conſiderable force through the valleys of the Murg, the Olbach, and Cappel. Precious as, under the preſent circumſtances, every moment was, he was obliged to defer the projected attack till the tenth, as all his troops were not arrived.

Moreau was too ſkilful not to be aware that the Archduke would make a ſtrenuous effort, to compel him to repaſs the Rhine; and he deemed it more prudent to be himſelf the aſſailant, than to wait for the attack, eſpecially as his antagoniſt was not yet joined by the whole of the Imperial forces.

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He, therefore, ordered General St. Cyr to form a junction with him, by the valley of the Murg, leaving, on the Kniebis and at Freudenſtadt, merely a ſufficient number of men to guard thoſe poſts. Intending to attack the Auſtrian line on all points, it was againſt the left of that line that he meant to direct his moſt vigorous exertions.

The Auſtrians, meanwhile, had made a movement, in advance, towards the Murg; and the Archduke was engaged in completing his diſpoſitions, in order to give battle on the following day. The approach of the republicans, on the morning of the ninth, put an end to his plan.

The poſition held by the Auſtrians began, on the right, at Durmerſheim, on the rivulet called the Pfederbach, and extended, by Malſch to the heights of Rotenſohle, on the left, near the abbey of Frawenalb. At the extremity of the left, a corps of Saxons was marching to Wildbaden, on the Entz, to act, on the enſuing day, againſt the enemy's right.

The combat between the hoſtile armies ſoon began. The center and left of the French attacked the Auſtrians with great ſpirit. The village of Malſch was thrice taken and retaken. All the diſpoſable infantry of each party was, till ten at night, ſucceſſively employed in endeavouring to conquer or recover this poſt, which finally remained in the power of the Auſtrians. The French were equally foiled in their attempts upon every other point of the Imperial center and right. The day concluded without their having there gained a ſingle inch of ground.

The Imperial left wing, under General Keim, though it diſplayed no leſs courage than the other diviſions, was leſs fortunate. To penetrate in this quarter being his main object, Moreau devoted to the attack of General Keim a large portion of the republican army. The attack was entruſted to General St. Cyr, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers in the French ſervice. The combat began on this ſide by the French falling on the ſeparate corps of Saxons, which they defeated, and forced to retire to Pfortzheim. They then marched againſt the Imperialiſts, whom, with conſiderable difficulty, they drove from the poſt of Hernalb. This, however, was only the commencement of their toils. It was neceſſary for them to carry the Auſtrian poſition, on the flat ſummit of the ſteep and woody mountain of Rotenſohle. In four aſſaults they were repulſed, and purſued to the foot of the mountain, with great ſlaughter. A fifth aſſault was now made by an entirely freſh and more numerous body of troops, which had been kept in reſerve by St. Cyr. The Auſtrians fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, but, wearied and outnumbered, they were finally expelled from the long-conteſted poſt. General Keim, nevertheleſs, effected his retreat to Pfortzheim, in ſpite of the warm purſuit of the enemy.

This action coſt the Imperialiſts two thouſand men; of whom one half were taken priſoners. The French purchaſed their victory by a loſs at leaſt equal to that of their opponents.

The defeat of his left wing giving the enemy poſſeſſion of all

the paſſes in the mountains, it was no longer poſſible for the Archduke to maintain his ground on the Rhine. Nor was it prudent even to delay a retreat, as General St. Cyr, on the morning after the battle, deſcended the valley of the Entz, as far as Newenburg, and threatened to cut off the communication of the Auſtrians with the Neckar. The archduke, therefore, fell back, on the tenth, to Pfortzheim. But, previouſly to his quitting the Rhine, he threw ſtrong garriſons into Manheim and Philipſburgh, well knowing that, either in caſe of his ſucceſs or defeat, the force which was thus left on the Rhine, (by himſelf and General Wartenſleben), could not fail of being productive of infinite embarraſſment to the enemy. That force was, indeed, of reſpectable magnitude. In the four garriſons of Manheim, Philipſburg, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitſtein, it was little ſhort of twenty-five thouſand men.

At Pfortzheim, the archduke made a halt of three days; but finding that the republicans ſtill preſſed forward, and that, to cut off his communication with the Prince of Conde and General Frolich, they were preparing to attack him, he withdrew in the night of the fourteenth, and took a poſition at Vahingen, on the river Entz. As the enemy continued to advance upon Stutgard, his royal highneſs next moved to Ludwigſburg, and detached two corps, to ſeize the bridges over the Neckar, at Canſtadt, Ober Turckheim, and Eſlingen, in order to cover his left flank, and ſecure the great road to Ulm, by which he communicated with his principal magazines.

The republicans entered Stutgard, on the eighteenth, and, at four in the afternoon, they made a ſtrenuous effort to diſlodge thoſe Auſtrian corps, which covered the bridges over the Neckar, in the vicinity of Canſtadt, and alſo the high road to Ludwingſburg. In their attacks upon the corps on the left, which under General Baillet, defended the heights of Canſtadt, they were thrice repulſed, and were ultimately compelled to deſiſt. On the right, which was headed by Prince John of Lichtenſtein, and was poſted between Canſtadt and Feurbach, they at firſt made a ſerious impreſſion. Prince Lichtenſtein, not having a ſufficient number of troops to occupy fully a commanding ground, on his right flank, the enemy became maſters of it, enfiladed his line, which they at the ſame moment, attacked vigorouſly in front, and were with difficulty prevented from penetrating into his rear. The Auſtrian general, nevertheleſs, determined to defend himſelf till the laſt moment, that he might give time for the arrival of General Devay, who was marching to his ſuccour. Devay, at length came up, and drove the republicans from the height, while Prince Lichtenſtein aſſailed them in front. Theſe movements decided the conteſt in favour of the Auſtrians. At nine in the evening, the enemy quitted the field of battle; having ſuſtained a loſs of fifteen hundred men. The loſs of the Auſtrians was about nine hundred. July 18.

For the purpoſe of ſaving his maga-

magazines on the upper Danube, and more perfectly covering his communication with Ulm, the Archduke now croſſed the Neckar, with his army, and encamped between the Rems and the Fils, leaving a corps on the left bank of the Neckar, in front of Eſſlingen. As a preliminary ſtep to driving his royal highneſs from this poſition, Moreau reſolved to attack the corps which remained on the left of the Neckar, under General Hotze. Fortunately, the Archduke obtained information of Moreau's deſign, early enough to reinforce Hotze, and to enable that general to take the neceſſary meaſures for a vigorous defence. On the twenty-firſt, at ſeven in the morning, the republicans commenced the projected attack. To conceal their real purpoſe, they made feints along the whole front, and on the right, of the Auſtrian line. But it was againſt the poſition of Eſſlingen that they ſpeedily directed their principal efforts. In that quarter, the conteſt continued till eight o'clock in the evening. Their inceſſantly renewed onſets were, however, repulſed by the ſteady bravery of the Auſtrians, who fought under great diſadvantages; ſome of them having been under arms, and others having marched, all the preceding night. A battalion of the Hungarian regiment of Spleny, particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf on this occaſion. It combated from the beginning to the cloſe of the battle, without being relieved, or driven from its poſt, notwithſtanding, it ſuſtained a loſs of between three and four hundred men. This hard-conteſted affair, coſt the Auſtrians a thouſand men, and their antagoniſts nearly double that number.

This check was not of conſequence enough to prevent Moreau from acting with as much vigour as before. On the following day, he made a general movement, from his left to his right, with the deſign of croſſing the Neckar, above Eſſlingen, turning the left of the Auſtrians, and gaining before them the road of Donawert, and the paſſes which lead through the Alb mountains, or Swabian Alps. The Archduke, however, penetrated into the ſcheme of his adverſary, and rendered it nugatory, by a timely retreat. In the courſe of the night, he quitted the Neckar, and marched, in two columns, by the valleys of the Rems and the Fils, to Schorndorf, and thence to Gemund, at which latter place he fixed his head quarters.

While theſe events were paſſing in the Duchy of Wirtemberg, the corps under Ferino was proceeding to the right bank of the Danube. This force was oppoſed by three diviſions, of inadequate ſtrength, commanded by Generals Staray and Frolich, and the Prince of Condé. After ſeveral ſmart conteſts, Ferino compelled the Auſtrians to abandon the valley of the Kintzig, and retire to Villingen. On the ſixteenth, he was reinforced by two additional diviſions, the one of which paſſed the Rhine at Briſach, and the other at Huningen. The firſt of theſe moved forwards, by the vallies of Hell and St. Peter; the latter took the route of the foreſt towns, and puſhed onward to the lake of

Conſtance. As the republicans advanced, the Auſtrians retired ſlowly, and with triſling loſs. Towards the cloſe of the month, General Staray joined the Archduke; and, in the beginning of Auguſt, the Prince of Conde and General Frolich, took poſt behind the Iller and the Roth, the former at Memmingen, and the latter at Weiſſenhorn.

At the other extremity of the vaſt line of operations, Jourdan preſſed on with equal ſucceſs. He was, nevertheleſs, much retarded, by the ſkill of General Wartenſleben, who not merely withdrew undefeated, and in excellent order, but even gained ſome advantages over his antagoniſt. Wartenſleben retired by the route of Wurtzburgh, Schweinfurt, Bamberg, and Forcheim, to Lauff, on the Pegnitz, in the neighbourhood of which he deſigned to make a ſtand. Finding, however, that Jourdan was making formidable preparations to attack him, and that his poſition was a bad one, he continued his retreat to Amberg, at which place he arrived on the eleventh of Auguſt, having compelled the republicans to ſpend nearly a month in opening their way from Frankfort to the vicinity of Amberg.

The republicans ſpeedily reaped a part of thoſe advantages which they expected from the invaſion of Germany. Intimidated by the progreſs of the French armies, ſome of the German princes and ſtates haſtened to purchaſe a daſtardly peace, at the expence of enormous ſums of money, their honour, and the intereſt of their common country. The way was led by the Duke of Wirtemberg, who obtained an armiſtice from General Moreau, on condition of withdrawing his contingent from the imperial army, paying four millions of livres, and furniſhing the invaders with proviſions, and other articles of which they were in great want. This armiſtice was neceſſarily followed by the concluſion of a peace between his royal highneſs and the French republic. By the treaty *, the duke not only ceded to the republic all the territories which belonged to him on the left bank of the Rhine, and gave an unlimited permiſſion for the enemy to make his dominions the ſeat of war, but broke off all connection with the Germanic body, for the defence of which he promiſed never more to furniſh, on any pretext, the ſlighteſt aſſiſtance. July 17.

The example of the Duke was followed by the Margrave of Baden. The price of the armiſtice granted to him was, twenty-eight thouſand pair of ſhoes, a thouſand horſes, two thouſand ſacks of oats, four thouſand quintals of grain, and two millions of livres. The armiſtice was ſucceeded by a treaty †, of a ſimilar tenor with, but even more diſgraceful than, that concluded by the duke of Wirtemberg. The Margrave did not merely give up his territories on the left bank. He alſo yielded to the French, under the diſguiſe of a towing path, a narrow portion of territory on the right bank of the Rhine. July 25.

* See State Papers, p. *259.

† Ibid. *260.

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The two petty ſovereigns did not, however, ſell their honour and their country, without ſtipulating to receive for them a valuable conſideration. By private articles, in the treaties, it was agreed that, at the concluſion of peace with the Germanic body, the duke and the margrave ſhould obtain an indemnification at the expence of the dominions belonging to the eccleſiaſtical princes of the empire. The republicans, bound themſelves to inſiſt upon the ſecularizing of the territories of Oberkirchen, Zwiefalten, and Elwangen, as a reward to the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Margrave of Baden was to obtain, as his ſhare of the ſpoil, a part of the biſhoprics of Conſtance and Spire, the abbey of Reichenau, the provoſtſhip of Ochringen, the bailliages of Schlingen and Ettenheim, and the city of Slingenſtadt, with ſome adjacent diſtricts. For theſe and a few minor benefits, the margrave, in addition to the ceſſions which he made by the public articles of the treaty, conſented to furniſh an immenſe quantity of ſhip-timber; to cede the fortreſs of Kehl, and fifty acres of land, in front of the bridge head of Huningen; and likewiſe to pay a monthly contribution of twenty thouſand livres, till the ſigning of preliminaries of peace between the French republic and his imperial majeſty.

The circle of Swabia, in its corporate capacity, was the next that ſued to the conqueror. It abandoned the cauſe of the empire, and agreed to furniſh to the republicans, a hundred thouſand pair of ſhoes, a hundred and fifty thouſand quintals of hay, a hundred thouſand ſacks of oats, a hundred and fifty thouſand quintals of corn, five thouſand oxen, eight thouſand four hundred horſes, and the enormous ſum of nineteen millions of livres. Theſe contributions were excluſive of thoſe ſupplied by Wirtemberg and Baden.

The circle of Franconia was not leſs hardly treated. It was compelled to provide two thouſand horſes, and ten millions of livres. Excluſively of which, twelve millions of livres, and articles to an equal amount, were extorted from only the four towns of Bamberg, Wurtzburgh, Schweinfurt, and Nuremberg. Aug. 7.

Nearly at the ſame period, the elector of Saxony, under the mediation of the king of Pruſſia, concluded, with the French republic, a treaty of neutrality, in conſequence of which his contingent, conſiſting of nine thouſand men, was recalled from the Auſtrian army.

The value of the contributions drawn by the French from the provinces of Swabia and Franconia alone, not including the ſtill more oppreſſive item of plunder amounted to nearly two millions and a half ſterling; a ſum which, had it been expended as it ought to have been, would have been amply ſufficient to raiſe and pay an army, capable of making republican France find employment enough for her troops within the limit of her own territory. So true it is, that the price of ruin and diſgrace, is far more coſtly than that of ſafety and honour.

We muſt now return to trace

the movements of the hoſtile armies. The progreſs of Jourdan on the Mayn, and of Ferino on the Danube, made it neceſſary for the Archduke to break up from Gemund, on the twenty ſixth of July, and continue his retrograde march through the Alb mountains, towards the frontier of Bavaria. On his route, he received intelligence of the treaty, which the circle of Swabia had concluded with the enemy; and he, in conſequence, ordered General Frolich to ſurround and diſarm the Swabian troops, and oblige them to diſperſe, behind the line of operations. He fell back ſucceſſively, by Heydenheim and Nereſheim, to Nordlingen, at which place he arrived on the third of Auguſt, and reſolved to pauſe, and take meaſures for executing a plan of attack upon the republicans.

Moreau cautiouſly followed the ſteps of the Archduke, through the crooked defiles of the Swabian Alps. Little acquainted with the country, the mountainous nature of which forced him to march his army in ſeparate bodies, and rendered the communication between them exceedingly difficult, he was more afraid of being aſſailed, than diſpoſed to become the aſſailant. Nothing, therefore, occurred but ſkirmiſhes, in all of which the advantage remained on the ſide of the Auſtrians.

On the right bank of the Danube, Ferino could only gain ground in proportion as the main army advanced on the oppoſite bank; and his progreſs was conſequently ſlow. By the eleventh of Auguſt, he had merely obliged the Prince of Condé to retire from the Iller to the Mindel, on which latter river the prince took poſt, in front of Mindelheim.

While the prince held this poſition, a gallant action was fought at Ober Kamlach, which reflected great honour on the emigrant corps. Two thouſand two hundred of the battalions of *infanterie noble* attacked, and, after a hard and ſanguinary conteſt, overthrew five thouſand republicans. The loſs of the emigrant corps amounted to ſeven hundred men; four hundred of whom belonged to the battalions of *infanterie noble*. In this action the troops were led on, amid the hotteſt of the fire, by the Duke d'Enghein. The ſucceſs was, however, productive only of honour. The ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers, and the courſe of events on the other ſide of the Danube, made it prudent for the Prince of Condé to break up from Mindelheim, and continue his retreat towards the Lech, in the direction of Landſberg. The circle of Swabia was thus left entirely in poſſeſſion of the republicans.

By referring to the map of the ſeat of war, and tracing lines, from Cologne and Straſburgh, to the frontier of Bavaria, it will be ſeen that, at the opening of the campaign, the French and Auſtrian armies commenced their operations at the oppoſite points of the baſe of a triangle, along two ſides of which triangle, the latter ſucceſſively retreated, and the former advanced, till they had now nearly reached its apex. From this apex, however, the Auſtrians were neceſſarily leſs diſtant than their enemies, and, conſequently, had a ſhorter line to

move over, when they wiſhed to act in conjunction, againſt either of the republican armies. Of this circumſtance the Archduke ſkilfully determined to avail himſelf, in order to bring an overpowering force to bear againſt the one or the other of his opponents. With this view he had, early in the month, ſent inſtructions to General Wartenſleben, at Bamberg, to approach cloſer to him with his army. But Wartenſleben having been under the neceſſity of continuing his retreat to Amberg, theſe inſtructions could not immediately be carried into effect; nor could the Archduke be apprized in time of the change which had taken place.

Having ſafely paſſed the defiles of the Swabian Alps, Moreau directed his march upon Nordlingen, in the neighbourhood of which place the Archduke was encamped. Several ſkirmiſhes, with various ſucceſs, took place between ſmall diviſions of the two armies. On the approach of Moreau, the Archduke moved from Nordlingen, and, to cover more effectually the roads from that city and Oettingen to Donawert, he occupied a poſition acroſs the Eger rivulet, his right being near Allerheim, his center near Mettingen, and his left towards Hohen-Altheim. An advanced guard, under General Hotze, was ſtationed behind the village of Eglingen. The republicans poſted themſelves in front of Nereſheim; their right wing being at Diſchingen, their center at Dunſelchingen, and their left wing near the village of Schweindorff. On the right and left, they had flanking corps, at Ober Meldingen and Bopfingen.

The Archduke now reſolved to make ſuch a vigorous effort againſt the army of Moreau, as ſhould, perhaps, compel that army to meaſure back haſtily at leaſt a part of the ground over which it had advanced. The republicans, however, having yet a ſuperiority of numbers, he deemed it proper to make his attack by ſurpriſe. The marches of the troops were, in conſequence, ſo arranged, that the columns might be in motion to the points of attack before day-break, on the morning of the eleventh. While theſe preparations were carrying on, the French made, upon General Hotze's corps, ſeveral vehement but fruitleſs aſſaults, which did not induce the Archduke to depart from his intention.

The plan of the Archduke was to bend his principal exertions againſt the center and right of the republicans, to turn their right, and compel them to make their retreat by bad and circuitous roads. Unfortunately, a violent ſtorm, which laſted ſeveral hours, rendered the night ſo dark, and the roads ſo heavy, that the troops and artillery could not perform their movements in leſs than double the calculated time. The motions of the Auſtrians were diſcovered by the French, who adopted meaſures of defence, and thus all the advantages were loſt of an attack by ſurpriſe. Confiding in the valour of his ſoldiers, the archduke, nevertheleſs, perſevered in the ſcheme which he had formed.

The battle began at ſeven in the

the morning. Three Auſtrian columns aſſailed the republican center and right, while a fourth column, under General Rieſe, turned their right, and moved towards their rear. The conflict was of the moſt obſtinate kind. On ſeveral points of the republican front, the Auſtrians gained conſiderable advantages. A part of theſe, however, they were compelled to relinquiſh, by General Moreau bringing up his reſerve, and falling on their flank. But the corps led by General Rieſe, was completely ſucceſsful. It defeated the diviſion oppoſed to it, advanced as far as Heydenheim, in the rear of Moreau, and compelled the republicans to remove precipitately their magazines of ammunition to Kœningſbrun and Aalen, at a great diſtance from the army of Moreau, which was thus left almoſt without ammunition. While the Archduke was preparing to renew the conteſt, he received information that Wartenſleben had retired to Amberg, and that Jourdan had arrived at Nuremberg. As, even if victorious, his Royal Highneſs would now be under the neceſſity of retreating to Donawert, and if he were unſucceſsful, a retreat might be followed by diſaſtrous conſequences, he determined to diſcontinue the battle, and begin his march towards Donawert. His loſs on this occaſion did not exceed fifteen hundred men; that of the French was double the number, of whom twelve hundred were priſoners.

In the preſent ſtate of things, Jourdan was the general whoſe progreſs it was moſt neceſſary to arreſt without delay. The archduke, therefore, reſolved to effect a junction with Wartenſleben, and to fall upon Jourdan, with the greateſt part of the Auſtrian force; leaving, for the defence of Bavaria, an army juſt ſufficient to retard the march of Moreau, long enough to give time for his royal highneſs to return to the protection of the hereditary ſtates. Accordingly, on the evening of the battle, the Archduke withdrew to the poſition which he had occupied, previouſly to his advancing againſt Moreau, whence, on the following morning he continued his retreat to Donawert, where he was joined by Generals Hotze and Rieſe. On the part of the republicans no attempt was made to interrupt this retreat.

Before we follow the march of the Archduke Charles, we muſt ſtop for a while, to notice the conduct of the republican armies, towards the inhabitants of Franconia and Swabia. That conduct was ſo infamous that language has no terms ſufficiently ſtrong, to deſcribe, or to reprobate it. Never was the irruption into any country, of a horde of even the moſt ferocious ſavages, marked by acts of ſuch deteſtable wickedneſs, as diſtinguiſhed the invaſion of Germany, by the monſters in human ſhape, who aſſumed the title of the ſoldiers of liberty. It ſeemed, indeed, as if, on this occaſion, the renovated French were anxious to prove, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, their preeminence in baſeneſs and cruelty.

That plunder ſhould be indulged in by an invading enemy, was certainly rather a ſubject of regret than of wonder. But, not content

tent with the common modes of depriving the Germans of their property, nor with diſinterring the dead, and tearing open the bodies to ſearch for gold, the republicans, with a truly diabolical malignity, took delight in the deſtruction of every thing which circumſtances prevented them from turning to advantage. The furniture of houſes, and the implements of agriculture, were frequently broken into fragments; the veſſels were ſtaved in the cellars; the winter-ſtores of bread and corn, which could not be eaten or carried away, were defiled with ſand, aſhes, and ordure; and the oxen and other animals were either hamſtrung, mutilated, ſtrangled, or hacked in pieces. Happy indeed would it have been, had the barbarity of the invaders been exerciſed only on brute and inanimate objects. This, however, was not the caſe. Children and old men were treated with the utmoſt inhumanity; and the ſick, and thoſe who were on the point of death, were often dragged from their beds, kicked, buffeted, and wounded. But it was the female ſex which was compelled to ſuffer the largeſt ſhare of torment and miſery. Neither the tendereſt nor the moſt decrepid age, nor the moſt loathſome diſeaſe, could ſhield females from the luſt of a ferocious ſoldiery. Decency forbids a deſcription of many of the diſguſting enormities which were committed. It is ſufficient to ſtate, that the republicans publicly and indiſcriminately violated girls who were ſcarcely more than infants, aged perſons, women in childbed, the dying, and the dead! Huſbands, fathers, and children, were compelled to witneſs theſe horrible ſcenes. To crown the whole, the churches were made the theatres of the vileſt blaſphemy and obſcenity, the miniſters of religion were unrelentingly perſecuted, the croſs was trampled under foot or burned, and, in one place, the figure of Satan was cut from a picture, and triumphantly erected on the altar of the Deity. Such was the conduct of the republicans. We muſt now proceed to relate the meaſures which the Archduke adopted, to drive them from thoſe provinces which they had oppreſſed and outraged by their monſtrous exactions and crimes.

CHAP. XI.

March of the Archduke Charles againſt General Jourdan. He leaves General Latour, with a part of his army, to defend Bavaria. General Wartenſleben compelled to retreat to the Naab. Movements of the Archduke. Defeat of General Bernadotte. The Archduke forms a plan of attack upon Jourdan's army. Jourdan precipitately retires. He is defeated at Amberg. The Archduke makes himſelf maſter of Wurtzburgh, before Jourdan can arrive. Battle of Wurtzburgh. The French are entirely defeated. The citadel of Wurtzburgh capitulates. Count Meerfeldt detached to form a corps on the enemy's rear. Jourdan deſigns to poſt himſelf at Bergen. The Auſtrians defeat a republican corps at Aſchaffenburgh, and prevent him. He continues his retreat, in the utmoſt diſorder, to the Lahn

Lahn. Hatred of the peaſants againſt his army. He quits the Lahn, and retreats to the Sieg. His rear-guard is defeated, and General Marceau mortally wounded and made priſoner. Concluſion of Jourdan's retreat. The Archduke marches towards the Upper Rhine. Operations of Moreau and Latour in Bavaria. General Latour is defeated at Friedberg, and compelled to retire behind the Iſer. Ceſſation of hoſtilities between the French and the Elector of Bavaria. Critical ſituation of Moreau. He is attacked by the Auſtrians, but repulſes them. He is defeated in an attempt to force the paſſage of the Iſer. Alarmed at his ſituation, Moreau reſolves to fall back. He ſends, but in vain, a corps over the Danube to haraſs the rear of the Archduke. Commencement of his retreat. Operations of an Auſtrian corps, under General Petrarſch, in Swabia. General Petrarſch defeats the French in ſeveral engagements, and advances to Kehl. He carries Kehl, by aſſault, but unfortunately is ſoon diſlodged from it by the republicans. He marches to the Neckar, to hang on the flank of Moreau.

IN purſuance of the plan which he had formed, the Archduke Charles croſſed the Danube, at Donawert, on the thirteenth, and employed the next day in making preparations for his march. To general Latour he confided a conſiderable part of his army, for the defence of Bavaria. With the remainder, conſiſting of about twenty thouſand of his beſt troops, he, on the fifteenth, quitted Donawert, the bridge at which place he ordered to be burnt, and proceeded rapidly along the right bank of the Danube. He repaſſed the river, on the ſeventeenth, at Neuburg and Ingolſtadt, near which places he halted for a day. Ingolſtadt being defenſible, and, in conſequence of its bridge, the head of which, on the other ſide of the river, was fortified, being advantageouſly ſituated to keep open his communication with Latour, or to act on the flank of Moreau, the Archduke threw into it a ſufficient garriſon.

While theſe movements were effecting, a change had taken place in the poſitions of the armies of General Wartenſleben and General Jourdan, which rendered it neceſſary for the Archduke to alter the line of his march. General Wartenſleben was no longer at Amberg. He had abandoned that place, and, after ſtubbornly defending every inch of ground, had retired behind the Naab, where he was now poſted.

At this moment, the main body of Jourdan's army was in front of the Naab, oppoſed to the army of Wartenſleben. On the rear of his right, at the village of Teining, midway between Ratiſbon and Nuremberg, was a ſtrong diviſion under General Bernadotte.

It had originally been the intention of his royal highneſs to move with his right column from Ingolſtadt towards Belugrieſs, while Lieutenant-General Hotze, with a column which had croſſed the Danube at Neuburg, proceeded conſiderably to the left. But, ſince Jourdan had advanced to the Naab, and Bernadotte to Teining, this movement had become extremely dangerous; as the communication of the Archduke with General

General Wartenſleben would have been very precarious, and a retreat, in caſe of diſaſter, exceedingly difficult, the enemy having it in his power to prevent the retreat from being made on the ſide of Ratiſbon.

Changing, therefore, the direction of his march, the Archduke advanced on the right to Hemmau, when he was joined by Major-General Nauendorff, with four battalions newly arrived from Auſtria, and ſome light troops. This corps had been detached from Ratiſbon, to ſtop the progreſs of the republican force under Bernadotte. The column led by Lieutenant-General Hotze moved to Belugrieſs, and covered the left of the Archduke. By theſe movements the road to Ratiſbon was effectually ſecured.

In this poſition the Archduke was compelled to pauſe for a day or two, in order to obtain certain intelligence of the ſituation of General Wartenſleben, and make arrangements with him for a combined attack.

The republican column, headed by Bernadotte, was attacked at Teining, on the twenty-ſecond, by Major-General Nauendorff, and was driven back to Neumark. On the following day the conteſt was renewed with ſtill greater vigour. The corps of the Archduke and Lieutenant-General Hotze, having again united, advanced in ſeveral columns, fell upon Bernadotte at Neumark, defeated him, and purſued him as far as Altdorff. At the ſame time his royal highneſs diſpatched a conſiderable body of cavalry, with ſome light infantry, to occupy the road to Nuremberg. The right of the Auſtrians encamped at Neumark.

By the retreat of Bernadotte the right flank of Jourdan's army was wholly uncovered, and the Auſtrians were even placed in the rear of that flank. The Archduke haſtened to take advantage of this propitious circumſtance, and to put in execution the plan which he had concerted with General Wartenſleben. The object of this plan was to bring on a deciſive battle, by a general attack upon the front and flank of the republican army.

It was arranged that the force under General Wartenſleben ſhould advance in four columns againſt the republican front. The column on the right was to advance towards Weyer, while the other three columns moved from Schwartzfeld and Schwandorff towards Amberg, in the vicinity of which place they were to unite. In the mean time, the right of the Archduke's army was to puſh forward from Neumark, by Caſtel, and form a junction with the three columns at Amberg, while two diviſions on his left, conducted by Lieutenant-Generals Staray and Hotze, proceeded to Herſpruch and Lauffen, on the river Pegnitz.

On the twenty-fourth, the whole of the columns moved forward. The prudence of Jourdan prevented, however, the Archduke from reaping all the expected fruits of this well-concerted plan. No ſooner was the republican general informed of the defeat of Bernadotte, and the movements which were making againſt himſelf, than he thought it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to take ſteps to evade the impending danger. He was fully convinced that, badly poſted as he was, and having

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to

to retire through a difficult country, peopled by inveterate enemies, the loſs of a battle would, perhaps, occaſion the deſtruction of his army. His only reſource was a ſpeedy retreat from the perilous ground which he occupied. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-third, he quitted with the utmoſt precipitation, all his poſitions, and retired, through Amberg, towards Sulzbach. But, expeditious as he was, he did not excape without loſs. In the defiles of Amberg the Auſtrians came up with his rear guard, which had been ordered to maintain its poſt as long as poſſible, and which, in conſequence, ſuffered ſeverely. Two battalions of it were cut to pieces by the Auſtrian cavalry, and nearly a thouſand men were made priſoners.

The Archduke having thus deprived Jourdan of the power to combine his operations with thoſe of Moreau, and finding himſelf more than ſtrong enough to purſue his ſucceſs, now diſpatched Major-General Nauendorff, with ten thouſand men, to reinforce General Latour, who by this time, had been compelled to give way to Moreau's immenſe ſuperiority of force, and to recede from the banks of the Lech to the banks of the Iſer.

The retreat, or rather flight, of Jourdan was continued for ſeveral days with the ſame rapidity with which it was begun. As the occupation of Nuremberg by the Auſtrians rendered it impoſſible for him to reach Wurtzburgh by the beſt and ſhorteſt road, he was compelled to direct his march upon Forcheim, and thence upon Bamberg. The Auſtrians followed cloſely, but the nature of the country, extremely hilly, woody, and interſected, made it impracticable for them to employ their cavalry, and enabled Jourdan to avoid being forced to a general engagement. They nevertheleſs, haraſſed him greatly, intercepted his couriers, and, in a defile between Velden and Hohenſtadt, captured or deſtroyed a conſiderable column of his baggage. Early on the thirtieth, his army croſſed the Mayn, at Hallſtat and Eltman, and, at laſt, made a halt in the neighbourhood of Lauringen and Schweinfurt.

Wurtzburgh was the point to which the efforts of both armies were directed. Jourdan hoped that, if he could reach it in time, he might yet maintain his ground in Franconia, and he knew that, even if he failed in keeping his ground, his being maſter of Wurtzburgh would enable him to make a leſs circuitous and leſs diſaſtrous retreat. The Archduke, on the other hand, was eager to ſeize upon Wurtzburgh, in order to compel his antagoniſt to abandon the Mayn, and retire, by the road of Fulda, towards the Upper Lahn.

The advantage, in point of diſtance, was on the part of the Auſtrians. Between Bamberg, Schweinfurt, and Wurtzburgh, the Mayn forms a large angle, along two ſides of which the republicans, in conſequence of their having been driven to the right of the Mayn, were compelled to march, while the Auſtrians had to traverſe only the remaining ſide of the triangle. While the republicans were moving round the Mayn by Schweinfurt, the Archduke puſhed rapidly on with his army towards Wurtzburgh.

Wurtzburgh. His advanced guard, led by General Hotze, entered the place on the firſt of September, and the French garriſon withdrew into the citadel, called the Marienburg. General Staray alſo croſſed the Mayn, with a diviſion, and took poſt at Kintzingen to ſupport General Hotze. The other diviſion halted, on the left of the river, at Ober Schwartzbach and Gerolzhoffen.

The republicans marched with ſuch expedition that they reached Kornack, about three leagues from Wurtzburgh, only a few hours after General Hotze had taken poſſeſſion of the town. As the whole of the Auſtrian army was not yet come up, Jourdan flattered himſelf that he might ſtill attain his object. Accordingly, on the following day, he fell, with the greateſt impetuoſity, upon the corps commanded by General Staray. He ſucceeded in forcing ſome of that general's poſts, but, all his efforts to diſlodge him from his chief poſitions proving fruitleſs, he retired in the evening to his camp at Kornach.

Undiſcouraged by his diſaſters, Jourdan reſolved not to relinquiſh his conqueſts, without a further ſtruggle. A victory would reſtore to him all that he had loſt; and he hoped, beſides, that, at all events, the progreſs of Moreau would, at length, compel the Archduke to haſten back to the Danube. He, therefore, prepared to run the riſk of a battle.

The poſition in which he waited for the Archduke was choſen with no mean ſkill. Extending to, and flanked by, the Mayn, his right wing was ſtationed on a very commanding eminence, the front of which was rendered extremely difficult of acceſs, by a ſmall river with ſteep banks. A long narrow wood, ſkirting the bottom of a chain of heights was occupied by the firſt line of his center; and the ſecond line was poſted on the ridge of the chain. Conſiſting almoſt entirely of cavalry, his left wing was placed in the ſpacious plain in front of Kornach, but thrown conſiderably back, that it might at once give to and receive from the infantry in the wood a more efficient ſupport. Along the principal points of the front was diſtributed a numerous artillery. The diviſion of General Lefevre was left behind Schweinfurt to keep open the road to Fulda, and the communication between his diviſion and the army was maintained by a ſmall intermediate corps.

Formidable as was the poſition of Jourdan, the Archduke determined to give him battle. Celerity was, in truth, the very ſoul of his royal highneſs's operations. There was an abſolute neceſſity for him to preſs the army of Jourdan, without allowing it a moment's reſpite; and, by a deciſive blow, to drive it to the Lower Rhine, that he might have ſufficient time to carry into effect the plan which he had formed againſt the army of Moreau.

Preparatory to the combat, bridges were thrown over the Mayn, at Dettelbach; and in the vicinity of Geroltzhoffen. The army was divided into three columns. The left, under General Staray, was to attack the right wing of the French; the center, commanded by General Wartenſleben, paſſing the bridge at Dettelbach, was to fall upon the center

of

of the enemy; and the right, led by General Kray, was to croſs the Mayn, near Geroltzhoffen, and turn the republican left.

Sept. 3d. The action was commenced by General Staray, who, ſhortly after day-break, advanced with his column, and drove in ſome of the enemy's poſts. The advantage which he had gained was ſpeedily loſt. The two other columns having a conſiderable march to make, and the paſſage of the Mayn having taken up more time than it had been expected to do, General Staray was overpowered by the ſuperior numbers, which Jourdan drew from his unaſſailed diviſions, and was not only driven from the ground which he had won, but was in danger of being forced in his own poſition.

This moment was truly critical. The Archduke, however, acted with a promptitude and ſkill without which, perhaps, the battle would have turned againſt the Auſtrians. He ſent orders to General Wartenſleben to ford the river with the whole of his cavalry, and advance inſtantly againſt the republican left. This manœuvre was executed with preciſion, and was fortunately productive of the deſired effect. Menaced on his weakeſt point, Jourdan withdrew from his right the troops with which he was preſſing Staray, and the latter was enabled to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in his poſt.

By the charge of the Auſtrian cavalry, the left of the enemy was driven from its ground, and obliged to take ſhelter behind the wood. The aſſailants, nevertheleſs, were, in their turn, compelled to retire, by the tremendous fire of grape ſhot and muſketry, to which they were expoſed. They made a ſecond attempt to advance, but met with no better ſucceſs. As the enemy would not be drawn into the plain, and the poſition could not be forced without infantry, the Archduke determined to wait the arrival of the remaining part of General Wartenſleben's column.

The infantry from Dettelbach, and the column of Kray, from Geroltzhoffen, at length appeared advancing; and at the ſame time the diviſion of Staray made a movement forward. A combined attack was ordered by the Archduke. Regardleſs of a ſwarm of ſharpſhooters and light troops which haraſſed them, eight battalions of grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, puſhed onward impetuouſly, yet in excellent order, reached the wood, without returning a ſhot, and, in ſpite of the fire of the batteries, drove the enemy, in a few minutes, not only from the wood, but likewiſe from the heights above it. This charge was deciſive of the fate of the day. His center broken, and his wings in the utmoſt danger, Jourdan perceived that there was not a moment to be loſt in commencing a retreat, already difficult, and which, if longer delayed, would, probably become impoſſible.

At firſt, under the protection of his light artillery, and of his cavalry, which ſtill preſerved a tolerable countenance, the retreat of Jourdan was conducted with ſome degree of regularity. The Auſtrians, however, preſſed upon him too furiouſly to allow of that regularity being maintained. The repeated attacks of their huſſars, and the dreadful fire of their artil-

lery,

lery from the heights in their poſſeſſion, finally threw the retiring French into the utmoſt confuſion. It was now not a retreat, but a flight. Darkneſs, and the exceſſive fatigue which the Auſtrians had undergone, alone ſaved the republicans from total deſtruction.

To the cool courage of the Archduke; to the ſkill, rapidity, and preciſion of his manœuvres; and to the animating example which he ſet his ſoldiers, by being foremoſt wherever there was peril; may, in a great meaſure, be attributed the ſucceſsful termination of this important conteſt.

Two thouſand of the vanquiſhed were ſlain or wounded, and three thouſand two hundred made priſoners, excluſive of the number killed or brought in after the battle, by the military and the peaſants. Only eight hundred Auſtrians were killed or wounded. Two ſtandards and ten cannon were taken from the French on the field. But, though they carried off the greateſt part of their artillery, they ſpeedily diſcovered that it was too great an impediment to their flight, and they accordingly abandoned ſixty pieces in Freudenberg, and ninety in Schweinfurt.

On the following morning, the citadel of Wurtzburgh capitulated. The garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven hundred men, commanded by General Belmont, remained priſoners of war. Fifteen pieces of cannon, a hundred and twenty-ſeven ammunition waggons, a military cheſt, and immenſe magazines of ſtores, ammunition, and proviſions, were the prize of the conqueror.

The Archduke now detached Count Meerfeldt, with ten ſquadrons of light cavalry, to form a junction with a part of the garriſons of Mentz and Manheim. The purpoſe of this meaſure was to form a corps of ten or fifteen thouſand men, which might be brought to act in the rear of Jourdan, or marched up the Rhine, to ſeize the Swabian paſſes, and intercept the retreat of Moreau.

After the loſs of the battle of Wurtzburgh, Jourdan directed his march to Hamelburg, whence he moved, acroſs the country of Fulda, to the Upper Lahn. It was his intention, however, ſtill, if poſſible, to maintain himſelf in the vicinity of the Mayn. He hoped to reach, before the Archduke could come up, the ſtrong poſition of Bergen, where, in the year 1759, Prince Ferdinand was foiled in an attempt to diſlodge the Duke de Broglio. There, reinforced by the two diviſions which he had left near Frankfort, he thought it would be practicable to check the progreſs of the Auſtrians.

The Archduke followed up his victory with ſuch rapidity that he rendered abortive the plan of the republican general. On the fifth he ſent Lieutenant-general Kray, with a ſtrong advanced guard, to ſecure the paſſes of the Speſſart, an extenſive and mountainous foreſt, which fills a vaſt curve formed by the Mayn between Aſchaffenburg and Gemunden, and through which is carried the road from Frankfort to Wurtzburgh. Kray arrived in the neighbourhood of Aſchaffenburgh on the afternoon of the ſixth, and found the enemy, to the number of two thouſand men, poſted to defend the paſs from the foreſt. The action was begun by a warm cannonade, which laſted a conſiderable time. The Auſtrian general

neral then attacked the enemy with ſo much ſpirit that he drove them from their advantageous poſition. They were purſued through the town by his cavalry, and diſperſed in the woods, on the other ſide of the Mayn. Their loſs was a thouſand men, ſix hundred of whom were priſoners.

The Archduke himſelf reached Aſchaffenburgh on the enſuing day, and, finding that the enemy had abandoned Frankfort, puſhed forward his advanced guards to the Kintzing and the Nidda. Jourdan, meanwhile, had arrived by forced marches at Schlietern, a few miles from Fulda, on the road to Frankfort. Here he learned that the Archduke was already maſter of Aſchaffenburgh, and that the ſcheme of taking poſt at Bergen was in conſequence fruſtrated. He turned off, therefore, to the right, and bent his courſe to Wetzlar, on the Lahn, where he meant to collect, and re-organize, his ſcattered forces. His ſucceſsful antagoniſt proceeded, on the tenth, to Windecken, and occupied with his advanced corps the important point of Friedberg, midway between the Mayn and the Lahn. The Archduke was here joined by ten thouſand men, from the garriſon of Mentz, who, on their way, took poſſeſſion of the fort of Konigſtein, which had been abandoned by the enemy.

From Wurtzburgh to the Lahn the retreat of Jourdan's army was conducted with a precipitation and diſorder ſcarcely to be paralleled in military annals. The republican force ſcarcely, indeed, deſerved the name of an army. All diſcipline was entirely at an end. The ſeparate corps, without magazines, and without fixed points of retreat, were deaf to their officers, retired in what direction they pleaſed, and layed waſte the country as they paſſed along. In their advance they had frequently pillaged and deſtroyed merely from that malignant wantonneſs which is a characteriſtic quality of their nation; they now pillaged and deſtroyed from hunger and reſentment. Their bittereſt and moſt formidable enemies were the peaſantry, who eagerly embraced the opportunity to take revenge upon their oppreſſors. In all quarters the alarm-bell was rung upon the approach of the French, the peaſants hurried to ſeize whatever weapons they could find, felled trees acroſs the roads, gave information to the Auſtrians, haraſſed and impeded the enemy, and killed, made priſoners, or diſarmed all ſtragglers, and parties which were not ſtrong enough to open a paſſage. The inveteracy of the peaſants, and the cloſe purſuit of the Auſtrians, ſpeedily inſpired the French with ſuch a panic that a great part of the infantry threw away their arms, and every thing which could impede their flight; and many inſtances occurred in which forty or fifty of them tamely ſurrendered to one-tenth of their number. The loſs ſuſtained, by fatigue, want, deſertion, capture, and the ſword, in the retreat from the Naab to the Lahn, was generally eſtimated at more than twenty thouſand men.

In the hope that the French would defend the poſition of the Lahn, the Archduke, who had encamped at Weyer, aſſembled his army, before day-break on the ſeventeenth, between Limburg and Dietz, with the intention of making

ing a general attack upon the enemy. But such was still the confused and heartless state of the republican force, that Jourdan, although he had been reinforced by the division of Marceau, and part of the army of the north, did not think it advisable to risk a battle. A thick mist, which prevailed in the morning of the seventeenth, at once stopped the advance of the Austrians, and covered his retreat. When it cleared away, he was found to be at so great a distance, as to leave the Austrians no hope of bringing him to action. His left and centre marched towards the Sieg, his right, and the corps which had blockaded Ehrenbreitstein, crossed the bridge of boats established at Neuwied.

The flying French were eagerly pursued by the Austrians. On the nineteenth, Lieutenant-general Hotze came up, at Hochstebach, with their rear-guard under General Marceau, who made a stand, to give the rest of the army time to pass the defiles of Altenkirchen. After a gallant resistance, Marceau was defeated, mortally wounded, and made prisoner. When he fell, his officers and soldiers crowded round him weeping, while he, with unshaken fortitude, endeavoured to console them. Every care and attention was lavished by the Austrian chiefs on the captive general, who, though only twenty-seven years of age, was one of the most accomplished, intelligent, and brave of the French officers; and was not less humane than able and courageous. On the twenty-first he expired, and his body was restored to his countrymen by the Archduke, on condition that the Austrians should have notice of the time of his funeral, that they might join in paying to him those military honours which he justly deserved. He was buried in the entrenched camp at Coblentz; and, during the interment, discharges of artillery were fired by the hostile armies on the opposite banks of the Rhine.

On the twenty-first of September, the French terminated their ruinous and disgraceful retreat. The main body of their army retired into the entrenched camp before Dusseldorf, and two divisions crossed the Rhine at Bonne. Only a trifling guard of light troops was stationed on the Sieg. Thus, in five and twenty days, they lost more than a hundred leagues of territory, half their army, all their former partisans in Germany, and much of that military reputation which had hitherto facilitated their conquests, by depressing the spirits of their rivals.

Another task yet remained for the Archduke to perform. One part of Germany still remained unliberated. Leaving, therefore, General Werneck, with forty thousand men, for the defence of the Sieg, he began his march towards the Mayn, on the twenty-second of September, with the intention of proceeding to the Upper Rhine.

Here, for the present, we must leave him, and return to trace the operations of Generals Latour and Moreau, subsequently to his departure from the Danube. The movement of the Archduke against Jourdan had been accomplished with such secrecy, that Moreau was entirely ignorant of it, and was fully persuaded that the whole of the Austrian army was concen-

trated behind the Lech, for the defence of Bavaria. Under this idea, he reſolved to bend his way to the right bank of the Danube. The bridge at Donawert being deſtroyed, he was compelled to make a retrograde march, in order to croſs the river at Hochſtett, Dillingen and Lauingen. The paſſage was effected on the nineteenth of Auguſt, and on the ſame day, the French army took a poſition behind the Zuſam, whence on the following day, it advanced to the Schmutter. A republican diviſion was poſted on the left of the Danube, to keep open a communication with the army of Jourdan.

General Latour, meanwhile, had ſtationed his army on the Bavarian ſide of the Lech. His right wing, under General Mercantin, was between Rain and Peſenbruck, his center on the heights of Friedberg, and his left, conſiſting of the corps of the Prince of Condé, at Landſberg. A ſeparate diviſion, led by Generals Frolich, St. Julien and Wollf, was placed at the extremity of his left, near Wangen, to oppoſe the right of the French, and communicate with the Tyrol.

The Archduke had been gone nearly a week before Moreau was apprized of his march. As ſoon as the latter was informed of it, he determined to attack General Latour; hoping that the Auſtrian army would now be too feeble to oppoſe an effectual reſiſtance, and that, if it were defeated, the Archduke would be compelled to return, to ſtop the progreſs of the republicans towards the hereditary dominions of the Emperor.

The diviſion of Latour, at Friedberg, though more ſtrongly poſted than either of the others, was that which Moreau reſolved to attack, becauſe he expected to find the fords of the Lech more practicable in the neighbourhood of Augſburg than in any other quarter. The neceſſary preparations being made, the French army marched, on the twenty-fourth, in three columns. The right wing, led by General Ferino, paſſed the river unperceived, oppoſite Haunſtetten, at a ford which the Auſtrians had neglected to guard. By the rapidity of the current ſeveral men were drowned, among whom was Adjutant-General Houel. While this column puſhed forward towards Othmaring, and menaced Latour's left, General St. Cyr, with the republican center, paſſed the river above and below Lechhauſen, made himſelf maſter of that village, and advanced towards Friedberg. The republican left meantime had croſſed the Lech at Langwiet, and joined the other diviſions. The Auſtrians, now preſſed on all ſides, and unable to maintain their ground, had retreated by the road of Munich. To the French the immediate fruits of this victory were ſeventeen pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred priſoners, and the poſſeſſion of conſiderable magazines, which the Auſtrians had not time to remove.

General Latour retired behind the Iſer, and occupied a poſition which extended along that river, from Landſhut, on the right, to Neideck, oppoſite Munich, on the left. In front of his center, and on the other bank of the Iſer, he ſtationed a corps at Freyſing. The French, on their ſide, moved towards the Iſer, and their advanced

vanced guard entered Munich, on the thirtieth of Auguſt.

The hazardous march of the French into Bavaria was productive to them of one important benefit. It ſo much alarmed the Elector as to induce him to ſue for an armiſtice, which, after a negotiation of ſeveral days, was granted, upon the moſt onerous conditions. By the treaty it was ſtipulated that he ſhould withdraw his troops from the Imperial army; ſhould pay ten millions of livres to the French republic; and furniſh its forces with three thouſand three hundred ſaddle and draft horſes, two hundred thouſand quintals of grain, two hundred thouſand quintals of hay, a hundred thouſand ſacks of oats, a hundred thouſand pair of ſhoes, ten thouſand pair of boots, and thirty thouſand ells of cloth. He likewiſe engaged to allow the French government to chooſe twenty pictures from the galleries of Munich and Duſſeldorf. To complete the whole, he promiſed to ſend to Paris, without delay, a plenipotentiary to conclude a ſeparate peace. On theſe terms his Bavarian, Franconian, and Weſtphalian dominions were, for the preſent, to be treated as neutral.

A little conſtancy would have rendered theſe ſacrifices unneceſſary. Moreau had now nearly reached the bound of his conqueſts. Every hour made his ſituation more critical. He was ignorant of the ſtrength and movements of the Auſtrian army oppoſed to him, and was equally ignorant of the movements of Jourdan, all communication with whom was entirely intercepted, by the light troops of Archduke, and the armed peaſantry. The poſition which he occupied was extremely dangerous. The right was at Dachau on the Amper, the center at Pfaffenhoffen, and the left at Frienhauſen, on the Paar. The advanced poſts of the left extended to Puech, Riecherzoffen, and Gieſenfeld. His right wing was expoſed to be turned on the ſide of the Tyrol, his left was endangered by the Imperialiſts holding poſſeſſion of Ingolſtadt and its bridge head, and his center could not advance towards Ratiſbon, without being taken in flank by the Auſtrian corps which was poſted at Landſhut.

To ameliorate his poſition, he determined that a part of his right ſhould compel Generals Wolff and St. Julien to retire further into the Tyrol, while the other part paſſed the Iſer, above Munich, and drove the Auſtrians in that quarter behind the Inn; that a diviſion of the center ſhould make itſelf maſter of Freyſing, and the bridges on the Iſer; and that a conſiderable portion of the left ſhould attack the bridge head at Ingolſtadt, and deſtroy the bridge.

While, on the firſt of September, his troops were in motion, to execute the projected attacks, the Auſtrians were advancing againſt his left wing. At break of day, after one part of that wing had marched againſt the bridge head of Ingolſtadt, the other part was vigorouſly aſſailed by Generals Nauendorff and Mercantin, entirely routed, and purſued ſeveral miles, as far as Langenbruck and the chapel of St. Gaſt. There the fugitives rallied, took an advantageous poſition, and were reinforced by the troops which, in the interim, had been recalled from

the attack upon the bridge head. The Auſtrians made ſeveral daring efforts to carry the new poſition of the French, but all their efforts were fruitleſs. Their cavalry, being entangled in ſome marſhy ground, ſuffered greatly. At length, the Auſtrian generals thought proper to direct a retreat, which was effected in the beſt order. This repulſe was amply compenſated by the defeat which the French ſuſtained, on the ſame day, in an attempt to force the paſſage of the Iſer, near Munich. It muſt be obſerved alſo, that the deſign of the French upon the bridge, at Ingolſtadt, was fruſtrated by the onſet of the Auſtrians.

On the third, Moreau made himſelf maſter of Freyſing, and, on the ſeventh, his center and left advanced to Mainburg, on the Ambs, and Neuſtat, on the Danube. This was the limit of his progreſs. Even at the moment when his center and left were moving onward, his right was turned by a part of the corps of General Frolich, which penetrated to his rear, and carried off from Dachau a park of artillery.

Moreau now began to be ſeriouſly alarmed at his ſituation. From the army of the Sambre and Meuſe he received no tidings. The Auſtrian force in his front was every day increaſing by reinforcements from Bohemia and Auſtria; and that on his right threatened to deprive his flank of the ſupport of the lake of Conſtance. The peaſants behind were in inſurrection, and would, he feared, intercept his convoys, and there was great danger that the Archduke, rapidly returning, might come upon his rear, and envelope his army. He, at length, therefore, reſolved to fall back, and, at the ſame time, to diſpatch a ſtrong corps over the Danube, towards Nuremberg, to hang on the rear of the Archduke, cut off his convoys, and compel him to relinquiſh the purſuit of Jourdan.

With a large body of cavalry, drawn from the left wing, General Deſaix croſſed the Danube at Neuburg, on the tenth of September. He puſhed forward to Aichſtatt, levied a heavy contribution upon that town, and ſpread conſternation through Franconia, his corps being ſuppoſed to be the vanguard of the French army. The ſame night Moreau commenced his retrograde march. Diſaſter attended upon his firſt movement. In quitting the vicinity of Munich his rear guard was defeated by the Auſtrians, who killed or took priſoners more than two thouſand men. The whole of the French army retired between the Paar and the Lech, and was followed by General Latour, who took poſt at Reicherzoffen and Schrobenhauſen.

The inſtant Latour was informed of Deſaix's march, he diſpatched the diviſion of General Nauendorff to the left bank of the Danube. The enemy, imagining that the major part of the Auſtrian force had croſſed, moved, in conſequence, nearly the remainder of their left, and a portion of their center, to the other ſide of the river. The Auſtrians ſeized this opportunity to attack, on the fourteenth, the weakened republican diviſion poſted at Neuburg, which they completely defeated, making a thouſand priſoners. Another diviſion, ſtationed at Pottmes, was likewiſe

likewiſe attacked on the ſame day, and was equally overthrown.

Finding it utterly impoſſible to effect any thing againſt the Archduke, and fearing that the diviſion of Deſaix might even be cut off by General Nauendorff, Moreau now recalled Deſaix to the right bank of the Danube. His whole army being reunited, he determined no longer to delay a retreat, which was already become not a little dangerous. At this moment he was ſo cloſely preſſed by the enemy, that it was neceſſary for him to drive them back, that he might obtain ſufficient ſcope of ground to accompliſh in ſafety the paſſage of the Lech. He accordingly, on the ſeventeenth, made a movement forward, compelled the Auſtrian advanced poſts to retire, and extended his line from Landſberg to Rain.

While he was thus making arrangements to ſecure his retreat, the Auſtrians were purſuing meaſures in his rear, to bar entirely his paſſage into France, or, to compel him, at leaſt, to take a route ſo circuitous and ſo difficult, as to expoſe him to infinite peril. As ſoon as the firſt ſucceſſes of the Archduke Charles were known, General Petrarſch, who commanded in Manheim, drew from Philipſburg and from Manheim a conſiderable part of their garriſons, and, ſeconded by a body of armed peaſants, inceſſantly attacked and haraſſed the corps of obſervation, under General Scherb, which was poſted in the neighbourhood of Bruchſal. Being now joined by Count Meerfeldt, with the detachment of ten ſquadrons of light cavalry, he commenced ſerious operations, and puſhed forward with ſuch vigour, that he routed the enemy in ſeveral partial engagements, made a great number of priſoners, and finally compelled them to abandon the margravate of Baden, and ſhelter themſelves within the ramparts of Kehl.

The poſſeſſion of the fort of Kehl was an object of the utmoſt importance to the Auſtrians, as it would effectually enable them to preclude Moreau from accompliſhing his retreat upon Straſburgh. As the works were yet in an unfiniſhed ſtate, they entertained ſtrong hopes that the fort might be carried by aſſault.

Before break of day, on the ſeventeenth of September, two columns advanced to the aſſault, while a third favoured their advance by a falſe attack. The ſucceſs was complete. Though the republicans were on their guard, the whole of the works were carried by the Auſtrians, and the republicans were driven to the other ſide of the Rhine, with the loſs of twelve hundred ſlain and eight hundred priſoners. The enemy's cavalry was almoſt entirely deſtroyed.

Unfortunately, however, the ſcale was ſoon turned againſt the victors. One of the leaders of the Auſtrian columns having been killed, and the other taken priſoner, the ſubordinate officers diſplayed a want of capacity, and indeed of common ſenſe, which produced fatal conſequences. By neglecting to break down immediately the bridge over the Rhine, they gave the French an opportunity of returning to the conteſt with overpowering numbers. Of this circumſtance the enemy availed themſelves. A republican force,

of three thouſand men, paſſed the river from Straſburgh, and fell upon the Auſtrians. The ſtruggle was of the moſt obſtinate kind. At length, after an action of ſeveral hours, during which they were ſeveral times repulſed, the French made themſelves once more maſters of the fort, and all the other works from which they had been driven. General Petrarſch, nevertheleſs, determined not to retire without trying another effort. He rallied the battalions which had been repulſed, ſupported them by freſh troops, and again attacked the fort; but it was now too ſtrongly guarded for him to make any impreſſion. He was finally compelled to deſiſt, with the loſs of ſome hundred men. Finding that nothing more could be done, he left a diviſion to blockade the fort, and retired about nine miles to Biſchofszheim, on the Holchen, whence he ſent detachments to occupy the valley of the Kintzig, and likewiſe the defile of the Kniebis mountain, which forms the connecting paſs between the vallies of the Renchen and the Murg. The valley of the Renchen was already occupied by two battalions under Colonel d'Aſpre, who had been inſtructed to ſhut up the valley with abbatis, ſo as to render it impracticable for the enemy to penetrate. With the remainder of his army General Petrarſch marched to Stutgard and Canſtadt, where he arrived on the twenty-fourth. By theſe meaſures he ſecured the northern paſſes of Swabia, placed himſelf in the rear of Moreau, broke that general's direct communication with Straſburgh, forced him to direct his retreat towards the South, intercepted the couriers and convoys of the French, and ſeized the magazines which they had formed in the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Aware that Kehl would, in all probability, be attacked, General Moreau had, as early as the eighth of September, ordered a corps to proceed by rapid marches to its ſupport. He was, however, too late. The Auſtrians had poſted themſelves ſo ſtrongly in the valley of the Kintzig, that the French corps was repulſed, and obliged to retire by the route of Friburg.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of Moreau's retreat. He is foiled in his plan to retreat through the Duchy of Wirtemberg. His army is haraſſed by the armed peaſantry. He reſolves to attack General Latour, to check the purſuit of the Auſtrians. Battle of Biberach. Gallantry of the Prince of Condé. Latour is defeated. Moreau continues his retreat, forces the paſſes of the valley of Hell, and arrives ſafely at Friburg. Arrival of the Archduke. Moreau reſolves to encounter him. The Archduke attacks him, defeats him, and drives him over the Eltz. Moreau retires to the poſition of Schliengen. The poſition deſcribed. The French are defeated in the battle of Schliengen. They finally retreat over the Rhine. Operations on the Lower Rhine. After ſome trivial actions, an armiſtice is concluded in that quarter. Siege of Kehl. Deſcription of the fort and entrenched camp

camp of Kehl. Desperate sally made by the besieged. Difficulty of the siege. Various assaults. The fort, at length, surrenders. Siege and surrender of the bridge head of Huningen. Conclusion.

ON the same day that, preparatory to his retreat, Moreau drove back the advanced posts of Latour, his right was completely turned by General Frolich, who occupied Inmenstadt and Kempten, and then, advancing to Isay, attacked the republicans, whom he defeated, making five hundred prisoners, and dispersing into the woods the remainder of the routed corps. General Nauendorff had also proceeded, on the left, to Nordlingen, whence he took possession of Donawert and the famous position of Schellenburg. His detached parties were pushed to Dillingen, Ulm and Gemund, and his light troops communicated with those of General Petrarsch, on the Neckar.

Moreau quitted the Lech, on the nineteenth, and retired behind the Iller. It was his intention to cross the Danube at Ulm, and direct his retreat through the duchy of Wirtemberg, by Stutgard and Canstadt. With this view he sent forward six commissaries of provisions, and a part of the army bakers to prepare bread for his army at the two latter places, but they were captured on the road. To prevent Moreau from penetrating in that quarter, Nauendorff hastily quitted Nordlingen, and seized the heights in the neighbourhood of Ulm, just as the French entered the city. The republican left wing, under Desaix, marched out. But finding all the heights strongly occupied, it made no attempt to force them. The next morning the Austrian general attacked the enemy, and drove them to the gates of Ulm.

Convinced that the passes of Wirtemberg were rendered impenetrable, Moreau, ordered Desaix to abandon Ulm, and rejoin the army. The Austrians found in the place a large magazine, and a considerable number of pontoons. Desaix recrossed the Danube at Ehingen, and the whole of the French force arrived, on the twenty-ninth, behind the Feder See, where it halted, and took up a position, extending from Ravensburg on the Schussen to the Danube.

Informed that Moreau had relinquished his design of retreating through Wirtemberg, General Petrarsch moved from Horb to Rotweil and Villingen, and General Nauendorff proceeded to Heckingen, in order to co-operate with him. Their united strength, thus hung upon the rear of Moreau, whose front was closely pressed by Latour.

The close pursuit of the enemy, and the rugged nature of the country, were not the sole difficulties with which the republican general had to contend. The heavy contributions which the French had raised since their first entrance into Swabia, and still more their innumerable robberies and barbarities, had irritated the Swabians almost to madness. While the French were victorious, the natives smothered their hatred; but no sooner did the former begin

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to ſuffer a reverſe of fortune, than the latter gave proofs how much they deteſted them. As in Franconia, they flew to arms, maſſacred, or took priſoners the French detachments, ſeized their magazines, and inceſſantly annoyed them. The Auſtrian generals availed themſelves of this favourable diſpoſition. They placed experienced officers at the head of the peaſants, and poſted them in the defiles, woods, and mountains, which lay in the route of the enemy.

In this ſituation of affairs, there appeared to Moreau to be only one ſtep which he could take, to enable him to conclude his retreat without ſuſtaining a ruinous loſs. It was nearly, if not quite, impoſſible for him to retire ſafely, through a rugged, hoſtile country, while the Auſtrian armies were hanging cloſe upon his footſteps, ready to take advantage of every favourable moment. To fight, and to be victorious, that he might have time and ſpace for his ulterior movements, was his ſole reſource. Circumſtances were not wanting to authorize a hope that he ſhould ſucceed in a vigorous effort againſt his adverſaries. In one particular, he had a marked advantage. His force was concentrated in the centre of a circle, while that of the Auſtrians was diſſeminated round the circumference.

The army of General Latour, was that which moſt endangered him, and againſt which he could move with the moſt facility. Againſt that army, therefore, General Moreau determined to direct his attack. As a preliminary to the execution of his plan, he diſpatched his ſick, wounded, and part of his baggage, under an eſcort, into Switzerland, by the way of Schaffhauſen. The troops, on their arrival in Switzerland, were diſarmed, and ſent to France, acroſs the cantons of Zurich, Berne and Soleure.

With three diviſions of his army, Moreau, on the morning of the thirtieth, fell upon the advanced guards of the columns of Generals Latour and Mercantin, in the neighbourhood of Steinhauſen, as they were marching towards Schuſſenried. A very obſtinate engagement took place. General Latour, however, bringing up his whole corps to ſupport the aſſailed troops, the French were ultimately repulſed, with loſs. The Auſtrians loſt ſix hundred men, four hundred and twenty of whom belonged to the corps of the Duke of Enghein, which bore the brunt of the action. The duke diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly, on this occaſion, by his ability and valour.

This attempt having failed, Moreau reſolved to make one ſtill more formidable, on all points of the Auſtrian line. His plan was, to turn the right and left of the Auſtrians, and, at the ſame time, to attack their center. In the night of the firſt of October, Deſaix, with the republican left wing, croſſed the Danube, at Reidlingen, and re-croſſed the river at Munderkingen. The Auſtrian right wing, between the Feder See and the Danube, was commanded by Major-General Koſproth, who exerciſed ſo little vigilance, that, at dawn of day, he was ſurpriſed by Deſaix, and entirely defeated. Two

Oct. 2.

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of his battalions were cut off; the remainder fled in the direction of Biberach. Moreau then attacked the Auſtrian center, conſiſting of the diviſions of General Latour, and of the Princes of Furſtemburg and Condé. Latour made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but his right being uncovered, and his rear expoſed, by the defeat of Koſproth, he fell back to Ochſenhauſen, and his example was followed by the Prince of Furſtemburgh. The Prince of Condé alone ſtood firm, notwithſtanding the efforts of the whole French center were bent againſt his ſmall corps. To cover the retreat of the Auſtrians, his royal highneſs took a poſition before Schwe ihauſen, which he defended with ſo much valour, that he ſtopped the republicans, and gave the routed diviſions time to ſave their baggage and moſt of their artillery, and retire beyond the Rothembach. By this time the Auſtrian left, under General Mercantin, had alſo been compelled to give way, and to make a retrograde movement to Muhlhauſen, and thus the Prince of Condé's ſituation became ſtill more perilous. Yet he continued to maintain his ground. The Duke of Enghein, at the head of the cavalry, thrice charged the republicans, and took from them a piece of cannon. At length, the Auſtrian army having accompliſhed its retreat, the prince withdrew from the field, ſlowly and in excellent order, applauded even by the men whoſe principles rendered them his inveterate enemies.

The Auſtrians ſuffered ſeverely in this battle. Their total loſs was not leſs than five thouſand men. Eighteen cannon and two ſtandards were taken by the victors.

The freedom of his movements being thus, in ſome meaſure, ſecured, Moreau, on the fifth, recommenced his retreat. There was, in truth, no time to loſe, as the Archduke was already arrived on the Renchen, with the troops which he had led from the Lower Rhine. Moreau deſtined a part of his center to repel Latour, whenever that general ſhould again move forward, which, in the courſe of two or three days he began to do. With a conſiderable portion of his army, he diſpatched Deſaix over the Danube at Riedlingen and Sigmaringen, to diſlodge the diviſion of Nauendorff from Rotweil and Villingen. A demi-brigade was ſent to conduct the baggage, through the foreſt-towns, to Huningen. The republicans ſucceeded in making themſelves maſters of Rotweil and Villingen, and, on the tenth, the whole of their army approached the entrance of the valley of Hell. Through that valley, or through the valley of the Kintzig, it was neceſſary for them to force a paſſage, before they could reach the Rhine. That of Kintzig was too well ſecured to allow of their making any attempt upon it.

The valley of Hell croſſes the Black Mountains between Neuſtat and Friburg. It is a gloomy and terrible defile, ſix miles in length, ſhut in on each hand, by lofty, pointed, woody rocks, and in ſome places, not more than a few fathoms wide. At the bottom ruſhes a torrent. It was through this valley that, in 1702, the intrepid Villars refuſed to penetrate, when he was preſſed to do it by the Elector

Elector of Bavaria. "Your highneſs muſt excuſe me," he replied, "I am not a devil to go by ſuch a road."

Through the valley, which Villars had declined traverſing, Moreau, however, reſolved to paſs. Fortunately for him the Auſtrians, unwiſely placing too great a reliance on its natural ſtrength, had occupied it with but a ſlender force. Colonel d'Aſpre had only two battalions for its defence.

Forming his right and left into one body, to keep his purſuers in check, Moreau, on the tenth, attacked with his centre, the Auſtrians, in the valley. Unable to reſiſt ſuch an immenſe ſuperiority of numbers, colonel d'Aſpre was driven from all his poſitions ſucceſſively, and compelled to retire, deſperately wounded, to Emmendingen. The victors reached Friburg on the thirteenth, and on the three ſucceeding days the right and left wings cleared the defile, and the whole army, with indeſcribable joy, found itſelf, once more, in ſight of the Rhine, and delivered from the hazard, which it had long run, of being ſurrounded, and, perhaps, reduced to ſubmit to a diſgraceful capitulation. By this retreat, planned with a foreſight and ſkill, and conducted with a coolneſs, courage, and perſeverance, that have ſeldom been ſurpaſſed, Moreau fully eſtabliſhed his title to be ranked among thoſe generals, who have the moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their arduous profeſſion.

An antagoniſt worthy of him was at hand. The Archduke, eager to complete his work of freeing the empire from the preſence of its invaders, was now arrived at Herbolzheim, on the lower part of the Eltz, and had formed a junction with the diviſions of Petrarſch, Nauendorff, and Latour. During his march to the Upper Rhine, his royal highneſs detached nine thouſand men, under General Hotze, to make an irruption into the Palatinate and Alſace, and prevent ſuccour from being ſent to the army of Moreau.

Unſatisfied by the honour which he had already gained, or, more probably, acting upon orders from the Directory, Moreau, inſtead of cloſing his toilſome campaign, thought only of keeping the field, and acquiring freſh laurels. It was his intention to march along the Rhine, towards Kehl, raiſe the blockade of that fort, give battle to the Archduke, and, in caſe of a victory, to maintain himſelf in the Briſgaw. He accordingly took the neceſſary ſteps to open the way into the valley of the Kintzig. One diviſion he poſted at Waldkirch, on the Eltz, to cover his right flank, and he ordered another diviſion to ſeize upon Eltzach, higher up the river, whence a road paſſes into the upper part of the valley of the Kintzig. Eltzach, however, was found to be too ſtrongly occupied by the Auſtrians, to admit of his wreſting it from them.

The line held by the main army of the Auſtrians extended from the Rhine, on the right, to the mountains of Simonſwald, on the left. The corps of the Prince of Condé, and General Frolich, which had followed Moreau through the Black Foreſt, were advanced before the extremity of the left, at the entrance of the valleys of St. Peter and St. Mergen.

Fol-

Following the courſe of the Eltz, the French line reached from Riegel, on the left, to Waldkirch, on the right; and ſeparate corps guarded the valleys of Hell, St. Mergen, and St. Peter. In front of their left the republicans alſo held poſts at Kindriegen, Emmeldingen, and on the heights of Malterdingen, beyond the Bretten or Millach, a little ſtream which runs parallel with the Eltz; and falls into it, nearly oppoſite Riegel.

The Auſtrians did not remain inactive. On the eighteenth the Duke of Enghein, at the head of the Prince of Condé's van-guard, drove the French, with very conſiderable loſs, from the poſts of St. Peter and St. Mergen, and the ſtill more formidable poſt of the Hohlegraben, the higheſt and moſt commanding point of that part of the country. General Frolich was likewiſe ſucceſsful, in forcing ſome of the moſt important paſſes of the valley of Hell.

This was but the prelude to actions of greater importance. The Archduke was reſolved to complete the expulſion of the republicans from the German territory. To accompliſh this, he prepared for a general attack upon the whole of their line. Three columns were aſſigned to drive them from the poſts in front of the Eltz. The right, under Latour, was to fall upon Kindriegen; the center, led by Wartenſleben, to carry the heights of Malterdingen; and the left, commanded by Petrarſch, to march by Heimbach to Emmendingen, while Major-General Meerfeldt, with one brigade, attacked the woods upon his left, and Prince Frederic of Orange, with another brigade, endeavoured to turn the right of the poſition, by making his way over the higheſt parts of the mountains. The extremity of the French right was, at the ſame time, to be aſſailed by Nauendorff, with a diviſion from Eltzach.

Before day break, on the nineteenth, the troops intended for theſe operations marched from the camp near Kentzingen; but the ground was ſo difficult, and the roads were ſo bad, that it was almoſt noon ere they reached the different points at which they were to aſſemble. The action began at noon. At Kindriegen the column of Latour met with the moſt determined reſiſtance. It was repulſed, and ſuffered ſeverely. But Prince Charles, having put himſelf at the head of the grenadiers, they returned furiouſly to the charge, and, at length, expelled the enemy from the village, with great loſs. Oct. 19.

The left and centre columns, were oppoſed with equal vigour by the enemy. It was not without infinite labour that Major-General Meerfeldt made himſelf partly maſter of the wood, above Heimbach. The ground was exceedingly favourable to the enemy, who defended every ſtep of it. They were even not wholly driven from it till the Prince of Orange, after a toilſome march, through an almoſt impenetrable country, appeared above Emmendingen, and began to attack their right flank. This movement decided the victory. The republicans immediately quitted the field, croſſed the Bretten and Eltz, at Emmendingen and Deningen, and broke down

down the bridges to cover their retreat.

On the ſide of Waldkirch the Auſtrians were not leſs fortunate. At the moment his column was aſſembled, General Nauendorff was fallen upon by a conſiderable body of the enemy, led by General Moreau. He, however, vigorouſly repulſed the French general, drove him beyond the river, and made himſelf maſter of Waldkirch. Three battalions of the enemy were ſurrounded, of which, two were diſperſed in the woods, and the third laid down its arms.

This victory did not coſt the Auſtrians more than a thouſand men. Among their wounded was General Wartenſleben, whoſe arm was broken by a grape ſhot. Two thouſand priſoners were taken from the French, and the number of their killed and wounded was ſcarcely inferior. They likewiſe abandoned ſeveral pieces of artillery. Their defeat they attributed to the death of General Beaupuy, who commanded their left wing. That general had received an order to retire over the Eltz, as ſoon as the Auſtrians advanced againſt him; but he was ſlain at the beginning of the combat, and the army, ignorant of that order, continued the engagement in a diſadvantageous poſition.

After the battle, Moreau fell back behind the Blotter, poſting his right from the rear of Langen Dentzling to ſome marſhy ground beyond the village of Verſletten, and his center at Nieuburg.

To oblige him to quit this poſition, the Archduke, on the enſuing day, again moved forward. He gave orders to Latour to paſs the Eltz at Deningen, with the right wing, while he himſelf with the left, and the diviſion of Nauendorff proceeded by Langen-Dentzling, towards Friburg. From Langen-Dentzling the van of the archduke's column eaſily diſlodged the enemy; but Latour having been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and having found much difficulty in re-eſtabliſhing the bridge, under the fire of the enemy's artillery, evening came on before the paſſage of the river could be forced; and the Archduke, therefore, (as only one part of the army could be brought into action), deemed it inexpedient to commence a general affair, and reſolved to delay the attack till the following morning. In the courſe of the day, the Prince of Furſtemburgh, who conducted the right of Latour's column had ſucceeded indriving the enemy from Riegel, and he now menaced the high road to Briſach.

Moreau had not ſufficient confidence in his preſent poſition to induce him to receive battle in it. During the night he broke up his camp, and bent his way toward Huningen, having previouſly ſent Deſaix with a diviſion acroſs the Rhine at Briſach, to march rapidly down the river, recroſs it at Kehl, and menace the rear of the archduke's army. He was followed by the Auſtrians, who entered Friburg on the twenty-firſt, at the moment when the diviſions of the Prince of Condé and general Frolich were deſcending from the mountains to that place. The united force of the Auſtrians now preſſed ſo cloſely on the French that continual combats took place between the van of the one army and the rear of the other.

Morea

Moreau had flattered himself that the measure of detaching Desaix to Kehl, would compel the Archduke to weaken the Austrian army, by sending a part of it to oppose the republican detachment. In this case he thought he should still be able to keep his footing on the right bank of the Rhine. Under this idea, he posted himself, about twelve miles from Huningen, in the almost inexpugnable position of Schliengen, and, relying upon its strength, calmly waited the approach of his adversary.

This position consists of a chain of abrupt and woody heights, commencing at Candern, and extending to the Rhine at Steinstadt, where they terminate in an inaccessible declivity. Along the whole of the front runs a rivulet, which rises in the lofty mountain of Hohen Blauen, and flowing by Ober and Nieder Eggenen, Liel, Schliengen, and Steinstadt, falls into the Rhine, near the latter place. The right side of the rivulet is in all points overlooked by the heights on the opposite side. Rising also in the Hohen Blauen, but taking a different course to reach the Rhine, another rivulet, called the Candern, passes by Sitzenkirchen and Candern, and covers the right of the position.

It was on this chain of heights that Moreau took post, his right being stationed at Candern, his center above Liel and Schliengen, and his left on the eminence above Steinstadt, flanked by the Rhine. All the villages on the rivulet were strongly occupied; and, advanced in front of the center, a strong corps of infantry was placed on the heights, and in the vineyards, between Schliengen and Feldberg.

It was possible to dislodge the enemy from this position, without a battle, by marching circuitously a part of the army through the mountains on the left of the Candern, to descend into the valley of the Wiesen, and threaten his communication with Huningen; but this operation would have taken too much time, and, as the roads were rendered very bad by the rain, would have been exceedingly difficult. The Archduke, therefore, in spite of all the obstacles which he had to overcome, determined to gain his point by open force. He relied, and not without good reason, upon that confidence, and even enthusiasm, with which he had inspired his troops by his valour and successes.

The enemy's line from Schliengen to the Rhine being entirely unassailable, at least, with any hope of a favourable result, the archduke resolved to make in that quarter only false attacks, for the purpose of keeping the enemy employed, and preventing him from detaching succour to those parts which were really in danger. It was against the heights occupied by the French right wing that he designed to direct the weight of his efforts. If he succeeded in forcing those, the way would be opened to his further progress, and, probably, to a complete victory.

The Archduke divided his army into four columns. The Prince of Condé's corps, headed by the Prince, and its van led by the Duke of Enghein, formed the column on the right. Nine battalions and twenty-six squadrons composed the second, which was com-

commanded by the Prince of Furſtemburgh. The third column, which was led by General Latour, conſiſted of eleven battalions, and a brigade of cavalry; and the fourth, which was confided to Major-general Nauendorff, compriſed the whole van-guard of the army.

The Prince of Condé aſſembled his column at Neuburg, and advanced to Steinſtadt. Though they had no orders to aſſault the village, his troops were ſo eager to ſignalize themſelves, that they carried the place with fixed bayonets, and maintained themſelves in it the whole of the day, notwithſtanding they were expoſed to an inceſſant and terrible fire from the enemy, by which an officer was killed, while he ſtood between his royal Highneſs and the Duke of Berry.

Oct. 26.

The column of the Prince of Furſtenburgh marched from Muhlheim, and poſted itſelf on the heights oppoſite Schliengen, of which it kept poſſeſſion, in defiance of a heavy cannonade from the French diviſions oppoſed to it.

The column of General Latour proceeded from Vegeſheim through Feldberg, and then ſeparated into two columns, the right of which fell upon the republicans in the vineyards between Feldberg and Schliengen, and, at laſt, compelled them to retire behind Liel, while the left drove them from Egennen, paſſed the ravine, and attacked, and partly gained poſſeſſion of, the woody hills behind it. This was not accompliſhed without a hard ſtruggle; as, favoured by the ground, the French everywhere defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy. The whole of the column, after its ſucceſs, occupied a line extending, from the neighbourhood of Feldberg, by Nieder Eggenen, towards Feurbach.

The greateſt ſhare of the labour of the day fell to the column which was led by General Nauendorff. That column was obliged to march all the preceding night. As far as Feldberg it moved in the ſame direction with the corps of General Latour; but it there turned off the left, by the caſtle of Burglen, to penetrate to the ſource of the Candern rivulet. The roads having been rendered nearly impaſſable by the rain, it was two in the afternoon before Nauendorff could come fully into action. Dividing his column into ſeveral ſmall columns, he attacked, and, notwithſtanding the determined oppoſition of the enemy, made himſelf maſter of, the villages of Sitzenkirchen, and Candern, and all the high ground between Candern and Feurbach. By this means he was enabled to eſtabliſh a communication, near Feurbach, with the left of General Latour.

It was late in the afternoon before all this could be effected. A thick miſt now came on, and was followed by a violent ſtorm, which, laſting till dark, put an end to the conteſt. At the cloſe of the battle, the left of the Auſtrian army occupied a line which paſſed obliquely acroſs the extremity of the republican right.

The right of the French poſition having thus become untenable, the republican right wing conſequently fell back to the heights of Tannenkirchen, a poſt ſcarcely leſs formidable than that which it had abandoned. Moreau, however, did not chuſe to hazard another encounter,

counter, in which a defeat might prove fatal. He quitted the heights in the night, and arrived the next morning at Haltingen. In the course of the next day, his army, under the protection of a strong rear-guard, crossed the Rhine at Huningen, without loss; the Austrian infantry not having been able to come up in time to interrupt its retreat. Moreau placed a garrison in the bridge head of Huningen, left his right wing in the neighbourhood of the town, and marched with the remainder of his force toward Strasburgh, near which city, in the village of Illkirch, he established his head-quarters.

Oct. 26th.

The fort of Kehl, and the bridge-head of Huningen, were the only spots which the French now retained on the German side of the Upper Rhine. Before, however, we proceed to narrate the sieges of those forts, we must return to trace the final operations of the contending armies on the Lower Rhine.

The army of the Sambre and Meuse was no longer under the command of Jourdan. That General had, towards the close of his retreat, entirely lost the confidence of the republican rulers, of whom he had once been the favourite. His bitter complaints against the plan of the campaign, the want of means in which he had been left, the misconduct of his commissaries, and the insubordination of his troops; a demand which he made, of extraordinary and unlimited powers to restore discipline; but, above all, the disasters which he had sustained, were the cause of this change in the sentiments of the Directory. He was removed from his command, and Beurnonville, who, after his release from Olmutz, had been placed over the army of the north, was substituted in his place. Beurnonville brought with him, to his new command, a part of the army of the north.

The dismission of Jourdan did not restore order to the army. Desertion became even more prevalent, and many of the subaltern officers, and some of the generals, chose to share his disgrace. The army, indeed, was in want of every thing which distinguishes an army from a confused multitude. It wanted provisions, clothes, horses, artillery, and arms. The Directory, nevertheless, was anxious for it immediately to recommence offensive operations; that, before the moment was gone by, a diversion might be made in favour of Moreau. Beurnonville did all in his power to gratify their wishes. He remonstrated, he dismissed, he cashiered, he shot; but all this only wasted time which was precious, without putting an end to the disorders which palsied the strength of his army.

Meanwhile, General Werneck, to whom the Archduke had entrusted the Austrian army on the Lower Rhine, took every precaution which prudence could suggest, to prevent the enemy from once more penetrating into the empire. His advanced posts were on the Sieg, and his head-quarters at Uckerath. In the fear that he might, perhaps, be compelled to quit the position of the Sieg, he improved the position of the Lahn, by uniting, with entrenchments, the towns of Limburg and Montabaur, to the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. But, lest even this line

ſhould be broken through, he formed a ſecond line of defence, by fortifying the town of Friedberg, which ſtands on the Uſe, a ſmall ſtream that falls into the Wetter.

The force which, under General Hotze, had been diſpatched from Manheim by the Archduke, ſpread conſternation along the left bank of the Rhine. One diviſion deſtroyed the lines of Germerſheim, and penetrated into Alſace, almoſt to the gates of Straſburgh, levying contributions, and taking hoſtages. Another diviſion marched, in an oppoſite direction, as far as Kaiſerſlautern and Baumholder. Alarmed by this irruption, the republicans withdrew, to reinforce the garriſon of Landau, the troops which had been hitherto employed in watching Mentz. General Neu, the governor of Mentz, now puſhed on to the Nahe, with a part of his garriſon, defeated ſome ſmall corps on that river, took poſſeſſion of Bingen, and other important poſts, and threatened to advance into the Hundſruck. Theſe movements excited ſo much apprehenſion in General Beurnonville, that he haſtened to ſend into the Hundſruck four diviſions of his army, which was thus too much weakened to make any attempt againſt the army of General Werneck.

On the twenty-firſt of October, General Werneck ſent ſeveral ſmall detachments acroſs the Rhine, both above and below Coblentz. His deſign was, to alarm the enemy on the left bank, and to deſtroy the bridge of boats at Neuwied, which was already much damaged by floods, and by trees and heavy bodies floating down the river. The deſtruction of the bridge was accompliſhed. The detachment recroſſed the Rhine, after ſeveral ſmart actions, with the loſs of only two hundred and eighty-four men. This affair furniſhed Beurnonville with an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe talents for miſrepreſentation and gaſconade which he had ſo ſtrikingly manifeſted, when he gave an account of his diſaſtrous campaign in 1793. He converted this trivial attack into an important engagement, and ſtated the loſs ſuſtained by the Auſtrians at four thouſand men, of whom a thouſand, he ſaid, were priſoners.

A ſevere action took place, the ſame day, between the Auſtrian and republican advanced guards, on the Sieg. It ended in the defeat of the latter, who ſuffered greatly.

The diviſions ſent from the army of the Sambre and Meuſe enabled the republicans to recover their ground in the Hundſruck, where the Auſtrians were poſted, with their right at Bingen, and their left near Kreutznach. On the twenty-ſixth the Auſtrians were attacked, but they maintained their poſition. The attack was renewed the next day, and the French endeavoured to turn the left of their opponents. This attack was not more ſucceſsful than the former. As, however, the poſſeſſion of this ground was not of the ſlighteſt military importance, the Auſtrian generals retired, in the evening, behind the Seltz. The ſlain and wounded on each ſide were about three hundred. Two hundred priſoners were taken by the Imperialiſts.

In the mean time, another French diviſion marched towards Kaiſerſlautern, as did likewiſe a diviſion from the army of Moreau, to compel the corps under general Hotze

Hotze to retire. On their approach, that general fell back to the entrenched camp, before Manheim. Here, on the ſeventh of November, he was attacked by the enemy; but, notwithſtanding their efforts were continued through the greateſt part of the day, they were unable to make any impreſſion upon the poſition which he occupied.

This was the laſt affair of any conſequence which occurred between the hoſtile armies. The badneſs of the weather, the breaking up of the roads, the impracticable nature of the country in ſuch a ſeaſon, and the inceſſant fatigue which the troops had undergone, combined to induce both the French and Auſtrian generals to cloſe the campaign. On the ſixth of December, a ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly, agreed upon, between General Kray and General Kleber. The Auſtrians were to retire behind the Sieg; the French behind the Wipper. The latter were to evacuate the bridge-head of Neuwied, carying away their cannon, and leaving only a guard of twenty-five men. The river Nahe was to ſeparate the two armies, on the ſide of Mentz. Either party, on giving ten days notice, was at liberty to put an end to the armiſtice, and to re-occupy the poſts which it held before the agreement was concluded. In purſuance of this arrangement, the French withdrew their troops and artillery from the bridge-head, on the tenth of December, and the armies on both ſides went into winter quarters.

It was not a little ſingular, that this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was formally diſavowed by the French and Auſtrian governments, yet was, nevertheleſs, ſtrictly carried into execution. What could induce the republicans to be diſſatisfied with it is not eaſily to be diſcovered. On the ſide of the Auſtrians the diſavowal is thought, and with apparent reaſon, to have been a ſtroke of policy in the Archduke, to prevent the troops with which he was beſieging Kehl, and which were ſuffering the greateſt hardſhips, from making painful, and, perhaps, diſpiriting compariſons, between their own ſituation, and that of their fellow-ſoldiers on the Lower Rhine.

That the reader may form ſome idea of the toils which the army of the Archduke had to encounter, it will be proper to give a deſcription of the place againſt which its operations were directed. The fort of Kehl is ſituated on the German ſide of the Rhine, oppoſite the citadel of Straſburgh, and between the Kintzig and the Rhine. It was originally conſtructed, on the ſcite of ſome old forts, by the celebrated Vauban, after the ſeizure of Straſburgh, in 1681, by Lewis the fourteenth. The body of the place conſiſted of four baſtions, which were covered by two hornworks, called the hornworks of the Upper and Lower Rhine. Between the two hornwoks, and on the other ſide of the Kintzig, was a large lunette, bearing the name of the river. In 1703, the fort was taken, in twelve days, by Marſhal Villers, and, in 1733, it held out ten days againſt the Duke of Berwick. Having been reſtored to the empire, by the treaty of Baden, the works were ſubſequently demoliſhed to the level of the ground, and the ditches filled up; but,

but, the foundations, and their facings of maſonry, were left uninjured.

Previouſly to the paſſage of the Rhine, by Moreau, the Auſtrians had thrown up a few field-works, to guard againſt ſurpriſe in this quarter, and to command the neighbouring iſlands. The fort they had ſtill allowed to remain in ruins. The French, however, as ſoon as they got a footing in Swabia, haſtened to re-eſtabliſh Kehl, and to add immenſely to its ſtrength. On the left of the place they threw up entrenchments, in the iſles of the Kintzig, and occupied a ſtar redoubt, which had been raiſed by the Imperialiſts. But it was on the right that they made their greateſt exertions. Here they formed an entrenched camp, of great ſize and ſtrength, which completely precluded all approach to the fort. It extended, ſemicircularly, from the hornwork of the Upper Rhine to the iſland of Erlen-Rhin, one of thoſe innumerable iſlands with which the Rhine is thickly ſown, in the whole of its courſe between Swabia and Alſace. Its left was covered in front by a marſh; and at the extremity by a redoubt, named the redoubt of the burying ground, which had a communication with the hornwork of the Upper Rhine. In the centre, flanked by many ſmaller works, was a formidable redoubt, with two demi-baſtions, called by the French the wolf-trap redoubt, and by the Auſtrians, the Swabian redoubt. It was paliſaded; its ditches were deep; and it was ſurrounded by two rows of thoſe conical pits termed wolf-traps, from which it acquired its French denomination. The right of the camp was carried along an ancient dike, and terminated oppoſite the iſland of Erlen-Rhin. In the iſland itſelf a hornwork was erected, communicating with the right of the camp, by means of a bridge of boats, at the head of which was a large and ſtrong redoubt. Still further to the right, cloſing the line, was another conſiderable work, which covered redoubts, raiſed in ſome ſmall iſlands, beyond and behind the Erlen-Rhin. The approaches to all theſe works were enfiladed by numerous and powerful batteries, along the left bank of the river. In the rear of Kehl, on an iſland, was a camp of reſerve; and the communication between Straſburgh, the fort, and the Erlen-Rhin, was kept open by three bridges, ſo placed that it was almoſt impoſſible for the Auſtrians to cannonade them, till the reduction of the entrenchments was far advanced. To ſecure theſe bridges from the effect of fire-ſhips and heavy veſſels, ſent down the current, the republicans barred the paſſage of the Rhine, with a barrier of piles. Forty battalions, under General Deſaix, compoſed the garriſon of Kehl, and its auxiliary works; and this large force was obviouſly capable of an indefinite increaſe.

The lines of contravallation were commenced by the beſiegers, on the twenty-ſixth of October, and were of great extent and ſtrength; conſiſting of numerous redoubts, connected by curtains. The conſtruction of them was not interrupted by the garriſon of Kehl, which was too buſily engaged in completing its own works to think of making ſallies.

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In finiſhing theſe lines, in collecting magazines, and taking other preliminary ſteps to begin the ſiege, more than half the month of November was employed. The Archduke took up his quarters at Offenburgh, that he might be at hand to ſuperintend and encourage his troops. On the eleventh of November the place was ſummoned, but without effect.

The trenches were opened on the night of the twenty-firſt, on the right bank of the Kintzig. Not a ſhot had yet been fired. This calm, however, was the prelude of a ſtorm. The republicans were preparing for a formidable attack upon their antagoniſts.

At day-break, on the twenty-ſecond, ſixteen thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, ſallied forth from the fort and camp, advanced rapidly and ſilently to the left wing of the firſt line of the Auſtrians, and carried three redoubts and the village of Sundheim, almoſt before their approach was known. Three redoubts of the firſt line yet remained untaken. Theſe they impetuouſly aſſaulted, with a part of their infantry, while the remainder marched againſt the ſecond line. Here their progreſs was ſtopped, chiefly by the gallantry of Prince Frederick of Orange. He rallied his brigade, placed a portion of it behind a dyke, and reſiſted the moſt deſperate efforts of the enemy, though ſome of their diviſions had actually penetrated into his rear. The remaining redoubts of the firſt line, alſo, notwithſtanding they were ſurrounded by the republicans, who aſſailed them with a fury bordering upon madneſs, were defended with a valour which has never been exceeded. Their ditches were filled with the ſlain. Time was thus given to General Latour, to bring the reſerve into action. He retook the village of Sundheim, and maintained it, in ſpite of all the reiterated efforts of the French to diſlodge him. Lieutenant-General Stader likewiſe recovered the redoubt to the left of Sundheim, and the Prince of Orange, moving forward againſt the column which he had ſo nobly repelled, routed it, and won back the redoubts which it had carried. The Archduke was every where preſent, animating and leading on his troops. After a combat of four hours, the republicans retired into their entrenched camp.

This ſanguinary engagement coſt the Auſtrians thirteen hundred men, and the French more than two thouſand. The latter had four generals wounded, among whom was General Moreau. They carried off five pieces of cannon, and ſpiked a few in the redoubts.

The reſult of this ſally having convinced the French of the impoſſibility of compelling the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege, they confined their efforts to keeping up an inceſſant fire, and to making ſmaller ſallies, calculated to haraſs the beſiegers, and to retard the progreſs of the works. In theſe ſallies they were uniformly repulſed, before they could do any injury.

The batteries to the right of the Kintzig were opened againſt the place on the twenty-eighth of November. This, however, was meant only for a falſe attack, to divert the enemy's attention from the true attack, which was to be conducted, between the Schutter

and the Rhine, againſt the entrenched camp. The batteries began to fire on the ſixth of November, and, on the ſame day, the Auſtrians made themſelves maſters, by aſſault, of one of the iſlands beyond the Erlen Rhin, and of the large work by which it was covered.

In the night of the ninth they attacked ſome works which the French had eſtabliſhed, before the camp, among the ruins of the village of Kehl. This gave riſe to an obſtinate action. Thrice the Auſtrians were repulſed; at laſt, they ſucceeded. They did not long retain their prize. The French, on the following morning, returned to the charge, and expelled them from the works. The Auſtrians made two more attacks upon them, on the two enſuing days, and were defeated in both. Two efforts to ſtorm the hornwork in the Erlen Rhin, were equally unfortunate. Much blood was ſhed in theſe fruitleſs conteſts.

The ſecond parallel was now begun. The conſtruction of it was attended with the utmoſt labour and difficulty. The trenches were ſo filled with water from the rains, the thaw, and the conſequent overflowing of the Schutter and the Kintzig, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to remove the heavy artillery from the one parallel to the other. The troops, expoſed to the inclemency and changefulneſs of the ſeaſons, to an almoſt continual cannonade and bombardment, and frequently engaged with the enemy, who never relinquiſhed an inch of ground without a combat, were worn down by fatigue and diſeaſe, from which, as much as from the ſword, great numbers periſhed. Nothing, perhaps, but the animating example of the Archduke, and the aſcendancy which he had acquired over the affections of his ſoldiers, could have induced them to continue their toils with ſuch an unmurmuring conſtancy as they uniformly diſplayed.

The new batteries were opened on the eighth of December, and, on the ſame day, the beſiegers ſtormed, and, at length, took poſſeſſion of the republican entrenchments in the village of Kehl. On this occaſion they made two hundred priſoners, and took two howitzers and four pieces of cannon.

The obſtinacy of the French defence ariſing entirely from the continual reinforcements which Straſburgh furniſhed, the Archduke cauſed ſeveral ſtrong fireſhips to be fitted up, in the hope that, when they were ſent down the Rhine, their weight or their exploſion would deſtroy the bridges, between the city and the fort. Several of theſe veſſels were launched at different times, but the barrier of piles, and the watchfulneſs of the enemy, prevented them from reaching their deſtined object.

To ſave, as much as poſſible, the lives of the ſoldiers, the approaches proceeded by the ſlow but certain mode of ſap. The ſap was puſhed forward towards the Erlen Rhin, the right of the camp, and the Swabian redoubt. By the end of December it was carried within two hundred paces of the camp, and the Archduke gave orders for an aſſault.

The new year was uſhered in by this aſſault. Four battalions, led by the Prince of Orange, were directed to attack the right of the camp, and

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four

four other battalions, under Major-general Zopf, to maſter the Swabian redoubt. The Prince of Orange advanced againſt the entrenchments, carried them with fixed bayonets, and, prompted by his wonted courage, puſhed onward, took ſome other works, and followed the routed republicans even into their camp. The latter being there reinforced by the reſerve, and the darkneſs of the night occaſioning confuſion, the Prince of Orange did not think it prudent to keep his advanced poſition. He, therefore, ſpiked fifteen pieces of cannon, and fell back to the works which he had firſt taken, where he now kept his ground againſt all the efforts of the enemy.

General Zopf, meanwhile, had driven the French from the formidable Swabian redoubt, with great ſlaughter, and purſued them towards their camp. He turned their artillery againſt them, and gave time to the workmen to form lodgments in the captured redoubts and lines, and to connect them with the trenches. By the ſucceſs of this aſſault the communication between the right and left of the republican camp was interrupted.

The ſame evening the Auſtrians alſo aſſaulted the works in the iſland of Erlen Rhin. They carried the leſſer redoubts, but failed to obtain poſſeſſion of the hornwork.

The loſs was great on both ſides. That of the Auſtrians was more than a thouſand men; that of the French was double the number.

Anxious to bring this toilſome ſiege to a concluſion, the Archduke reſolved to drive, on the ſixth, the republicans from the Erlen Rhin, that he might be completely maſter of the right of the camp. The enemy, however, did not deem it wiſe to wait the approach of the Auſtrians. On the night of the fifth they abandoned the hornwork, and its dependencies, and retired to Straſburgh.

The left of the camp was the only part of it that was now held by the French. It was ſtormed on the night of the ſixth. The aſſailants fell at once upon the redoubt of the burying ground, the minor redoubts on the left, and the hornwork of the Upper Rhine. They carried all the redoubts, but the French ſucceeded in regaining the redoubt of the burying ground.

The Auſtrians were, at laſt, enabled to direct their fire upon the bridges between Kehl and Straſburgh. The batteries opened upon them, on the eighth of January, and with ſuch effect, that ſome of the boats were immediately ſunk, and others damaged. In the courſe of the next twelve hours great progreſs was made towards their deſtruction; and the republicans became convinced that their communication was on the eve of being cut off, and that it was not poſſible to preſerve Kehl any longer, without expoſing the garriſon to the riſk of being put to the ſword. General Deſaix was, in conſequence, ſent out to arrange a capitulation.

Twenty-four hours were allowed to the French to retire from the fort. On the tenth, they withdrew, taking with them their arms, baggage, artillery, and even the platforms, paliſades, and ſplinters of Jan. 10.

the bombs. Kehl when, after forty-nine days open trenches, it was entered by the Auſtrians, was little more than a heap of ruins.

The loſs of lives on each ſide, during the ſiege, was immenſe; and it fell chiefly on the flower of the Auſtrian and French infantry. Nearly ten thouſand men of each army found a grave in Kehl, and a narrow circle round it. The loſs could not but be ſeverely felt by both parties, but it was, beyond all compariſon, more fatal in its ſubſequent effects to the Auſtrians, than it was to their antagoniſts.

The bridge head of Huningen was the ſole point now retained by the French upon the right bank of the Upper Rhine. It conſiſted of a large hornwork, in a ſandy iſland of the Rhine, called the Shuſter Inſel, ſeparated from the German ſhore by a very narrow channel. The front of the hornwork was covered by a ſtrong lunette on the right bank. But the chief defence of this work was drawn from the fortreſs of Huningen itſelf, and the numerous batteries above and below it, on the left bank of the Rhine, which commanded the approaches on both flanks of the bridge-head. To add to the ſtrength of the poſition, the republicans had likewiſe commenced an entrenched camp, on an elevated ground, at ſome diſtance from the lunette. This, however, the rapid advance of the Auſtrians compelled them to diſcontinue.

Thirteen Auſtrian battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, under the command of the Prince of Furſtemburgh, encamped, towards the latter end of October, on the heights of Weil and Haltingen, inveſted the bridge-head, and raiſed ſeveral batteries on the adjacent high grounds, to intercept the communication with the town. The trenches were opened on the eighteenth of November, and, on the twenty-eighth, eight batteries being ready, the republican commander, General Abatucci, was ſummoned to ſurrender. On his refuſal, a heavy cannonade was commenced againſt the town, the hornwork, and the bridge. In the courſe of three hours the bridge was entirely deſtroyed. Hoping that the garriſon, thus cut off from ſuccour, would be intimidated, the Prince of Furſtemburgh ſent a ſecond ſummons, but without effect.

As the garriſon was left to its own ſtrength, the Auſtrian general determined to try what could be done by a vigorous aſſault. Accordingly, on the night of the thirtieth of November, the Imperial troops were put in motion in three columns. The lunette was carried, after a deſperate conteſt, and the republicans were compelled to retire into the hornwork. A part of the aſſailants then advanced againſt the hornwork, which they turned, and penetrated as far as the barrier. Unfortunately, one of the columns, which was to have ſcaled the right flank of the work, loſt its way, ſo that only a ſmall portion of it could be brought up in time to the aſſault. The Auſtrians were, in conſequence, overpowered by the ſuperior numbers of the French, and driven back into the lunette, where they flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to maintain their ground. After a ſhort pauſe, Abattucci made a ſally, with the whole of the

the garriſon, to recover the lunette. The action was obſtinate and bloody, but he was finally ſucceſsful. The Auſtrians were expelled from the lunette, and obliged to retreat to their camp, with the loſs of eight hundred men. The French did not ſuffer leſs ſeverely. Their greateſt loſs, however, was in the brave and ſkilful Abattucci, who was mortally wounded towards the cloſe of the ſtruggle.

Notwithſtanding the deſtruction of the bridge, the republicans ſtill continued to keep open the communication with the hornwork, by means of boats, which ſtole acroſs at night, under favour of the darkneſs. Convinced that the ſurrender of Kehl would produce that of the bridge-head of Huningen, the Prince of Furſtemburgh reſolved not to expoſe the lives of his men, by making deſperate attempts. He, therefore, confined himſelf to puſhing on his trenches, and keeping up a vigorous cannonade and bombardment. By the latter the town of Huningen was ſeveral times ſet on fire, much damage was done, and the inhabitants were nearly all driven away. The French, too, were not inactive. They made many ſallies, in which, however, they were generally defeated; and they ſtrengthened their poſition, by throwing up two redoubts on the flanks of the lunette. But the period ſoon arrived when it was evident that any further reſiſtance would be worſe than uſeleſs. By the latter end of January, the beſiegers had completed their batteries, and mounted the heavy artillery which they had received from Kehl. The French, therefore, on the ſecond of February, made an offer to capitulate. They were allowed the ſame terms as the garriſon of Kehl, and, on the ſixth, they retired to Huningen, leaving the Auſtrians in complete poſſeſſion of the right bank of the Upper Rhine.

By theſe ſevere diſaſters of their armies, on the Upper and Lower Rhine, the vaſt project of the republicans was rendered abortive. For their diſappointment, however, they found ſome conſolation in the circumſtance of their having levied heavy contributions upon the empire, ſubſiſted and paid their legions without expence; and detached from the Confederacy ſeveral of the German princes. But they were prudently ſilent, as to the laviſh price at which this conſolation had been purchaſed. It was bought at the coſt of a large portion of their beſt troops, of their military character, and, above all, of that popularity which, till the epoch of this baffled invaſion, French principles had too extenſively enjoyed in Franconia, and Swabia, but which was now annihilated by the profligate and brutal conduct of the ſoldiers of liberty.

Throughout the campaign, the Archduke diſplayed talents and ſkill, which would have done honour to the moſt experienced general. Too much praiſe cannot be given to the ſlowneſs and order of his retreat; to his ability in preventing his opponent from gaining any important advantage; to the readineſs with which he himſelf ſeized every favourable opportunity; to the ſoundneſs of judgment which dictated the plan, and pointed out the happy moment,

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of resuming the offensive; and to the rapidity and spirit with which he pushed forward his operations, when his first success against Jourdan had given him the ascendancy over his lately victorious antagonists. Of all his measures, during this arduous campaign, only the siege of Kehl, appears liable to serious objection. The French armies, after their repeated defeats, were not in a condition to excite alarm for the safety of the empire, even had the season for action been less advanced; and had the Austrians, therefore, confined themselves to a strict blockade of Kehl, not only the ten thousand lives, which were lost in the siege, might have been saved, but such numerous reinforcements might have been dispatched to Mantua, as would, perhaps, have decisively turned the scale against Buonaparte, and entitled the archduke to be named the deliverer of Italy, as well as of Germany.

CHAP. XIII.

British Domestic History. Continued hatred manifested against the British government by the republican rulers. Desire of peace felt by Mr. Pitt, and the greatest part of the cabinet. Opposite opinion of Mr. Windham. Opening of the Session of Parliament. The Speech from the Throne displays a leaning towards peace. Violent attack made upon it by Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Fox moves an amendment to the Address, calling for an immediate negociation with the enemy. He censures the conduct of the Ministers with great severity. The Address is defended by Mr. Pitt. He avows his belief that the new French constitution may be able to give security for the permanency of a peace. The amendment is negatived. Debate in the House of Lords. Amendment moved by the Duke of Bedford, but withdrawn. Message from his Majesty, declaring his willingness to treat with the French republic. Amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Sheridan. It is negatived after an animated debate. Ministers, in both Houses, explicitly declare their wish for peace, if it can be obtained upon honourable terms. Earl Fitzwilliam expresses his decided disapprobation of the sentiments of the message. Violent and insulting language used towards this country by the French Directory. The British Ministers persevere in hoping that a peace may be obtained. They signify to the royalist chiefs that a negociation will probably be opened with the republicans. Mr. Grey brings forward a motion to compel them to negotiate immediately. It is negatived by a large majority. Attempt made to open a negotiation. Note from Mr. Wickham to M. Barthelemi. Haughty reply of the French Directory. The failure of the attempt is made known by the British minister, in a note addressed to the ambassadors from foreign courts.

AMONG

AMONG the powers with which republican France was in a ſtate of hoſtility, Great Britain was the power which ſhe regarded with the moſt inveterate and deadly hatred. After the fall of Roberſpierre, ſome degree of decorum was generally obſerved in ſpeaking of other governments; but that of this country was ſtill the conſtant object of violent menaces, and of coarſe invective and abuſe. It was branded as "proud and deſpotic, abject in adverſity, inſolent and cruel in proſperity, purſuing a Machiavelian and deteſtable policy, and ſolely animated by an inſulting and greedy ambition."—"The deſtruction of its commerce, on which alone was ſaid to hang its political exiſtence, the ruin of its colonies, and the plunging of it into a ſhameful bankruptcy," were declared to be in contemplation, in order, among other ends, "to gratify and ſatiate the juſt cravings of revenge, which every French republican was anxious to vent againſt it." In the true ſpirit of the revolutionary decrees, of the nineteenth of November, and the fifteenth of December, the Britiſh people were appealed to againſt their rulers; and, in reality, though not in direct language, were ſtimulated to rebellion. They were deſired to be "convinced of the perfidiouſneſs of their government, and to ſee the dread gulph into which that government would infallibly plunge them." Some hopes were alſo expreſſed that they "began to open their eyes, and would not fail to unmaſk its manœuvres to their fellow citizens." It was, in truth, not ſolely to gratify the cravings of revenge, but alſo to produce, in the Britiſh people, a full conviction, and completely to clear their ſight, that the annihilation of their commerce, the ruin of their colonies, and the reducing of them to a bankrupt ſtate, were ſo philanthropically propoſed. This language was not held at the moment when, though Roberſpierre had fallen, authority was ſtill in the hands of the jacobinical faction. It was deliberately uſed, more than twelve months after; when the new conſtitution was completed, and France was in conſequence claiming to be again ranked among the regular governments of Europe. Aug. 10, 1795.

While ſuch were the ſentiments of the heads of the republic, the members of the Britiſh cabinet, with one, and we believe, but one exception, were ſincerely deſirous of putting an end to the conteſt. By the violence of the enemy, the premier had been driven into a war, which he had long hoped to avoid; and upon ſteering clear of which he had built many flattering calculations of national proſperity and increaſed revenue. It is highly probable, that, while the allied arms were yet ſucceſsful, he was not at all averſe from a continuance of efforts, which afforded a reaſonable expectation that the vaſt expence at which they were made would, in ſome meaſure, be counterbalanced, by an addition to the territory of this country, and by a reduction of the ſtrength and influence of her ancient rival. But the ſtate of affairs was now fatally changed; and he ſeems to have thought that there was no longer any proſpect, that a perſeverance in hoſtilities would

would obtain conquests of sufficient magnitude to compensate for the waste of men and treasure; or for the vexation which he experienced, from the ceaseless attacks of his political opponents, and from the suspension of his commercial and financial projects. He was, therefore, anxious for a peace; that he might again shine in that sphere in which he certainly shone the brightest. The danger of living in the vicinage of revolutionized France he was willing to encounter. Nearly all the remainder of the cabinet are believed to have entertained similar opinions. Mr. Windham alone, differed entirely from his colleagues, and contended that, under the present circumstances, it was neither wise to seek a peace, nor practicable to obtain it. The haughtiness of the enemy would, he declared, most probably render fruitless every attempt to negociate; and, even if it should not, their principles were of that malignant and contagious nature, their hatred to the government and constitution of Great Britain was so rooted, and their designs against them were so irrevocably resolved upon, that, while the system existed in France, whatever mask it might wear, no peace could be made, which would not inevitably be fraught with great and immediate peril to our very existence as an independent people. It was not to acquire a sugar or a spice island, that he wished to carry on the war; it was to preserve the safety and honour of the empire, which he was convinced could be preserved in no other manner than by a vigorous resistance to the formidable arms, and still more formidable arts, of republican France.

That our readers may have a full and connected view of the subject, we shall, in this and the following chapter, lay before them the whole proceedings, both in Parliament, and on the part of the cabinet, which occurred relative to peace, from the commencement of the session, down to the abrupt, though scarcely unexpected, close of Lord Malmesbury's negotiation at Paris, with the French Directory.

The meeting of the parliament, which took place on the twenty-ninth of October, was, of course, the signal for renewing, between the two parties, the contest on the question of peace. The speech from the throne* was evidently intended to silence the clamours of opposition, and to pave the way for opening a negotiation with the French republic. After having stated the satisfaction felt by his Majesty, that the situation of affairs had been materially improved in the course of the year, it declared that, "the distraction and anarchy, which had so long prevailed in France, had led to a crisis, of which it was as yet impossible to foresee the issue; but, which must, in all human probability, produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe. Should that crisis terminate in an order of things, compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and, affording a reasonable expectation of security and per- Oct. 29, 1795.

* See State Papers, Annual Register, 1795, p. *171.

manence

manence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a diſpoſition to negotiate for a general peace, on juſt and reaſonable terms, would not fail to be met, on his Majeſty's part, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect." At the ſame time, it recommended the making vigorous efforts for the proſecution of the war, as being the beſt means of bringing the war to a ſpeedy and honourable termination. It cloſed by briefly noticing various objects of importance; and by calling on the two Houſes to take ſuch meaſures as their wiſdom might ſuggeſt, to alleviate the diſtreſs ariſing from the preſent ſcarcity, and to prevent, as far as poſſible, the recurrence of embarraſſments of a ſimilar kind.

In the Houſe of Commons, the addreſs was moved by the Earl of Dalkeith, and ſeconded by the honourable Mr. Stewart. Their ſpeeches were extremely conciſe; touching upon few points, and upon thoſe but lightly. The exhauſted ſtate, and immenſe expenditure, of the enemy, and the ſtrength and favourable financial ſituation of this country, were the prominent topics. In one part of his ſpeech, however, the mover of the addreſs, held language which was certainly not in uniſon, either with the ſpeech from the throne, or with the ſubſequent opinions delivered by miniſters. He did not believe that the time was come for treaty, or that the conſtitution of France was ſuch as to enſure ſtability to a treaty.

The members of the oppoſition were not at all propitiated, by the manner in which his Majeſty had expreſſed himſelf with reſpect to a peace. Mr. Sheridan was the firſt to declare his diſapprobation of the addreſs, and to pour forth a vehement philippic againſt the miniſters. Attacking the whole of their conduct, he dwelt with peculiar bitterneſs on two heads of accuſation. Theſe were the war in the Weſt Indies, and the declaration * iſſued by Louis the eighteenth. The former he conſidered as having been neglected in the moſt criminal manner, and the latter as penned under the direction of miniſters, and indicating their intention to re-eſtabliſh the old unqualified ſyſtem of deſpotiſm in France; an intention which, he ſaid, conſtituted them traitors, and for which they deſerved to loſe their heads.

General Tarleton and Mr. M. Robinſon having ſpoken againſt the addreſs, and Mr. Jenkinſon in vindication of it, Mr. Fox moved an amendment, cenſuring the conduct of the war, aſſuming the capability of the French government to maintain the accuſtomed relations of peace and amity, and praying his Majeſty to direct his miniſters to offer immediately ſuch terms to the French republic, as ſhould be conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and with the ſecurity and intereſts of his people.

The neceſſity of adopting this amendment was inſiſted upon by the honourable mover, in a ſpeech which laſted two hours, and which was fraught with the ſevereſt invective. He once more re-produced all the old beaten arguments,

* For the declaration,—See Annual Regiſter for 1795. State Papers, p. 260*

which

which he and the members of his party had ſo often urged on former occaſions. The ſatisfaction which his Majeſty was made to expreſs he treated as an inſult, and the mention of the improved ſtate of affairs he termed an impudent falſehood. The ſcarcity was, he maintained, aggravated by the war, and the reſtoration of peace was, he thought, the moſt likely way to bring back its companion, plenty. On the two expeditions, to Quiberon and Iſle Dieu, but eſpecially on the former, he laviſhed the moſt opprobrious epithets with which his memory could furniſh him. The fallacy of contending that the fall of the aſſignats muſt put an end to, or palſy, the republican exertions, he expoſed with much force; and he reminded his hearers that France, when her paper currency was at the laſt gaſp, had made a brilliant and ſucceſsful campaign. The language of the ſpeech from the throne he deſcribed as vague and inſignificant, and as holding out no hope that the conteſt would be ſpeedily terminated. In the uſual manner, he threw on this country the blame of the origin of the war. The war he conſidered as having been entered into to ſuppreſs certain opinions in France; and not becauſe there was any real danger apprehended from the republic. With reſpect to the famous decree of the nineteenth of November, he affirmed that we might have got rid of it by negotiation. On what evidence he thought proper to affirm this, he did not, however, explain. Nor did he give his reaſons for aſſerting that miniſters might have negociated with the enemy, at every moment ſince the commencement of the war. For himſelf, he would, he ſaid, have treated with Roberſpierre, or with any ſet of men in power; he would willingly treat even with a people who had ſeven conſtitutions per week. All the different governments in France had been capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity; and of this their behaviour to Sweden and Pruſſia was a ſufficient proof. On theſe and ſimilar grounds, he argued that the Houſe ought to reject the original addreſs, and give its ſanction to the amendment which he propoſed.

The amendment was ſtrenuouſly combated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who deemed it ſo extraordinary and objectionable, that he could ſcarcely believe it to be ſeriouſly offered. It was ſuch, he hinted, as a miniſter could not have brought forward, without deſerving to be impeached. In anſwer to Mr. Sheridan's comments upon the ſatisfaction teſtified by his Majeſty, he deſired the Houſe to contraſt the preſent ſtate of affairs with the ſtate of affairs at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, and then decide whether there was no improvement, no reaſon for ſatisfaction. Among the moſt prominent of the reaſons which he conceived to exiſt, was the obvious diminution of the republican reſources for continuing the war. The enemy were now, he ſaid, in a ſituation in which they felt a greater neceſſity than ever for peace; and in which it was apparent they had a much ſtronger diſpoſition for it. They had likewiſe abjured, in a conſiderable degree, thoſe dangerous doctrines which they had formerly profeſſed, and propagated with ſo much

much ardour. The assertion that all the former governments of France had maintained the relations of peace and amity with neutral powers, and had consequently been capable of maintaining them with England, was, he contended, incorrect; and, in proof that it was so, he instanced the treatment which Geneva had received, and the attempts made to stir up rebellion in America. Adverting to the new constitution, he declared that the principles of it would admit of solid and internal permanence, in any treaty which might be formed, and might be able to give good security that a treaty would not be violated. If that constitution was once fairly put in activity, our objections to negotiate would be at an end; and peace might be obtained, provided the enemy were willing to conclude it upon equitable and honourable terms. He closed his speech by censuring, as both false and pernicious, the language which had been used respecting the scarcity, and promising that his Majesty's ministers would employ every means in their power for reducing the high price of grain, and for rendering more comfortable the situation of the poor.

After a few observations, from Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Sheridan, the question being put, the amendment was rejected, by 240 affirmative against 59 negative voices.

In the House of Lords, a warm debate arose upon a similar amendment, which was moved by the Duke of Bedford. The amendment was supported by the Dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Lauderdale; and was opposed by Lord Grenville, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mansfield, and Earl Spencer. The arguments on each side were necessarily almost the same with those which were advanced in the House of Commons. The topic of the scarcity occupied, however, a larger share of the discussion in the Upper than in the Lower House. The Duke of Bedford, at length, in a very handsome manner, consented to withdraw his motion; declaring that he meant nothing unfair or unparliamentary, and that he did not wish to clog the ministers, if he could see any prospect of their acting on a pacific system. The address was consequently carried, without a division.

Neither the language which had been held from the throne, nor that which had been used on the same subject by the ministers, being, however, satisfactory to the members in opposition, Mr. Grey, on the twenty-third of November, gave notice of a motion, tending to a pacification with the present government of France. The bringing forward of this motion he, nevertheless, twice postponed; and at length was induced to suspend for an indefinite period, in consequence of the message which was delivered from his Majesty to the two Houses.

This message which was brought down to the Commons on the eighth of December, and to the Lords on the following day, while it recommended to them to make provision for defraying any extraordinary expences, informed them "that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the session, had led to such an order of things

things in France as would induce his Majeſty, conformably to the ſentiments which he had already declared, to meet any diſpoſition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a treaty for a general peace, whenever it could be effected on juſt and honourable terms, for himſelf and his allies." It ended by expreſſing the wiſhes of his Majeſty that "the ſpirit manifeſted by parliament, the recent ſucceſſes of the Auſtrian armies, and the continued and growing embarraſſments of the enemy, might ſpeedily conduce to the attainment of this object, on ſuch grounds as the juſtice of the cauſe in which the country was engaged, and the ſituation of affairs, might entitle his Majeſty to expect."

The Addreſs of Thanks, which, of courſe, was merely an echo of the meſſage, was moved in the Houſe of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who introduced it with a few words, in which he merely pointed out the conformity of ſentiment in the meſſage and the ſpeech from the throne, and declared his hope that the preſent communication would be received with pleaſure by the Houſe.

Little pleaſure was, however, felt by the gentlemen hoſtile to the miniſtry. The meaſure was not ſtrong enough to meet with their approbation. An amendment was, in conſequence, propoſed by Mr. Sheridan. It regretted that the internal order of things in France had ever been conſidered as an obſtacle to negotiation, and prayed "that the form of government, or internal order of things, in that country, whatever they now were, or ſhould become," might be no bar to the reſtoration of peace; and it likewiſe prayed his Majeſty to give diſtinct directions that an immediate negotiation might be entered into for the attainment of that ſalutary object.

The ſpeech of Mr. Sheridan, though ſhort, abounded in bitterneſs. He believed that the meſſage had been brought forward to anticipate and defeat the intended motion of Mr. Grey; that the miniſter was inſincere; and that he had ſtill ſome ſubterfuge in ſtore, and hoped to find a pretext to juſtify him in continuing the conteſt, for the purpoſe of reeſtabliſhing the old French deſpotiſm. Ridiculing the idea that the miniſter had acquired in a ſingle week, or, at the moſt, within the laſt five weeks, ſuch a knowledge of the character of the new republican government, as induced him to believe that a peace might be ſafely made, Mr. Sheridan aſked whether the heads of the new government were not men who had voted for the death of Lewis the ſixteenth, and of whom it had been ſaid that they were the cauſe of the war, and that no ſettled order of things could take place in France, till they had fallen under the ſword of juſtice. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer change his opinion merely becauſe forms were altered, becauſe the old men now ſat in one place, and the young ones in another? Far from thinking this government to be better than its predeceſſors, Mr. Sheridan conſidered it as much worſe; and he intimated that the republican rulers had conciliated the

the good opinion of the Britiſh miniſters entirely by their having adopted the ſyſtem of ſelf-election, eſtabliſhed their authority by military force, taken all power into their hands, and treated with contempt the rights, opinions, and intereſts of the people. In the addreſs there was, he ſaid, one word, that which aſſerted the juſtice of the war, which alone would be ſufficient to prevent him and his friends from giving their aſſent. His great objection, however, to the addreſs he ſtated to be, that it was ſo worded as to afford miniſters an opportunity of continuing, or renewing, hoſtilities, if any change ſhould now or hereafter be made in the government of France. On this ground he moved his amendment.

The ſame ſentiments were avowed, though with leſs aſperity of manner, by Mr. M. Robinſon, and Mr. Grey. There was one circumſtance on which all theſe gentlemen ſtrongly animadverted, and which, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, became afterwards a frequent ſource of warm debate, and unbounded cenſure. It was the peculiar time at which the meſſage was brought down to the houſe, and which was conſidered as having been fixed on for the purpoſe of putting an enormous profit into the pockets of the loan contractors.

Mr. Wilberforce, as might be expected from his known wiſh for peace, and attachment to the miniſters, was the firſt to defend the original motion, and to condemn the amendment, as unneceſſary, unconſtitutional, and likely, if carried, to prove highly injurious to the public intereſt. With much force of argument he contended, in reply to Mr. Sheridan, that the order of things eſtabliſhed in France was infinitely ſuperior to every thing which had preceded it; and he pointed out many ſtriking inſtances of its great and indiſputable ſuperiority.

The propriety of the addreſs, and of his own conduct, was vindicated, in an eloquent and elaborate ſpeech, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. After forcibly commenting upon the want of candour and conſiſtency diſplayed by his opponents, and ſhewing that the propoſed amendment was highly improper, he went over all the various grounds of objection which had been urged againſt himſelf and his colleagues. He denied, in the moſt unequivocal terms, that he had ever laid down, as a ſine qua non, the reſtoration of monarchy in France, or, reſolved to carry on an internecine war, unleſs that reſtoration was accompliſhed. The war had been carried on ſolely to preſerve ourſelves from the diſorganizing principles of the French revolutioniſts. That, by conſenting to treat, he had been guilty of any dereliction of principle, was, he ſaid, contrary to fact. On all former occaſions he had ſtated, that he would conſent to a peace, whenever there was a reaſonable expectation of ſecurity for its continuance. The queſtion, therefore, was, whether that ſecurity might now be expected. This led him to compare the preſent and the paſt order of things in France, and to ſhew that the former, however diſtant it might be from what he could wiſh, had, nevertheleſs, greatly the advantage over the latter, in many points of momentous importance. But he did not

reſt on the form of government all his hope of ſecurity for a peace. He argued that the exhauſted condition of the republican reſources afforded reaſon to believe, that a ſafe peace might be concluded; and this argument he likewiſe urged in anſwer to thoſe who ſeemed to fear that a change in the French conſtitution would produce a renewal of the conteſt. It was, he thought, not probable that any ſet of men, who might come into power, would deem it politic to reject a treaty concluded with thoſe who were at this moment at the head of the republic. Peace, therefore, might be made, if the enemy was pacifically diſpoſed; and the whole of the queſtion would now depend on the terms of the treaty.

Mr. Pitt was anſwered by Mr. Fox, who once more retraced the uſual circle of accuſations, reſpecting the origin of the war, and the faults, inconſiſtency, and inſincerity, of the miniſters. He was replied to by Mr. Dundas, who declared miniſters to be perfectly ſincere in their wiſhes for peace; but, at the ſame time, cautioned the Houſe and the country againſt believing that an immediate peace muſt be the neceſſary conſequence.

The amendment ſuggeſted by Mr. Sheridan was negatived, without a diviſion.

In the Lords, his Majeſty's meſſage produced only a ſhort debate. The addreſs was agreed to, without a diviſion; the Duke of Bedford having declined to bring forward an amendment which he had prepared. Some ſevere cenſures were, however, paſſed on miniſters, by the Marquis of Lanſdown and the Earl of Lauderdale. They were replied to by Lord Grenville. With reſpect to the ſincerity of himſelf and his co-adjutors in office, he ſpoke in the fulleſt and plaineſt language. He pledged his honour, and declared that he would riſk his character and life upon it, that miniſters were ſincere; at leaſt for his part he was; and he believed the criſis was arrived when we might treat, if propoſals were made.

This eagerneſs which the miniſters teſtified to treat with the republican government, could not fail to excite the diſſatisfaction of thoſe who were of opinion that the principles of the rulers of France were ſtill unchanged, and that the proximity of a revolutionary power was incompatible with the ſafety of the Britiſh Conſtitution. Accordingly, a few days after the addreſs had been carried, Lord Fitzwilliam, who when it was brought forward was abſent from town, and unapprized of its nature, took an opportunity to declare his entire diſſent from the ſentiments which were avowed in the meſſage. The original object of the war, into which the country had been forced, was, he ſaid, to reſtore order to France; and on that ground alone had he, and the friends with whom he acted, been induced to give it their ſupport. The recently eſtabliſhed government he conſidered as being ſtill a pure unqualified democracy, containing the ſeeds of diſſention and anarchy, and offering no ſecurity for religion, property, or order.

Nearly at the moment when the Britiſh miniſters were employed in framing his Majeſty's meſſage, the French Directory was ſending down to the Council of Five

Five Hundred a meſſage of a very different nature. In this meſſage, delivered on the third of December, and which related to the navy, the Directors deſcribed the Britiſh people as "thoſe cruel and implacable enemies, whoſe perfidious policy ſo well juſtifies our hatred, and calls for all our vengeance." They did not, indeed, declare againſt peace. On the contrary, they expreſſed their deſire of a ſpeedy peace; but they took care alſo to add, that it muſt be "founded on the defeat and humiliation of their maritime rivals." "Such, ſaid they, is the object of all our wiſhes, ſuch will be the end of all our efforts, and ſuch is the cry of the whole French nation."

Dec. 3, 1795.

It may be ſuppoſed, however, that this was only the language of men of paſſionate minds, irritated by hoſtility, and believing themſelves compelled to carry on, for their own ſafety, an internecine war; and that, conſequently, when they diſcovered that their ſuppoſed cruel and implacable enemies were willing to ſheathe the ſword, they would rejoice at being undeceived, and would eagerly embrace an opportunity to put a ſtop to the melancholy effuſion of human blood. Not ſo the rulers of France. Inſtead of being ſoftened, they ſeem to have been rendered more intractable and ferocious, by our pacific declarations. No direct notice was taken of the purport of the King's meſſage, but, after ſome weeks had elapſed, the Directory found an occaſion of indirectly noticing it, in terms of the moſt unqualified bitterneſs and inſult*. To a meſſage, which they ſent to the council of Five Hundred, to recommend an extraordinary levy of horſes for the approaching campaign, they prefixed a preamble, which was evidently intended as an official reply to the Britiſh government. "The enemies of France," ſaid they, "have ſpoken of peace, but it was to relax our preparations, while they themſelves redoubled their efforts to continue the war. They wiſhed to weaken the courage of our defenders, by lulling them with the hope of an approaching peace, which they themſelves do not ceaſe to elude by evaſive forms and frivolous pretexts. This perfidy is not a new thing on their part." Of the evaſions, pretexts, and perfidy, thus roundly charged, they did not condeſcend to offer proof. Thinking, perhaps, that it was neceſſary to ſay ſomething of their own feelings as to a termination of the war, they declared that "they would make peace with the coaleſced powers, on conditions as moderate as were conſiſtent with the national dignity." As this ſtrange and hitherto unheard-of ſtandard, for regulating the terms of a treaty, might probably not be fully eſtimated by thoſe to whoſe wrong it was to be applied, the Directors took care to give, in a ſingle, ſhort, but emphatical paragraph, a clear explanation of its nature and extent.

Jan. 25, 1796.

"The French," ſaid they, "ſhould know that they can have no peace with their enemies, till they have rendered it impoſſible for them to purſue their wretched projects."

As far as regarded England,

* See State Papers, p. 278.*

this was, in reality, only a repetition of what they had already ſtated, in their meſſage of the third of December. It is obvious that a power reduced to an incapability of defending itſelf, for ſuch is the plain meaning of their language, muſt bend to the mercy of the conqueror; and that in their vocabulary the word peace can be adequately tranſlated by no other than that of ſubjugation.

Notwithſtanding this meſſage muſt have been ſeen by the Britiſh miniſters, they ſtill cheriſhed hopes that the French rulers might be induced to entertain pacific ſentiments. As far back as the eighteenth of December, they had apprized the Duke d'Harcourt, who acted in this country as the agent of Louis the eighteenth, of the probability of a negociation being entered into with the republican government. A ſimilar communication * was now made to the royaliſt chiefs of Britanny and Poitou.

But, however ardent for peace were the wiſhes of the miniſters, their efforts for the attainment of that object were not ſufficiently active to ſatisfy the party in oppoſition. In conſequence of this,

* This document has never before been made public. The following tranſlation of it is from the original, ſigned by Lord Grenville.

Tranſlation of an Official Note, from Lord Grenville, to the Royaliſt Chiefs of Britanny and Poitou.

Since the commencement of the brave and generous efforts of the royaliſts of Britanny and Vendeé, the Britiſh government has always wiſhed to furniſh the royaliſts with all the ſuccours which it was poſſible to convey to them. The repeated attempts which it has made for this purpoſe, afford an unequivocal proof of its diſpoſition on this head, notwithſtanding thoſe attempts have in part failed, in conſequence of the different obſtacles which have ariſen, and, above all, from the very eſſential want of a ſeaport, by the poſſeſſion of which all the communications would have been facilitated and ſecured.

But, as far back as the eighteenth of December, it deemed it proper to make known to the Duke D'Harcourt that the ſtate of things now exiſting in France, however diſtant it might be from that which his Majeſty could have wiſhed to have ſeen eſtabliſhed there, ſeemed to him, nevertheleſs, no longer to oppoſe inſurmountable obſtacles to a negotiation for the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace, on a ſuitable footing, provided his enemies were really diſpoſed to it; a ſentiment of which no indication has yet appeared on their part, but which may, from day to day, be expected to be produced, by their ſtill increaſing embarraſſments.

Unforeſeen obſtacles have till now hindered this communication from being conveyed to the royaliſts. For this reaſon, England, while at this moment it takes meaſures to ſend them new ſuccours, thinks it right alſo to forewarn them of the poſſibility that a negotiation for a general peace may ariſe out of the exiſting circumſtances,

While it continues to be at war, the Britiſh government will gladly continue its ſuccours to the royaliſts. It believes that it cannot give a more evident proof of it than by the meaſures which it now takes for that object. It will loſe no favourable occaſion to encreaſe its efforts. And if the moment ſhould arrive when, in conſequence of the negotiations entered into, it muſt ceaſe to aſſiſt the royaliſts, it will endeavour to warn them of it beforehand. But, at all events, it deems it proper to give them this previous notice.

The Count de Botherel is commiſſioned to be the bearer of this communication to the reſpective chiefs of the different armies of Britanny and Vendeé, and to aſſure them of the eſteem and admiration which are inſpired by their valour and their generous efforts for the happineſs of their country.

London, February 13, 1796.

Mr.

Mr. Grey now brought forward the motion which he had announced, and ſubſequently poſtponed, at an early period of the ſeſſion. It was for an addreſs to the King, praying him to take ſuch ſteps as he might deem proper, "for communicating directly, to the executive government of the French republic, his Majeſty's readineſs to meet any diſpoſition on the part of that government with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect."

Feb. 15.

The debate on this occaſion was conducted, on both ſides, with more moderation than had been uſually diſplayed by either party, when arguing on ſimilar topics. The houſe was thinly attended at the opening of the buſineſs, and only three members took a ſhare in the diſcuſſion. The honourable mover ſpoke briefly, and with far leſs of warmth and aſperity than he was accuſtomed to do. He took it for granted, indeed, that the miniſters merely meant to delude the country with hopes of peace, and on this preſumption he grounded the neceſſity of ſanctioning his addreſs. Nevertheleſs, he declared that if miniſters would give a ſingle favourable aſſurance that they were negotiating, or that there was any ſolid hope of a peace, he would willingly relinquiſh his purpoſe. A direct and unequivocal acknowledgement of the French republic, and an offer to enter into a treaty with it, were, however, the only pledges which he would conſent to receive, of the ſincerity of the Britiſh government.

The motion was oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as unneceſſary and impolitic. It would, he urged, bind the government hand and foot, and compel it to negotiate in that diſgraceful poſture. With reſpect to the ſincerity of miniſters, and the progreſs which they had made in opening the way to a treaty, he ſpoke in a full and explicit manner. He informed the Houſe that, ſince the bringing down the meſſage of the eighth of December, every thing had been done, which could poſſibly be done, to enable his Majeſty to embrace any opportunity, either to meet overtures for negotiation, or to make ſuch overtures as might be found expedient. A peace, he ſaid, but an honourable peace, he ardently deſired. No etiquette, as to who ſhould make the firſt overture, no difficulty, as to the mode of making it, would be conſidered by the government as an obſtacle to negociation, if in other reſpects there appeared to be a probability of obtaining proper terms. Meaſures had been taken to aſcertain theſe points, and were now in train; and if the enemy were ſincere, a ſpeedy negotiation would be the conſequence. It would not be the fault of his Majeſty's miniſters, if it did not terminate in a treaty. At the ſame time, he teſtified his fears, that the rulers of the republic were little diſpoſed to act upon moderate and equitable principles; and he referred to the language which they had recently held, as affording proof of the haughty and unpacific ſpirit, by which they were at preſent inſpired.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, who blamed the ſlowneſs of the miniſters, dwelt on the wiſ-

dom of putting an end to the conteſt, and declared his belief that the governors of the French people would not dare to refuſe reaſonable terms; or, if they did dare to refuſe them, would ſoon be replaced by other men, of oppoſite characters.

On a diviſion the motion was rejected by a majority of 139; the noes being 189 to only 50 ayes.

It was not long before the conduct of the French rulers amply juſtified the fears which Mr. Pitt had manifeſted, in his reply to Mr. Grey. The neceſſary previous communication having been made to the emperor, the Britiſh cabinet inſtructed Mr. Wickham, ambaſſador to the Helvetic body, to ſound the diſpoſition of the Directory, through the medium of M. Barthelemi, their ambaſſador in Switzerland. An official note *, was, in conſequence, tranſmitted to M. Barthelemi, by Mr. Wickham. It requeſted M. Barthelemi to procure information whether, in the firſt place, France was diſpoſed to ſend miniſters to a congreſs, to negotiate for the reeſtabliſhment of a general peace; ſecondly, whether ſhe would communicate to the allies the outline of ſuch a pacification as ſhe might be willing to propoſe; and, laſtly, whether, in caſe of her diſapproving the mode which was ſuggeſted, ſhe would point out any other way whatever, for arriving at the ſame deſirable end. At the ſame time Mr. Wickham apprized M. Barthelemi that he himſelf was not authorized to enter into negotiation or diſcuſſion upon theſe ſubjects.

March 8.

Had there really been, as there undoubtedly was not, ſomething irregular in this manner of making advances towards a reconciliation, the French rulers would have overlooked the informality, if they had been animated by a liberal and pacific ſpirit. Above all things, they would have been careful not to loſe, by the uſe of irritating language, the favourable opportunity which was offered, of putting an end to the numerous and heavy calamities of war.

The Directory, however, had evidently no inclination to ſheathe the ſword. To the note of Mr. Wickham, they replied in a ſtyle which equally ſhewed their diſlike of peace, and their contempt of decorum. They, nevertheleſs, thought it politic to begin their anſwer, by profeſſing their ardent deſire to obtain a juſt, honourable, and ſolid peace. Having done this, and given England a ſort of leſſon, as to its real intereſts, they proceeded to declare their diſbelief of the ſincerity of the Britiſh cabinet. The reaſons for their diſbelief were, that Mr. Wickham was not commiſſioned to negotiate; that England had propoſed a congreſs, the natural reſult of which muſt be to render negotiation endleſs; and that ſhe had, in a vague manner, called on the French government to point out any other way to attain the object of a general pacification. As if this were not ſufficiently inſulting, they repeated it in the interrogative form, and aſked whether

March 26.

* For theſe documents, See State Papers, p. *209-10-11.

the

the Britiſh miniſters had not taken this ſtep, merely with a view of procuring for themſelves the favourable impreſſion which always ariſes from making the firſt overtures for peace; and whether it was not accompanied with the hope that the overtures would produce no effect? * Then, vaunting their own openneſs and good faith, they ſtated, that they would not conſent to the alienation of that which, according to the exiſting laws, conſtituted the territory of the republic; but that, with regard to the countries not united to France, they, with other intereſts, commercial and political, might become the ſubject of a negotiation. What terms they were willing to grant to the ſupplications of the allied powers, they did not chuſe to explain. They contented themſelves with vaguely ſaying, in words ſimilar to thoſe which we have recently quoted, that the Directory was ready to receive any overtures which were juſt, reaſonable, and compatible with the dignity of the republic.

The failure of this attempt to negociate was announced to the miniſters of foreign courts, by an official note, in which his Majeſty lamented the hoſtile ſpirit of the republican rulers, and declared that, whenever they ſhould manifeſt more pacific ſentiments, he would at all times be eager to concur in thoſe ſentiments, by lending himſelf, in concert with his allies, to all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be beſt calculated for the reſtoration of tranquillity.

CHAP. XIV.

The oppoſition are diſſatisfied with the conduct of the Miniſters in the late attempt to open a negociation. Mr. Fox brings forward a voluminous motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, calling for a change in the external politics of the country. Severe language of the addreſs. Speech of Mr. Fox. He inſiſts upon the inſincerity of Miniſters. Reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He defends the Cabinet in a ſatisfactory manner. The motion is rejected by a very large majority. A ſimilar motion is brought forward, in the Houſe of Lords, by the Earl of Guildford. It is rejected by a ſtill more deciſive majority. Violent proclamation of the French Directory, abuſing the Britiſh Government and the Emperor. The Miniſters make an attempt to obtain the mediation of the King of Pruſſia; but are unſucceſsful. They make an attempt to obtain paſſports for an ambaſſador through the medium of the Daniſh chargé d'affaires at Paris. Haughty reply of the Directory. The Miniſters make a direct application. The paſſports are granted. Offenſive notes publiſhed by the Directory,

* So deſirous were the miniſters to end the war, that Mr. Windham, not anticipating the inſolent conduct of the Directory, believed that peace would be concluded. In a letter, to one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the royaliſt chiefs, dated the ſecond of March, and written entirely with his own hand; (from which letter we now tranſlate) he ſays, "If unfortunately, which for my part I believe will be the caſe, a peace ſhould be made with the regicides, we will endeavour to comprehend you in it; or to put you in a ſituation, as far as money can do it, to make conditions for yourſelves."

with reſpect to the wiſh of the Britiſh cabinet to open a negociation. They avow that a peace would be fatal to England. Lord Malmeſbury arrives at Paris, as the Britiſh plenipotentiary. The Directory appoint M. Delacroix to negociate on their part. Unpromiſing commencement of the negotiation. Lord Malmeſbury propoſes to admit the principle of compenſation, as the baſis of the treaty. Reply of the Directory. Suſpenſion of the negociation. It again proceeds. Inſolent conduct of the Directory. Lord Malmeſbury preſents two confidential memorials to M. Delacroix, containing propoſitions on the part of Great Britain. He has a conference with M. Delacroix. The Directory order him to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. He departs for England. Paper publiſhed in vindication of the Directory. Declaration of the Britiſh court, with reſpect to the rupture of the negotiation.

AFTER our pacific overtures had been repulſed in this haughty and inſulting manner, by the French rulers, it might not unnaturally have been expected, that Britiſh pride would be rouſed by the ſcornful rejection of its advances, and that, whatever difference of opinion might ſtill be entertained with regard to the juſtice of the war in its origin, there could be none as to the preſent inſolence of our republican enemies, and the abſolute neceſſity of carrying on the conteſt, with vigour, till they themſelves thought proper, or were compelled, to diſplay ſomewhat leſs of a hoſtile and rancorous ſpirit. But rooted habits and prejudices are powerful miſleaders. The members of the oppoſition had ſo long been accuſtomed to look on France as injured, that they did not heſitate, even on this occaſion, to ſtand forward as her advocates, and to ſanction the contumelious and arrogant language which had been uſed to the Britiſh government by the French Directory. With ſome degree of wonder, a vaſt majority of the nation now ſaw them introduce, into both houſes of parliament, a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, containing a laboured juſtification of our inveterate enemies, and praying that a change might take place in our ſyſtem of external politics.

This motion, which was made on the tenth of May, was more than uſually voluminous. It conſiſted of twelve or thirteen pages, three fourths of which were filled by a collection of moſt of the common-place aſſertions, which had ſo often been urged, and ſo often refuted, with reſpect to the guilt of the commencement and continuance of the war being entirely attributable to the Britiſh miniſtry. To this trite ſubject ſome variety was given, by an attack upon the partition of Poland; an event which was inſinuated to have been a conſequence of the conteſt with France. Proceeding to the late attempt at negotiation, and cenſuring the ſlowneſs with which it had been entered into, the addreſs, ſpeaking, it muſt be remembered, in the name of the parliament of Great Britain, concluded in the following words:

"With equal ſurpriſe and concern they have obſerved, when a fair and open conduct was ſo peculiarly

liarly incumbent on his Majeſty's miniſters, conſidering the prejudices and ſuſpicions which their previous conduct muſt have excited in the minds of the French; that inſtead of adopting the open and manly manner which became the wiſdom, the character, and the dignity of the Britiſh nation, they adopted a mode, calculated rather to excite ſuſpicion, than to inſpire confidence in the enemy. Every expreſſion which might be conſtrued into an acknowledgement of the French republic, or even an alluſion to its forms, was ſtudiouſly avoided; and the miniſter, through whom this overture was made, was, in a moſt unprecedented manner, inſtructed to declare, that he had no authority to enter into any negociation or diſcuſſion, relative to the objects of the propoſed treaty.

"That it is with pain we reflect, that the alacrity of his majeſty's miniſters in apparently breaking off this incipient negotation, as well as the ſtrange and unuſual manner in which it was announced to the miniſters of the various powers of Europe, affords a very unfavourable comment on their reluctance in entering upon it, and is calculated to make the moſt injurious impreſſion, reſpecting their ſincerity, on the people of France. On a review of many inſtances of groſs and flagrant miſconduct, proceeding from the ſame pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obſtinacy to the ſame miſchievous ends, we deem ourſelves bound in duty to his Majeſty, and to our conſtituents, to declare, that we ſee no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem, radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our preſent calamities. Until his Majeſty's miniſters ſhall, from a real conviction of paſt errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon ſuch a ſyſtem, we can neither give any credit to the ſincerity of their profeſſions of a wiſh for peace, nor repoſe any confidence in their capacity for conducting a negotiation to a proſperous iſſue. Odious as they are to an enemy, who muſt ſtill believe them ſtrictly to cheriſh thoſe unprincipled and chimerical projects, which they have been compelled in public to diſavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, from the diſplay of inſincerity and incapacity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes reſt on his Majeſty's royal wiſdom, and unqueſtioned affection for his people, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt maxims of policy more ſuited to the circumſtances of the times than thoſe by which his miniſters appear to have been governed, and to direct his ſervants to take meaſures, which, by differing eſſentially, as well in their tendency, as in the principle upon which they are founded, from thoſe which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country ſome reaſonable hope, at no very diſtant period, of the eſtabliſhment of peace, ſuitable to the intereſts of Great Britain, and likely to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe."

In the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Fox was the mover of this pithy and moderate addreſs, upon which the greateſt part of his ſpeech was little more than an elaborate and expanded commentary; May 10.

mentary; adorned, however, with all the charms of his maſterly eloquence. Much of his argument was directed to prove that France was not the aggreſſor, and that the miniſter had never really believed that the triumph of republican principles in France was dangerous to the Britiſh conſtitution. In proof of the latter, he referred to the hope of fifteen years peace which Mr. Pitt had held out in 1792, and the meaſure which that gentleman had then taken, of funding at a loſs in the four per cents, under the idea that the three per cents would riſe to par. If up to that period the miniſter believed in the continuance of peace, there was, Mr. Fox contended, nothing in the ſubſequent events which ought to have produced a change in that belief. There was nothing in the events of the tenth of Auguſt, and the ſecond of September, diſgraceful as they were, which leſſened the probability of continued peace; jacobin principles having, previouſly to thoſe events, been fully eſtabliſhed in France. As to the two obnoxious decrees, the reception of Britiſh traitors by the French legiſlature, and the opening of the Scheldt, he conſidered them as things which might eaſily have been explained away, if the Britiſh cabinet had been amicably diſpoſed. Fond as he was of neutrality, he, however, blamed the miniſter, for not having interfered as a mediator between France and the coaleſced powers, at the time when the treaty of Pilnitz was concluded. England might then, he imagined, have mediated with dignity, and with the happieſt effect.

Looking at the period ſince the war, he cenſured them, for not having negociated, when the arms of the allies were crowned with ſucceſs. On one point he dwelt with peculiar force. The great defect of the war was, in his opinion, the want of a determinate object for which we were contending. We had neither carried on war for the purpoſe of reſtoring monarchy, nor for our own advantage; and had thus loſt the benefit which might have reſulted from either of theſe modes of conduct. We had diſguſted all parties by our manner of treating them all. Even the royaliſts could not cordially join us, while they were uncertain whether we were fighting for monarchy, or for plunder. Thoſe that had joined us, had not, he thought, been fairly dealt with; but had been duped by ambiguous declarations. He then proceeded to the queſtion of obtaining peace at the preſent moment. To continue the war, in the expectation that the republic would be overthrown by the failure of her financial reſources, he conceived to be the height of folly. France, he ſaid, had been reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy; but that bankruptcy was paſt; the inconveniencies of it were over; and ſhe had now the full reſources of the country to bring forth againſt her enemies. As to the late overtures, which Mr. Wickham had been inſtructed to make, he contended, that they were made in the hope that they would not be accepted. We ought to have renounced Lewis the eighteenth, formally and unequivocally acknowledged the republic, and offered terms of peace, in the name of ourſelves and our allies, the

the latter of whom did not appear to have been at all conſulted on the late occaſion. The language held by the French Directory, with reſpect to the retention of ſuch of their conqueſts as were incorporated with the French republic, he, however, blamed, as unjuſt. Having hinted that the preſent miniſters could not make a peace; recommended a change of adminiſtration; diſclaimed any wiſh for power; and drawn a gloomy picture of the ſtate of affairs; he cloſed his ſpeech by reprobating, in juſt and animated terms, the ſhameful partition of the Poliſh territory.

In his reply, Mr. Pitt, while he remarked on the uſeleſneſs of retroſpection in the preſent caſe, deemed it, nevertheleſs, proper to notice ſome points of the long retroſpect which had been taken by the preceding ſpeaker. He reaſſerted the juſtice of the war, avowed his having hoped to preſerve peace, and vindicated himſelf for not having offered the mediation of England. To have undertaken the office of mediator would, he thought, have been hazardous, where both parties were not ready to agree. It would have expoſed us to difficulties and diſputes, if we had been, as we ought, determined to enforce it on the party which refuſed to admit it. But, ſuppoſing peace had been thus obtained, were we to go to war, to prevent the partition of Poland? That partition, flagrantly iniquitous as it was, did not overturn the balance of power; the country being almoſt equally divided between three great ſtates. He reminded the Houſe, too, that when attempts had been made to prevent the partition of Turkey, they were diſapproved of, though they had for their object to prevent that very partition of Poland which was now the ſubject of ſuch vehement invective.

To the charge, ſo often repeated by his opponents, that, ſince he had declined to treat for peace, either when England was ſucceſsful, or unſucceſsful, there muſt be ſome ſecret cauſe which led him not to treat at all, he anſwered, that he thought it impolitic to treat, either when we had not been ſufficiently victorious to procure a full ſecurity that peace would be kept, or when we had ſuffered ſuch reverſes of fortune as left us no proſpect of obtaining equitable and honourable terms. Something, he ſaid, we had certainly gained, by a continuance of our efforts. Had we made a peace in 1793, we ſhould have made it before France had loſt her trade; before ſhe had exhauſted her capital; before her foreign poſſeſſions were captured, and her navy was deſtroyed. As to the object of the war, he denied that it was, as ſome had ſaid, the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy; though he certainly thought that re-eſtabliſhment a deſirable thing. While ſpeaking on this head, he embraced the opportunity of noticing the difference of opinion which exiſted between Mr. Burke and the miniſters with reſpect to the war; and of cenſuring the unfairneſs of thoſe who choſe to conſider the warm and unguarded aſſertions of individuals as declarations of miniſters.

Arriving, at length, at the ſubject of the late abortive attempt to negotiate, he, with much fullneſs and force of reaſoning, aſſerted the ſincerity, and defended the conduct, of the cabinet. No blame could, he ſhowed, be attached

tached to the delay; as neither the ſpeech from the throne, nor the meſſage, went, in reality, any further than to invite the enemy to make the firſt advances. In making themſelves the firſt advances, miniſters had, he ſaid, gone beyond any pledge which had been given by them. He then proceeded to examine the validity of the remaining objections which had been brought forward. Theſe objections were that miniſters had not acted in concert with our allies; that they had not recognized the republic; that they had not propoſed terms; and that they had not authorized Mr. Wickham to enter into a negotiation. The firſt he did away entirely, by ſtating that it was founded in error; and that, in fact, the ſtep was not taken till after previous communication with our allies; though they were not formally made parties to the propoſal. As to the miniſters not having recognized the French republic, Mr. Pitt ſarcaſtically obſerved, that it was truly generous for the right honourable gentleman to find out for the French an objection, which they themſelves did not diſcover. If the Directory had looked on our not recognizing the republic as an inſult, they would have given no anſwer at all. But, in truth, the propoſal to treat implied a recognition. Suppoſing, however, that it did not, ſtill there was no inſult offered, and, in proof that there was not, he inſtanced the example of Denmark, to which his opponents had ſo often alluded, in the language of praiſe. He reminded them that it was not till the preſent year that the French republic was acknowledged by that court, which had been deſcribed as the wiſe, neutral, and amicable court of Denmark. With reſpect to propoſing terms, he contended that it was not our buſineſs to do it; and that it would have been ridiculous to talk of terms, before we knew whether the enemy were diſpoſed to treat. The remaining article he proved to be equally groundleſs with the others; and to manifeſt, beſides, an ignorance, or forgetfulneſs, of diplomatic proceedings. It had never, he ſaid, been known that the perſon employed to ſound the diſpoſitions of the enemy, was the perſon employed to conduct the negotiation. But there were two additional reaſons why powers were not given to Mr. Wickham. It would, in the firſt place, have been the height of folly to entruſt the management of a negociation of ſuch uncommon moment to the diſcretion of an individual, and at ſuch a diſtance; and, ſecondly, it was neceſſary to convince our allies that we did not go beyond the line of arrangement concerted with them, and that we had no ſeparate object, and would not proceed a ſtep without their concurrence. We wiſhed to avoid every thing which could excite the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion that we were diſpoſed to negotiate ſeparately; which was what France would wiſh, and what had been her uniform policy during the preſent conteſt. It was with a view to the ſame open dealing, that miniſters had publiſhed the meſſage and the anſwer; that the world might judge of the moderation of the allies, and the haughtineſs of the enemy. Their having done ſo would likewiſe produce the important conſequence of uniting England, and dividing France.

In refutation of the charge of inſincerity, which the Directory had

had built upon our ſuggeſting a congreſs, Mr. Pitt remarked that, with the exception of the laſt two treaties, a congreſs was the only mode by which, ever ſince the peace of Munſter, wars had been concluded, in caſes wherein allies were concerned. With the Directory itſelf, the plea of inſincerity was, he ſaid, nothing but a pretence. Had they really thought miniſters inſincere, their policy would have been to have convicted them in the eyes of all Europe, by making juſt and moderate demands. He cloſed his ſpeech by appealing to the ſenſe and ſpirit of Engliſhmen, againſt the arrogance of the enemy; and by once more declaring that miniſters would always be found ready to treat, whenever the republicans ſeemed inclined to a treaty, upon fair and honourable terms.

After a ſhort reply from Mr. Fox, in which he ſeemed to think that the Directory had no intention to act upon their avowed principle of retaining the incorporated conqueſts, the queſtion was put, and the motion rejected, by 216 ayes againſt only 42 noes. On this occaſion a few members, who uſually voted with the oppoſition, voted with the miniſter, on the ground that the ſpirit manifeſted by the French Directory was ſuch as to give little room to hope that a peace could be obtained.

In the Lords, a ſimilar motion was made, and gave riſe to a warm debate. It was brought forward by the Earl of Guildford, and ſupported by the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton; the Marquis of Lanſdown, and the Earl of Lauderdale. The oppoſers of it were Lord Grenville, the Lord Preſident, the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Mansfield and Carnarvon; and Lords Hawkeſbury, Sydney, and Mulgrave. Earl Fitzwilliam was likewiſe among its moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers, though from very different motives. He again ſolemnly proteſted againſt any treaty with the republic, and conſidered it as an article of charge againſt the miniſters that they had been ready to negotiate. A conſiderable ſhare of eloquence was diſplayed on the queſtion, both by the miniſters and their opponents; but no talent could give novelty of argument to ſo hackneyed a ſubject. To analyſe the debate would, therefore, be merely to repeat that which has already been laid before the reader. The motion was finally negatived by 110 diſſentient againſt 10 affirmative voices.

The republican rulers, whom the gentlemen in oppoſition were anxious that miniſters ſhould conciliate by ſuch laviſh conceſſions, and with whom miniſters themſelves ſhewed ſuch an alacrity to treat, did not, on their ſide, diſplay a more conciliating ſpirit than they had hitherto done. Their calumny and abuſe were poured forth, without bounds, even upon the Britiſh people, whom they deemed it decorous to ſtigmatize, in the vileſt terms. A proclamation, which, at this period, they addreſſed to the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, on May 26, the rupture of the armiſtice, is worthy of notice; not only for the manner in which it mentions this country, but likewiſe for its revolutionary tenor and phraſeology, which will bear a compariſon with any thing that can be found

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in the moſt violent manifeſtos of the jacobin faction, when that faction was at the height of its power and fury. After accuſing the Emperor of ſitting at a ſafe diſtance from the terrible bayonets of the French, and "calculating in his madneſs how many thouſands of men muſt periſh, how many tears muſt flow, and how many groans muſt be ſtifled, before he could be reached by thoſe bayonets," it proceeds in the following ſtrain: "governed by the ferocious Engliſh, too long accuſtomed to ſuch horrible calculations, he receives their gold and their contempt as the price of his ſubmiſſion, and the blood of his braveſt warriors. Put an end, ye French ſoldiers, to theſe frightful bargains; let the republican bayonet at length make tremble, even on their tottering thrones, the monſters coaleſced againſt the human race; let your burning courage overthrow every obſtacle in an inſtant; bring to a ſpeedy termination that ſtruggle, which has laſted too long, of the liberty of the people againſt tyranny; and let the haughty deſpots, who ſtill dare to combat that liberty, be compelled to humiliate themſelves at the ſight of the republican banners." Such ſentiments, expreſſed in ſuch language, ſeem to have been but ill calculated to convince the Sovereigns of Great Britain and Germany of the practicability of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace from the Directorial government.

Expecting, perhaps, to be better received through the interceſſion of a monarch, whoſe ſervices, and ſubſervience, to the enemy, might be ſuppoſed to have given him ſome influence with them, the Britiſh cabinet, in the courſe of the ſummer, diſpatched Mr. Hammond to Berlin, to ſolicit the mediation of the King of Pruſſia. Here, again, they were unſucceſsful. Whether his Pruſſian Majeſty was apprehenſive of offending the rulers of the French republic, or whether he had an antipathy to performing any part for which he was not to be ſubſidized, remains unknown; but it is certain that he did not conſent to fill the mediatorial office which he was requeſted to aſſume.

Baffled in all their endeavours, the Britiſh miniſters, nevertheleſs, would not relinquiſh their hope of overcoming the ſtubborn hatred of the republican government, and at length opening the way for the negotiation of a treaty. Their hope ſeem, indeed, to have been of that hardy kind which ſets diſappointment at defiance. They reſolved to make a third effort. Sept. 6th. Count Wedel Jarlſberg, the Daniſh Ambaſſador at London, was requeſted to tranſmit, through the medium of M. Koenemann, the Daniſh chargé d'affaires at Paris, a note from Lord Grenville, ſoliciting paſſports, to enable an Engliſh plenipotentiary to proceed to the French metropolis.

Anxious to do all that was in his power to facilitate a peace, M. Koenemann, who was then indiſpoſed at his country-houſe, loſt no time in ſetting off to Paris, to deliver the note of Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix, the republican miniſter for foreign affairs. M. Delacroix promiſed to lay the communication before the Directory, and return an immediate anſwer. Having, however, waited three

three days, without receiving any reply, M. Koenemann thought proper to have an interview with the miniſter. He was informed by M. Delacroix, in a dry tone quite congenial with the ſubject, that the Directory had forbidden him to return a written anſwer, and had directed him to anſwer verbally, that "they would not receive any confidential overtures, or papers, conveyed through any intermediate channel, from the enemies of the republic; but that, if thoſe enemies would ſend perſons furniſhed with full powers and official papers, theſe might, upon the frontiers, demand the paſſports neceſſary for proceeding to Paris." It was, therefore, not without obvious reaſon that, in making known to Count Wedel Jarlſberg the reſult of the recent application, Mr. Koenemann expreſſed his fears that the period at which better ſucceſs might be hoped from pacific overtures was yet at a great diſtance.

But to have their ſolicitations rejected, and ſtill to renew them, had now become a ſort of habit in the Britiſh miniſters. The repulſe, which they had juſt met with, did not deter them from perſiſting in their uſual courſe. The mode which was pointed out by the enemy, they did not, it is true, entirely adopt. They did not ſend their negotiator, to wait humbly on the beach at Calais, till it was decided, at the palace of the Luxemburgh, whether he ſhould be ſuffered to proceed on his journey. Four days after they had learned the fate of their laſt attempt, they made a direct demand of paſſports*; declaring, at the ſame time, in their official note, that his Majeſty would not leave to his enemies the ſmalleſt pretext for eluding the diſcuſſion, and that, as ſoon as the paſſports arrived, he would ſend an ambaſſador, with full powers, to put an end to the war, by a juſt, honourable and ſolid pacification, calculated to reſtore repoſe to Europe, and to enſure, for the time to come, the general tranquillity. Sept. 27.

It was now impoſſible for the Directory any longer to repel our overtures, without making an explicit avowal, that they were determined to carry on the war, till they had reduced us to the ſtate of a conquered country. The paſſports, therefore, were granted, and the grant was expreſsly ſtated to be a proof of the deſire which they entertained to make peace with England. Sept. 30.

On the very next morning, however, after they had given this proof of their pacific deſires, they publiſhed an official note†, drawn up in language of ſuch dark malig- Oct. 1.

nity,

* See State Papers, p. *213.

† The two Notes, of the firſt and fifth of October, not having been inſerted in the State Papers, are given here, that the reader may form a judgment for himſelf, with reſpect to their language and tendency.

Official Note, extracted from the Journal of the Defenders of the Country, October 1.

"Different journals have aſſerted that an Engliſh Plenipotentiary had reached Paris, and had preſented himſelf to the Executive Directory, but that his propoſitions not having appeared ſatisfactory, he had received orders inſtantly to quit France.

"All

nity, and brutal inſult, that it would be difficult to find a parallel for it in the diplomatic annals of Europe. This note has been juſtly deſcribed, by Mr. Burke, as a diplomatic curioſity. Perfidy, intrigues, ſubtile duplicity, and the uſe of the Punic ſtyle, were charged upon the Engliſh government; and the preſent overtures

"All theſe aſſertions are equally falſe.

"The notices given, in the Engliſh papers, of a miniſter having been ſent to Paris, there to treat of peace, bring to recollection the overtures of Mr. Wickham, to the Ambaſſador of the republic at Baſle, and the rumours circulated relative to the miſſion of Mr. Hammond to the Court of Pruſſia.

"The inſignificance, or rather the ſubtle duplicity, the punick ſtile of Mr. Wickham's note, is not forgotten. According to the partiſans of the Engliſh miniſtry, it was to Paris that Mr. Hammond was to come to ſpeak for peace: when his deſtination became public, and it was known that he went to Pruſſia, the ſame writer repeated that it was to accelerate a peace, and notwithſtanding the object, now well known, of this negociation, was to engage Pruſſia to break her treaties with the republic, and to return into the coalition.—The Court of Berlin, faithful to its engagements, repulſed theſe perfidious propoſitions. But in converting this intrigue into a miſſion for peace, the Engliſh miniſtry joined to the hope of giving a new enemy to France, that of juſtifying the continuance of the war in the eyes of the Engliſh nation, and of throwing all the odium of it on the French government. Such was alſo the aim of Mr. Wickham's note. Such is ſtill that of the notices given at this time in the Engliſh papers.

"This aim will appear evident, if we reflect how difficult it is, that the ambitious government of England ſhould ſincerely wiſh for a peace that would ſnatch from it its maritime preponderancy, would re-eſtabliſh the freedom of the ſeas, and would give a new impulſe to the Spaniſh, Dutch, and French marines, and would carry to the higheſt degree of proſperity the induſtry and commerce of thoſe nations in which it has always found rivals, and which it has conſidered as enemies of its commerce, when they were tired of being its dupes.

"But there will no longer be any credit given to the pacific intentions of the Engliſh miniſtry, when it is known, that its gold and its intrigues, its open practices, and its inſinuations, beſiege more than ever the Cabinet of Vienna, and are one of the principal obſtacles to the negotiation, which that Cabinet would of itſelf be induced to enter on for peace.

"They will no longer be credited, finally, when the moment of the rumour of theſe overtures being circulated is conſidered. The Engliſh nation ſupports impatiently the continuance of the war, a reply muſt be made to its complaints, its reproaches; the parliament is about to re-open its ſittings, the mouths of the orators who will declaim againſt the war muſt be ſhut, the demand of new taxes muſt be juſtified; and to obtain theſe reſults, it is neceſſary to be enabled to advance, that the French government refuſes every reaſonable propoſition of peace."

Official Note of the 5th of October.

An Official Note, dated Weſtminſter, 21ſt September, 1796, old ſtyle, 3d of Vendemiare, year V. tranſmitted on the 9th of this month (September 27.) to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, and by him laid before the Directory, required paſſports for an Envoy of the Britiſh Cabinet, who is to be ſent to Paris, to make overtures of peace.

The Executive Directory immediately paſſed a reſolution, by which the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs is charged to deliver the paſſports to the Britiſh Ambaſſador; who is expected to come furniſhed with full powers, not only to prepare and negotiate peace between the French Republic and Great Britain, but to conclude it definitively between the two countries.

If, then, the Engliſh government acts with good faith; if this ſtep, like all thoſe which it has hitherto taken as to the ſame object, is not intended to produce a belief that it is compelled to carry on the war; (that by producing ſuch belief it may have a pretext for demanding the funds which, with regret, the Engliſh people ſees it ſquandering;) if that government abjures an unjuſt hatred; if it yields to the wiſh of the nation, whoſe intereſts and happineſs are entruſted to it; if this be the caſe, there will no longer exiſt any impediment to the ſpeedy concluſion of a peace.

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of that government were said to be, as all its former had been, merely deceptious, unworthy of credit, and intended to reply to the complaints and reproaches of the English nation, which bore with impatience the continuance of the war. The reason which it assigned for disbelieving the sincerity of the British ministers is worthy of remark, as it shows that the Directory had resolved not to give their enemies a secure and honourable peace. The necessary consequences of a peace, it, with much frankness, declared to be, to raise up formidable commercial and naval rivals to this country; to snatch from us our maritime preponderancy; and, of course, to restore that which it was pleased to denominate, the freedom of the seas. What portion of this new-fangled freedom British vessels would be permitted to enjoy, it is not difficult to conjecture.

In less than a week, this note was followed by another, of the same offensive tenor. In this second note, however, the Directory, more openly than in the former, made the true revolutionary distinction between the governors and the governed; and took upon themselves to declare that the British people wished for peace, and saw with regret the ministers squandering the supplies which had been granted. The British government was likewise called upon to abjure its unjust hatred, and to open its ears to the voice of humanity; and it was warned that it must authorize its ambassador to sign a definitive treaty between the two powers; or, in other words, that it must abandon its allies.

Oct. 5.

The republican rulers had not even yet exhausted their stock of invective. In a message to the Council of Five hundred, desiring that English merchandize might be prohibited, they seized the opportunity of again attributing perfidy to the British cabinet, and affirming that the overtures which it had made, were only for the purpose of inducing the parliament to vote the supplies which were wanting for another campaign.

Oct. 16.

It was under these sinister auspices that the British plenipotentiary arrived in the French capital. The task of negotiating was entrusted to Lord Malmesbury; who had already distinguished himself in several embassies, and whose talents and manners, had not the declared sentiments and principles of the enemy been such as we have seen, might have justified the most favourable hopes of his bringing the treaty to a successful conclusion. To conduct the business on their part, the Directory nominated their minister for foreign affairs, M. Delacroix.

Oct. 22.

The customary exchange of credentials having been performed, the negotiation was opened by the delivery of a memorial*, in which Lord Malmesbury proposed that, as a preliminary step, the principle of compensation should be admitted, to form the basis of the definitive arrangements. On this principle, he declared, that his Majesty was willing to make, from his con-

Oct. 24.

*For the Papers relative to the Negotiation, see State Papers, page *211 to page *239.

queſts, proportionable reſtitutions for thoſe which France would be called on to make, in order to ſatisfy his allies, and preſerve the balance of Europe. The application of this principle to the various objects of diſcuſſion, would, he added, be more particularly explained, as ſoon as the principle itſelf was agreed to by the Directory. M. Delacroix having enquired whether his Lordſhip was furniſhed with powers to treat for the allies of Great Britain, Lord Malmeſbury informed him that, on the Directory acceding to the propoſition which he had made, he would diſpatch couriers, to receive inſtructions from the different courts.

Two days after this memorial was preſented to them, the Directory ordered their miniſter to communicate their reply, which ſeems to have been ſtudiouſly drawn up in the moſt offenſive terms. It would, indeed, have ſufficiently juſtified the Britiſh ambaſſador in demanding to receive immediately either a retractation and apology, or paſſports to return to England. Commencing with an aſſertion that the propoſal of his Lordſhip offered nothing but dilatory or very diſtant means of bringing the negotiation to a cloſe, it cenſured him for not conſenting to a ſeparate treaty; denied his right to treat for the allied powers; and ſhewed a manifeſt diſinclination to ſuffer thoſe powers to become parties to any treaty between England and France. Proceeding in a ſtill ruder ſtrain, it more than inſinuated that his Lordſhip was acting under a maſk; that he had received ſecret inſtructions, of a nature hoſtile to his oſtenſible ones; and that the Britiſh government negotiated only for the purpoſe of preventing, by partial propoſitions, the general propoſitions of other ſtates, and of obtaining from the people of England, the means of continuing the war, by throwing on the republic the odium of a delay, which was occaſioned by themſelves. The principle of retroceſſions was ſaid to be preſented in a vague and inſulated manner; and conſequently not admiſſible as a baſis of negotiation; and a plain hint was given, that England was not now in a ſituation to defend thoſe conqueſts which ſhe had made when ſhe was ſeconded by the forces of all the coaleſced ſovereigns. The Directory, however, condeſcended ſo much, as to declare that, when Lord Malmeſbury ſhould have produced ſufficient authority to treat for the allies of Great Britain, and a promiſe from thoſe allies to ſubſcribe the conditions agreed upon, they would haſten to give an anſwer to the ſpecific propoſitions which his Lordſhip ſhould ſubmit to them, and that the difficulties ſhould be removed, as far as might be conſiſtent with the ſafety and dignity of the French republic.

The neceſſity of communicating to the Britiſh cabinet this ſtrange note from the Directory, ſuſpended, for more than a fortnight, the progreſs of the buſineſs. The journals notoriouſly under the influence of the republican rulers, were, in the mean time, laviſh in their libellous comments on the conduct of the Britiſh ambaſſador, and the Britiſh government. On the

Nov. 12. the return of the courier from London, Lord Malmesbury hastened to resume the negotiation. The temperate tone of the note which he delivered on this occasion, formed a striking contrast to the haughtiness and rudeness of that to which he replied. Language somewhat more strong than it employed, would, perhaps, have been neither unsuitable nor impolitic. Referring to the offensive and injurious insinuations, as they were justly called, which had been thrown out by the Directory, it stated that his Majesty deemed it far beneath his dignity to permit an answer to be made to them; and it reminded the republican government, that a sincere wish to accomplish the great work of peace, was not to be evinced by reciprocal invectives, nor by revolting and groundless reproaches. With respect to a separate treaty, it declared, that the powers of his Lordship did not authorize him to accede to it, as they had been erroneously said to do; and that his instructions strictly enjoined him to listen to no proposal which tended to divide the interests of the King of Great Britain from those of the sovereigns in alliance with him. It remarked, that a very useless delay would be created, by refusing to discuss, even provisionally, the principles of the negotiation, before a formal and definitive authority was received from the allies of his Majesty. At the same time his Majesty hoped that he should find in the Emperor the same disposition to treat, upon an equitable basis, of which that monarch had given so striking a proof, at the moment of opening the campaign; and, on his part, he promised to omit nothing which could dispose his allies to facilitate the return of peace, on just, honourable, and permanent conditions. The Directory, on their side, were called upon to give a precise and frank explanation, as to the acceptance of the principle of compensation, which had been proposed by his Lordship, as the ground-work of the treaty.

To this note the Directory replied instantly, and in a manner which surpassed all that they had hitherto done. The style which they thought proper to adopt was, however, generally reprobated, even by the partisans of a republican government. They required Lord Malmesbury to point out expressly, and without the smallest delay, the objects of reciprocal compensation; and they likewise called on him to show what disposition to treat had been manifested by his Imperial Majesty, they being entirely ignorant of any such disposition.

To these demands his Lordship answered, that the objects of compensation could not be pointed out till the principle itself was admitted; and that the manifestation of the Emperor's readiness to treat might be found in a note of the Baron d'Egelman, presented on the fourth of June, after the armistice was broken on the Rhine.

Willing to hope that the Directory might be brought to give a more decorous reply to his former communication, Lord Malmesbury requested to know whether the brief note which he had received must be considered as their answer. He was laconically

told, in a billet of five lines, that it was to be ſo conſidered. Another billet, equally laconic, enquired whether it would be neceſſary for him to diſpatch a courier to his court, for ſpecial inſtructions, every time that an official communication was made to him from the Directory. Nearly five weeks now elapſed, during which the negotiation was entirely at a ſtand. At length, the Directory having explicitly admitted the principle of compenſation, the buſineſs again went forward. A conference with the French plenipotentiary was obtained by Lord Malmeſbury. In the courſe of it his Lordſhip preſented, to M. Delacroix, two confidential memorials, on the principal objects of reſtitution, compenſation, and reciprocal arrangement, between the allied powers on the one ſide, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other. They were accompanied by an official note, in which his Lordſhip declared his readineſs to enter into every proper explanation, and to diſcuſs, with frankneſs and a conciliatory ſpirit, the propoſitions which he had offered, or any counter-project, which might be tranſmitted to him on the part of the Directory.

Dec. 17.

The firſt memorial related entirely to England and France. It propoſed the reſtitution of the whole of the Emperor's dominions, on the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum*; the re-eſtabliſhment of peace with the empire, the arrangements for which ſhould be negotiated with the Emperor, as legitimate head of the Germanic body; and the evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country, which ſhould be placed, as far as poſſible, in the ſame ſituation as they were before the war. The admiſſion of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and the Queen of Portugal, in the negotiation, and without any burthenſome condition being required from the latter ſovereign, was likewiſe demanded. In return for theſe conceſſions, his Majeſty offered to reſtore all the conqueſts which he had made from France; reſerving, however, to himſelf the power of claiming a compenſatory equivalent, in caſe he ſhould conſent to waive the right which the treaty of Utrecht gave him, to oppoſe the transfer of the Spaniſh portion of St. Domingo to the French republic. The removal of all ſequeſtrations, and the ſatisfaction of the juſt claims which individuals on either ſide might have to make upon the reſpective governments, were the laſt points which the memorial indicated for inſertion in the future treaty.

The ſecond memorial laid down the baſis on which his Majeſty was ready to negotiate with Spain and Holland. With reſpect to the former, it obſerved, that no conqueſts having been made by either of the ſovereigns, the only queſtion to enter into was the mere re-eſtabliſhment of peace, without any ceſſion or compenſation whatever; except, perhaps, ſuch as might reſult from the effect of applying the principle, already mentioned, with regard to the tranſfer of Spaniſh St. Domingo. As to the republic of the United Provinces, it ſtated, that the allies were too much intereſted in the political ſituation of thoſe provinces,

ces, to be able to conſent in her favour to the re-eſtabliſhment of the *ſtatus ante bellum* with reſpect to territorial poſſeſſions, unleſs France could, on her part, reinſtate them in the ſame political ſituation in which they ſtood before the war. If it were poſſible to reſtore in thoſe provinces the ancient conſtitution, and form of government, his Majeſty might then relax very conſiderably in his demands; but not otherwiſe; and if the republic of Holland was to continue in its preſent ſtate, no reſtitutions of any kind could be admitted, except in as far as they were compenſated by arrangements calculated to contribute to the ſafety of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The ceſſions which France had exacted from Holland, were referred to, as furniſhing the means of making theſe arrangements. In concluſion, the memorial lightly touched on the neceſſity of providing for the intereſt and the rights of the Houſe of Orange.

The memorial which related to England and France was the firſt which Lord Malmeſbury preſented to M. Delacroix. It was, at the very outſet, conſidered by the French miniſter as liable to inſurmountable objections. He firſt pleaded, that the French conſtitution, as it was interpreted by the beſt publiciſts, rendered it impoſſible for the republic to do that which it was required to do; and he expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that the Britiſh government ſhould make the retroceſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands a governing condition of the treaty, when it well knew that the territory in queſtion was irrevocably annexed to France. This reaſoning was combated, at ſome length, and with great force of argument, by Lord Malmeſbury, who, among other things, reminded him that France, at the time when ſhe made her conſtitution, well knew the treaties by which England and Auſtria were reciprocally bound, and by which the former power guaranteed the dominions of the latter. M. Delacroix now ſhifted his ground, and argued that it was neceſſary for France to retain the Low Countries, in order to have a counterpoiſe to the vaſt acquiſitions which had been gained by many of the other European powers. He ſeemed to conſider our Indian empire, and our extended trade, or, as he called it, monopoly of trade, as alone ſufficient to juſtify the retention for which he contended. In the next place he urged the advantage of leaving this territory in the poſſeſſion of the republic. The Rhine was, he ſaid, the natural boundary of France, and her extending her limits to that river would enſure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come. Laſtly, he threw out the idea of indemnifying the Emperor by an equivalent; which, however, was not to be found in any thing belonging to France, but in the ſecularization of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, and of ſeveral biſhoprics in Germany and Italy. This ſeemed to be a favourite project with him; and, though it had been immediately rejected by Lord Malmeſbury, he again brought it forward in the courſe of the converſation. On all theſe points he was fully anſwered by the Britiſh ambaſſador. Lord Malmeſbury having declared that the Nether-

lands could not be given up, M. Delacroix terminated this branch of the conference, by expreſſing his fears that the point which they had been diſcuſſing would prove an inſuperable bar to the concluſion of a treaty,

The mention of Portugal and Ruſſia naturally led M. Delacroix to ſpeak of the allies of France; and this gave Lord Malmeſbury an opportunity of preſenting the ſecond memorial. The ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo was the firſt object of diſcuſſion. This his Lordſhip ſhewed to be directly in violation of the treaty of Utrecht. To that treaty, however, M. Delacroix did not pay much reſpect. Holland was the next ſubject of debate. On this head M. Delacroix enlarged very much; contending, that if the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomalé were ceded to Great Britain, they would more than counterbalance the acquiſition of the Netherlands by the French republic.

At the cloſe of the conference he reverted to the ſubject of the Netherlands, and aſked whether the principle which his Lordſhip had laid down with regard to them would not admit of being in ſome manner modified. To this his Lordſhip anſwered, that if France would, in a counter project, point out a practicable and adequate way of effecting the ſame purpoſe, ſtill keeping in view that the provinces muſt not be French, nor likely to become ſo, the propoſal would certainly be taken into conſideration. M. Delacroix, however, did not himſelf hope that the reſult of the buſineſs would be favourable; as he again repeatedly declared, that the difficulty reſpecting the Netherlands was one which could never be overcome.

M. Delacroix was but too well juſtified in his ſiniſter prognoſtics. On the following day, the Directory ſent to require peremptorily that Lord Malmeſbury would ſign the two confidential memorials, and that he would deliver his ultimatum within twenty-four hours. To the firſt demand his Lordſhip demurred; alleging, that it was quite unuſual to ſign memorials which were accompanied by a ſigned note. But, at length, unwilling to leave a pretext for breaking off the negotiation on a mere punctilio, he conſented to give his ſignature. The ultimatum he neceſſarily refuſed, as impoſſible to be given in the preſent poſture of affairs. At the ſame time he once more preſſed the Directory for a counter-project, which he promiſed ſhould be diſcuſſed with a candid and pacific ſpirit.

The reply was, an order to leave Paris in eight and forty hours. It was inſultingly added, that, if the Britiſh cabinet wiſhed for peace, the Directory was willing to continue the negotiation, by the reciprocal channel of couriers. Lord Malmeſbury had now no alternative but to ſubmit to the mandate of the republican rulers, and he accordingly quitted the French capital on the twenty-firſt of December.

Three days after the departure of his Lordſhip, there appeared, in the newſpaper employed and paid for by the Directory, an article*

* This article, having been omitted in the State papers of the preſent volume, will be inſerted among thoſe of the volume for 1797.

intended

intended to vindicate their recent conduct, and which evidently proceeded from themſelves. This curious compoſition was, from beginning to end, a tiſſue of violence, abſurdity and falſehood. The firſt half of it was occupied by a repetition of the common charges of inſincerity and perfidy againſt the Britiſh government, and by a virulent perſonal attack upon the Britiſh ambaſſador, who was deſcribed as being generally known for his duplicity and intrigue. Almoſt the whole of the remainder was taken up with a laboured perverſion of the meaning of the two memorials, which were artfully inſinuated to have been the ultimatum on the part of Lord Malmeſbury. No pains were ſpared to miſrepreſent them, and to hold them up to the indignation of the French people, as imperiouſly demanding nothing leſs than the ſacrifice of the national intereſts and honour. The cloſe of this ſtate paper was worthy of all the other parts. It laviſhed the foulеſt abuſe on the Britiſh government, and predicted that Auſtria would ſoon be compelled to relinquiſh the conteſt; and that, then, "England ſtanding by itſelf, and juſtly expoſed to all the reſentment of the French, would not be able to diſſemble its weakneſs, and would receive with more gentleneſs a peace which it now dared to diſdain."

The rupture of the negotiation was officially announced by the Britiſh cabinet, in a long and eloquent note*; which was, in truth, a finiſhed hiſtory of the inſolence of the French rulers, and the ſubmiſſive patience of the Britiſh government. It demonſtrated, that the former had omitted nothing which could manifeſt their haughtineſs and hatred, and that the latter had ſhown a ſtubborn and almoſt unaccountable perſeverance in diſregarding the numerous and goading inſults with which it had been loaded. This note did not cloſe, as might have been expected, by calling on the country to put forth all its ſtrength to chaſtiſe and humble the pride of the enemy, but by lamenting that which had happened, and by giving a new and ſolemn pledge that his Majeſty would be ready again to negotiate, whenever it pleaſed the republicans to manifeſt an equitable and conciliatory ſpirit. Dec. 27.

CHAP. XV.

State of the public mind. Various claſſes of diſcontented perſons. Diſcontent increaſed by ſevere ſcarcity. Riots in conſequence of the ſcarcity, and of abuſes in the mode of enliſting for the army. Activity of the London Correſponding Society. It calls a meeting of the populace in St. George's Fields. Addreſs to the Nation and the King voted by the multitude. Eight reſolutions paſſed. Inflammatory language employed in the Addreſſes.

* See State Papers, p. *235.

The Reſolutions contain an implied cenſure of both Houſes of Parliament. The Society calls a ſecond meeting, which is held in a field near Copenhagen Houſe. Treaſonable pamphlets ſold at the meeting. The multitude vote an Addreſs to the Nation, a Remonſtrance to the King, and fifteen Reſolutions. The ſame inflammatory language is uſed, as on the former occaſion. Opening of Parliament. The King is inſulted, and fired at, on his way to the Houſe. He is expoſed to great danger on his return from St. James's to Buckingham Houſe. Addreſs to his Majeſty, voted by both houſes. Two Proclamations iſſued by government; the one offering a reward for the apprehenſion of thoſe who committed the outrages againſt his Majeſty; and the other connecting thoſe outrages with the previous proceedings of the London Correſponding Society. The Miniſters reſolve to bring forward repreſſive meaſures. Two Bills are framed, the one for the protection of his Majeſty's perſon, and the other for preventing ſeditious meetings. Principal clauſes of the firſt bill. The Bill is introduced into the Houſe of Peers, by Lord Grenville. It is ſeverely attacked by Lord Lauderdale, the Duke of Bedford, and others, as deſtructive of Britiſh liberty. Speech of Lord Grenville, on the ſecond reading of the bill. The bill is again ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Lord Lauderdale, and the Duke of Bedford. It is defended by the Earl of Mansfield. Speeches of various Peers on the doctrine of reſiſtance. The ſecond reading is carried. Warm debate on the bill in the Committee. Various amendments propoſed. Lord Thurlow expreſſes his diſapprobation of ſome of the clauſes. Reply of the Lord Chancellor. Offence given by the language of the Biſhop of Rocheſter. Brief debate on the report of the bill. Spirited debate on the third reading. The bill is vehemently oppoſed by the oppoſition Lords, but is finally paſſed through the Upper Houſe.

INVOLVED in a haraſſing, expenſive, and ſeemingly interminable war, with an enemy not leſs inveterate than powerful, the Britiſh government had at home to guard, with an inceſſant vigilance, againſt the projects and attempts of a numerous, active, and ſtrongly hoſtile faction. The cry of diſcontent and diſaffection grew more violent from day to day. Many of thoſe who were adverſe to the preſent ſtate of things were, doubtleſs, only deſirous to obtain a reform in the Houſe of Commons; others were excited to oppoſition ſolely by the burthens and privations which the war occaſioned; but the majority of the malecontents, though they covered themſelves with the maſk of parliamentary reform, certainly conſiſted of perſons thoroughly imbued with democratical principles, and who, notwithſtanding the dreadful example of France, were ready, at all hazards, to tread in the ſanguinary footſteps of the French revolutioniſts. By this latter party no arts were neglected, which could four and pervert the public mind. Hand-bills, ballads, and cheap pamphlets, with titles calculated to catch the populace, were laviſhly diſtributed; and inflammatory lectures and harangues were as liberally employed, in aid of the preſs. Unfortunately, theſe exertions were but too well ſeconded, by a ſcarcity, approaching to famine, which bore

bore heavily on the lower claſſes, and which they were carefully taught to conſider as being entirely occaſioned by the preſent faulty ſyſtem of government, and the conteſt with the French republic, which conteſt had long been repreſented to them in the light of a wicked conſpiracy againſt the freedom of the human race. From want of inſtruction, rather than from malignity, the poor have, at all times, been ſufficiently ready to attribute to their rulers thoſe evils which they ſuffer from natural cauſes. On this occaſion, when to the ſtimulus of want was daily added the ſtimulus of jacobinical doctrines, it is not to be wondered, that their feelings broke out into acts of violence. In the courſe of the ſummer, various riots and tumultuous aſſemblies occurred, in different parts of the country, in conſequence of the dearneſs of proviſions; while, in the metropolis other diſturbances took place, which were excited by the truly objectionable manner in which men were inveigled into the military ſervice, by the recruiting agents, or crimps, as they are commonly denominated. So irritated were the populace againſt the crimps, that they nearly demoliſhed ſeveral houſes, and entirely deſtroyed the furniture, of ſome of the obnoxious individuals; nor could theſe tumults be ſuppreſſed, till an armed force was called in, and even then not without conſiderable difficulty.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed that, in ſuch a ſtate of things, the London Correſponding Society, the great center and rallying point of the diſcontented, was not idle. There was, indeed, no pretext to accuſe the ſociety of indolence. Independently of its ſecret though not leſs ſtrenuous and effective operations, it convened two aſſemblies of the populace, for the benevolent purpoſe of enlightening them, as to their rights and ſufferings, and giving them an opportunity to expreſs their diſſatisfaction. The firſt of theſe was held in St. George's Fields. *

An addreſs to the nation, and another to the king, were brought forward by ſome members of the ſociety, and voted by the multitude. June 29, 1795.

The addreſs to the nation was bombaſtic and contemptible, with regard to ſtyle, but was fraught with dreadful meaning. It ſeems ſcarcely poſſible, by any ſtretch of charitable candour, to believe, that the propoſers of it did not deſign to ſtimulate the people to take up arms. The people, among other things, were informed "that ſomething muſt be done;" that "their chief, perhaps their only hope was in themſelves;" that their "mental energy would ſoon be ſeconded by determined reſolution;" that "they would not much longer permit their fellow-citizens to be dragged from their peaceful occupations to fight againſt the liberties of mankind, nor ſuffer their wives and children to be robbed of that ſcanty loaf, which, inſtead of preſerving them from ſtarving, was ſent to feed ſubſidized cut-throats and foreign mercenaries;" and it was added, that they muſt "away

* For the Addreſſes, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *137, to p. *140.

with

with cold calculations of ſafety or prudence,—with paltry expedients and ill-timed fears." That they might not be at a loſs to diſcover the proper victims, they were reminded of "the ſhameful negligence of thoſe who held that power which ought to be entruſted to none but their *real* repreſentatives;" they were aſſured that "the Miniſters exported their food to foreign mercenaries;" and finally their vengeance was prompted againſt the cultivators of the ſoil, by an inſidious mention of the ſevere "extortions of private avarice and monopoly." After this, they were gravely adviſed, to endeavour, "by every legal and conſtitutional mode, to procure their natural and undoubted rights;" which rights were aſſerted to be "univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments."

The general tenor of the addreſs to the king was leſs offenſive. But, though this addreſs was drawn up in ſtudiouſly guarded terms, ſo difficult was it for them to hide their real ſentiments, that the framers of it more than once deviated into the language of inſult and menace. His Majeſty was ſneeringly told, that the addreſſers "were convinced that reflection and experience are not *always* baniſhed from kingly boſoms;" and he was warned that to put an immediate period to the war was eſſentially neceſſary for his own "perſonal ſecurity."

The buſineſs of the day was concluded by the paſſing of eight reſolutions, of a tendency ſimilar to the preceding addreſſes. In one inſtance, however, they went to a greater length. They extended to the Houſe of Peers the ſame anathema which had previouſly been denounced againſt the Houſe of Commons. One of them declared that, the "conduct of citizens, Earl Stanhope, and R. B. Sheridan, had ſhewn the people that they had *one* honeſt man in *each* houſe of parliament." That the ſting of this proſe epigram might not be overlooked, it was printed in italic letters.

Three days previouſly to the meeting of parliament was the period which the ſociety choſe, for the ſecond time of calling together its partizans. The meeting was held in a field, near Copenhagen Houſe, and was more numerouſly attended than the former. Not leſs than a hundred and fifty thouſand perſons, of both ſexes, are ſaid to have been preſent. The proceedings alſo were of a more daring kind than thoſe which took place in June. Harangues of greater violence were delivered, and pamphlets of the moſt incendiary and treaſonable nature were openly ſold. Among theſe was one in favour of regicide, and another, which bore the title of "The reign of George the Laſt." The regular buſineſs of the day was opened by a perſon of the name of Binns, who propoſed an addreſs to the nation,* a remonſtrance to the king, and fifteen reſolutions. October 26.

In its addreſs, the ſociety, after ſome preliminary remarks, and a brief mention of its increaſing numbers, proceeded to complain, that its petition to the king had either been ſuppreſſed, or paſſed over with contempt. If the firſt were the caſe, the miniſters had been guilty of high treaſon againſt

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. *140 to *146.

the

the lives and liberties of the nation; but if the latter was the caſe, his Majeſty, it was ſaid, ſhould recollect that, when he ceaſed to conſult the intereſts and happineſs of the people, he would ceaſe to be reſpected. Then, having drawn a frightful picture of the ſtate of the country, the addreſs once more held out monopoly and parliamentary corruption as the ſole cauſes of the ſufferings of the people. The charge of monopoly, in particular, was urged with perſevering malignity, and the poor were taught to believe, that the late harveſt had been abundant, but that its bleſſings were withheld from them by inſatiable avarice. Reform was loudly called for, and it was ſignificantly added, "we cannot anſwer for the ſtrong and all-powerful impulſe of neceſſity, nor always reſtrain the aggravated feelings of inſulted human nature. If ever the Britiſh nation ſhould loudly demand ſtrong and deciſive meaſures—we boldly anſwer—"we have lives"—and are ready to devote them, either ſeparately or collectively, for the ſalvation of our country." After this unequivocal and daring language, the piece concluded by a politic profeſſion of a deſire to obtain a reform by peaceable methods alone.

The remonſtrance to the king was full of inſinuations, aſſertions, and alluſions, which could only be meant, and could not fail, to offend the monarch, and excite the people to regard him with hatred or contempt. A want of gratitude, of regal virtue, and of prudence, in the ſovereign, was more than hinted by theſe decorous remonſtrators, who ended by adviſing him to "think of the abyſs between ſupplication and deſpair;" and by giving it as their opinion, that nothing ſhort of a reform in parliament, the removal of the miniſters, and a ſpeedy concluſion of a peace, could ſave the country, or ſecure to him the attachment of the people.

In the reſolutions, monopoly, the war, the national debt, and univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments, occupied a conſpicuous place. But it was in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of theſe reſolutions, that the principles and views of the Society were moſt clearly viſible. By theſe it was diſtinctly affirmed that little was to be expected from the executive part of the government; that the period was not far diſtant when Britons muſt no longer depend upon any party of men, for the recovery of their liberties; and that the only hope of the people was in themſelves.

Before the ferment, which ſuch a meeting and ſuch language muſt naturally have excited in the minds of the lower claſſes, had had time to ſubſide, his Majeſty went down to the Parliament Houſe, for the purpoſe of opening the ſeſſion. An unprecedented multitude of people aſſembled on this occaſion. By half paſt two o'clock, the park, and the ſtreets as far as the parliament houſe, were crowded by more than a hundred thouſand perſons, of both ſexes, and of various deſcriptions. The crowd was, doubtleſs, increaſed by a rumour, which, for obvious purpoſes, had previouſly been ſpread, that a riot was likely to take place. October, 29.

As his Majeſty paſſed along, he was

was received with inceſſant hiſſes, hootings, groanings, and numberleſs exclamations, among which were "no Pitt," "no war," "no famine," "give us bread," "no King," and "down with George." The latter cries were ſeconded by actual violence. Several ſtones, and other miſſiles, were flung at the carriage, and, when it reached St. Margaret Street, one of the windows was perforated by ſome ſubſtance, which, from the abſence of exploſion, the rapidity of its flight, and its having made only a circular aperture in the glaſs, muſt have been a bullet diſcharged by an air-gun. On his way back to St. James's the ſame outrages were practiſed by the populace. After he had quitted the ſtate carriage it was diſpatched to the Mews, but, before it could reach there, it was nearly demoliſhed. When the ſovereign had already been expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, from the fury of a deluded mob, it is not a little aſtoniſhing, that thoſe who were about his perſon ſhould not only have taken no precautions, but ſhould have expoſed him, unprotected, to danger ſtill more alarming. Such, however, was the caſe. The king was ſuffered to return to Buckingham Houſe, in his private carriage, with only two footmen to attend him. Scarcely had the carriage proceeded a hundred yards, when it was ſtopped by a band of ruffians, the doors were torn open, and his Majeſty would, perhaps, have fallen a victim, had he not been ſaved by the coming up of ſome cavalry, who had juſt been relieved from guard.

Throughout the perils of the day, the King manifeſted the cooleſt courage. Even the ſhot which was fired at him did not produce the ſmalleſt change of countenance. He is ſaid, however, to have been much affected by the baſe injuſtice of being treated as the enemy of his people.

As ſoon as the ſpeech had been read from the throne, the bar of the Houſe of Lords was ordered to be cleared, and the Peers went into a Committee of Privilege, to enquire reſpecting the recent inſults which had been offered to his Majeſty. Witneſſes were examined, and ſome of the offenders were ultimately ſent to priſon.* An addreſs to his Majeſty was voted by the Lords, and concurred in by the Commons. In the converſation which took place, upon this addreſs, the Marquis of Lanſdown acrimoniouſly cenſured the conduct of the miniſters, and attributed the treaſonable proceedings of the day to a ſcheme planned by miniſters themſelves, for the purpoſe of terrifying the people into weak compliances, and retaining that abuſed power of which they ought to be diveſted.

On the part of the government, two proclamations were iſſued. The firſt, which appeared on the thirty-firſt of October, offered a reward of a thouſand pounds, for the apprehenſion of any perſon concerned in the late outrages. The ſecond was publiſhed on the fourth of November. It aſſerted a connection between the meeting

* For the trial of Kyd Wake, one of theſe offenders, ſee Appendix to the Chronicle, p. *113.

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at Copenhagen Houſe and the attack upon his Majeſty, and called upon all magiſtrates, and others, to aſſiſt in diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſeditious aſſemblies, and in apprehending thoſe who might be guilty of delivering inflammatory harangues, or of diſtributing ſeditious and treaſonable publications.

The miniſters had long watched, with ſerious and well-founded alarm, the growing ſtrength and audacity of the diſcontented party, and are believed to have deliberated upon repreſſive meaſures. Unwilling to encounter the popular odium, which, in a free country, naturally attaches to thoſe who bring forward reſtrictive laws, it is probable, however, that they would not have called for any additional enactments, had not the recent deſperate attack on his Majeſty ſtimulated them to take ſuch vigorous ſteps, as ſhould enable them to prevent the recurrence of ſimilar ſcenes, and bring criminals to juſtice with greater ſpeed and effect. Having at laſt reſolved to call on the legiſlature for more extenſive powers, they loſt no time in making the call. Two bills were accordingly framed, for the conſideration of parliament. The one was entitled "an Act for the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon and government, againſt treaſonable and ſeditious practices and attempts;" the other was named "a Bill for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies." The firſt of theſe was introduced into the Houſe of Peers by Lord Grenville; the ſecond into the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Pitt. No meaſure ever excited more debate in both houſes than theſe two bills, or produced a more powerful effect upon the public mind.

By the principal clauſe of Lord Grenville's bill, it was provided that any perſon or perſons who ſhould "within the realm or without, compaſs, imagine, deviſe, or intend, death or deſtruction, or any bodily harm tending to death or deſtruction, maim or wounding, impriſonment or reſtraint of the ſovereign or his heirs, or ſhould move or ſtir any foreigner or ſtranger to invade his Majeſty's dominions, and ſuch compaſſing, imaginations, inventions, devices, and intentions, ſhould expreſs, utter, or declare, by any printing, writing, preaching, or malicious and adviſed ſpeaking," ſhould be adjudged to be guilty of the crime of high treaſon. The bill further provided that any perſon, who "maliciouſly and adviſedly, by writing, printing, preaching, or other ſpeaking, ſhould expreſs, utter, or declare any words, ſentences, or other thing or things, to incite or ſtir up the people to hatred or diſlike of the perſon of his Majeſty," ſhould be liable to the penalty inflicted on high miſdemeanours, and, in caſe of a ſecond offence, ſhould be tranſported for ſeven years. Till the cloſe of the next ſeſſion of parliament, after a demiſe of the crown, was the period fixed for the duration of this law.

When he brought forward the bill, Lord Grenville declined entering, for the preſent, into any diſcuſſion upon its proviſions. He merely ſtated that the late proclamations, iſſued by government, were to be conſidered as the ground-work of it, and that it followed the precedents of acts

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paſſed in approved times, namely, in the reign of Elizabeth, and the commencement of the reign of Charles the Second. From thoſe precedents it had no further variations than ſuch as exiſting circumſtances and the temporary danger required. The bill he conceived to be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, to ſtop the progreſs of thoſe practices, which endangered the life of the ſovereign, and the ſafety of the ſtate. He then moved that the bill ſhould be printed, and the Lords ſummoned for the ſecond reading.

The meaſure was attacked by Lord Lauderdale, in terms of the ſevereſt reprobation. It was, he ſaid, propoſed to them, without there being a tittle of evidence to prove that it was neceſſary; it introduced a variety of new crimes and treaſons into the criminal code of the country, and totally altered the exiſting laws reſpecting treaſon; it would, if agreed to, annihilate every liberty and privilege which Engliſhmen now poſſeſſed; and what rendered it ſtill more alarming was, that it was manifeſtly intended for a permanent law. And who, he aſked, were the miniſters, who were to be entruſted with ſuch extraordinary powers? Men who had already ſtrained the penal ſtatutes to their utmoſt limit, involved the people in a ruinous and deſtructive war, and pertinaciouſly continued to act upon a perilous and inſane ſyſtem. In the old conſtitution of France there was, he declared, nothing more deſpotic, nothing more inconſiſtent with the freedom of Britons, than this bill was intended to create.

The Duke of Bedford alſo expreſſed his diſapprobation of it in a brief but pointed ſpeech; and hoped that, while they could yet do it, the people would aſſemble, and diſplay ſo marked and deciſive an hoſtility to the bill, that their Lordſhips would be induced to give it an early rejection.

In anſwer to Lord Lauderdale, Lord Grenville denied that the bill interfered, in the ſlighteſt degree, with the right of the people to meet, in legal and peaceable aſſemblies. In principle, the law now propoſed to be enacted had, he aſſerted, been for many years the law of the country, and, far from being an offence againſt the people, it was intended for their protection. The bill was nothing more than a bill to prevent treaſon, and none could be made to ſuffer by it, except perſons whoſe conduct and intentions were really wicked.

Lord Radnor took this opportunity to make a few remarks upon the law of treaſon. The ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third he conſidered as not ſufficiently definite, it having been thought to give encouragement to the doctrine of conſtructive treaſon. Strange as his language might, he ſaid, appear, he was ſo far from being afraid of conſtituting new treaſons, that he rather wiſhed to do ſo than not; as, by accurately defining what were treaſonable offences, men would be taught to know all the extent of their danger, and would conſequently ſee the neceſſity of conducting themſelves with prudence. Adverting to the recent ſtate trials, he at the ſame time ſtated that, acting as a juryman, and upon Chief Juſtice Eyre's addreſs to the jury, he would have acquitted the defendants, even though

though every article of the charge had been directly brought home to them.

The question being put, the printing of the bill was carried.

The second reading of the bill was moved, by Lord Grenville, on the tenth of November. Connecting the meeting at Copenhagen House with the outrages committed against his Majesty, he argued, that the law which he proposed was obviously requisite, to protect the person of the king, and the constitution of the country, from the recurrence of similar attacks. Except in some unimportant points, arising out of the difference of circumstances, the provisions of the bill varied in no ways from those which had been adopted, as prudent and wise, by our ancestors. They were, as he had before stated, drawn from enactments in the reigns of Elizabeth, and of Charles the Second. Difficulties having sometimes occurred, as to the manner of construing the acts now in force, the variations from them, in this bill, were intended to ascertain precisely the meaning which was to be given to the whole of the treason laws. Save that the bill proposed to include treasonable publications and discourse, as being equally criminal and dangerous with those offences already denominated treason, there were no punishments created for crimes which were not acknowledged as such by the existing laws. One alteration, that of omitting the words "malicious and advised speaking," he would move in the Committee, in order to bring the bill to a still closer conformity with the laws, as they at present stood. With regard to the clause relative to sedition, it neither interfered with the known statutes, nor prohibited legal meetings, It merely provided a more adequate punishment than, in the present state of things, could be inflicted, upon established guilt. All the other clauses of the bill were favourable to accused persons. He would, therefore, make no further observations, but wait to hear on what grounds those noble Lords proceeded, who had opposed the measure, in so high a tone, on its introduction into the House,

The noble Lords to whom he alluded, the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Lauderdale, were not backward in taking up the gauntlet, which he had thrown down to them. They, and especially the latter, attacked the bill, in all its parts, with considerable vehemence. In the first place they urged, that no case had been made out, nor even a solitary iota of evidence produced, to justify the bringing forward of such a manifestly obnoxious measure. The whole rested on the noble mover's bare assertions, of the notoriety of the facts, and the connection between the meeting at Copenhagen House, and the outrages committed against his Majesty's person. On a former occasion, when the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, there was, at least, the semblance of previous deliberation, and of evidence. But now, the strongest of measures, and the most destructive of British liberty, were to be passed, without proof or enquiry. With respect to the criminality of those who had insulted the monarch, and the strong abhorrence which ought to be felt of their conduct, the noble Lords declared that two opini-

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ons could not exiſt; but they pointedly denied that there was even the remoteſt connection between the London Correſponding Society and the riotous mob. Looking at the meaſure itſelf, which profeſſed to be to protect his Majeſty, they affirmed that, though potent for the deſtruction of freedom, it gave no additional ſecurity to the perſon of the ſovereign. It was impotent for good. As to the precedents, on which the noble Lord relied, they treated them with little deference. They neither thought that precedents drawn from the times of Elizabeth and Charles were ſuch as ought to be reſorted to by thoſe who admired the principles of our revolution; nor, ſuppoſing the precedents to be praiſe-worthy, that they were at all applicable to the preſent period. Why did not miniſters, they aſked, recur to better times, and take the ſtatute of Edward the Third for their model? Beſides, experience had ſhewn, that to viſit with ſevere puniſhments was not the ſureſt way to promote, in the hearts of the people the real love of the king, which was a monarch's beſt protection. Lord Grenville was ſarcaſtically thanked, for having given up one ſtrong point of the bill; and a hope was expreſſed, that a ſtrenuous oppoſition would induce him to give up more.

Bad, however, as was that part of the bill which related to treaſons, they conſidered as ſtill worſe that part of it which related to miſdemeanours; becauſe, in caſes of treaſon, where the life of a man was at ſtake, judges and juries proceeded with more caution, and conſequently the ſubject was better guarded than in caſes of miſdemeanour. From the wording of this clauſe they contended, in contradiction to the noble mover, that it created new crimes by new phraſes. Words were uſed in it, which had never been uſed before, and which were not capable of being accurately defined. Such were the words conſtitution and people, which were contained in no former act. A ſtill more dangerous innovation appeared to them to be the reſervation made in favour of members of parliament; a reſervation which indicated a deſign to reſtrain liberty of ſpeech to the members alone. To give latitude to judges, by any new powers, was alſo contended to be liable to ſerious objection.

By Lord Lauderdale, who ſtood foremoſt in oppoſing the bill, it was alſo urged, in addition, that it was imprudent to ſtrain laws to an oppreſſive extent, or enact others, ſubverſive of liberty; as, in ſuch caſes, the people might naturally be expected to reſort to force. This ſentiment ſeeming to diſpleaſe ſome of his hearers, he vindicated it, and reminded them, that great and well-known authorities bore him out in ſaying that certain times and circumſtances would not only juſtify reſiſtance, but render it a duty. Returning to the bill, he remarked that it omitted a clauſe, which was found in all preceding bills of a ſimilar kind; a clauſe which directed that peers ſhould be tried at the bar. This omiſſion might become hard upon the Scotch peers, as ſhould any one of them be tried for miſdemeanours, under this bill, he would be very differently ſituated from an Engliſh peer. He might, by the law of Scotland, be ſentenced to be

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transported, for fourteen years, for the offence of ſedition, the puniſhment of which, in this part of the kingdom, was limited, even upon a ſecond conviction, to a tranſportation for ſeven years.

The defence of the bill was undertaken by the Earl of Mansfield, who, admitting that there ought to be a great jealouſy ſhewn of entruſting the executive government with extraordinary powers, was ſtill convinced that the propoſed bill was a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure. It had, he ſaid, ever been the practice, to accommodate the laws of treaſon to the circumſtances which occurred, and to enact ſuch regulations as were required by the exigencies of the caſe. Adverting to the cenſure which had been thrown upon the precedents for the bill, he declared that he had heard with much ſurpriſe the arguments which had been adduced upon that head. With regard to the ſtatute of Elizabeth, he called to the recollection of their Lordſhips that it had received a ſanction ſince the revolution, by the principles which it contained having been copied into the ſtatute of Queen Anne. Reprobated, too, as were the times of Charles the Second, he would, nevertheleſs, venture to aſſert, that they were good times. It ought to be remembered that, at the era alluded to, the miniſter was the Earl of Clarendon, a man who, by his attachment to it, and by his virtues, had eſſentially contributed to preſerve the conſtitution; and whoſe conduct exhibited a model, worthy of being copied by every miniſter. Arguing upon the queſtion of applicability, he maintained the precedent of Charles the Second to be ſtrictly applicable to the preſent period; as, in the reign of that monarch, much of the leaven of republicaniſm ſtill remained; and there were alſo the fifth monarchy men, who differed indeed from modern republicans, who would tolerate no king whatever; while the fifth monarchy men were willing to admit of a king, of a certain deſcription. It had been aſſerted that the ſtatute of Edward the Third was ſufficient, but this aſſertion he conceived to be incorrect; that ſtatute furniſhing too many evaſions, and being liable to too many uncertainties, to be a ſuitable remedy, for ſuch an attack as had been made upon his Majeſty. Nor would he admit that the language of the bill was improper. The word conſtitution, which had been criticiſed and cenſured, he affirmed to be perfectly correct and parliamentary. He then defended the conduct of the Scotch tribunals, from the charge of harſhneſs which had been inſinuated againſt them, and declared his belief that the clauſe, to which Lord Lauderdale had objected, interfered with none of the privileges of the Scotch Lords, but left them exactly as it found them. He was likewiſe of opinion that no new treaſons were created by the bill, and that the puniſhment of tranſportation, during ſeven years, was not too rigorous for a ſecond offence, of ſuch a dangerous kind as ſedition.

Lord Grenville, in a conciſe reply to Lord Lauderdale, having intimated that the doctrine of reſiſtance was one on which as little as poſſible ought to be ſaid, the Duke of Norfolk ſpoke in defence of the doctrine, which, he contended, was a principle of the conſtitution;

ſtitution; the principle to which the Houſe of Brunſwick was indebted for its preſent elevated ſituation. The principle, it was true, ought not to be miſapplied, nor would he attempt to define the criſis when it would be proper to act upon it; but it ought, nevertheleſs, to be always held in remembrance by every lover of liberty. Some meaſure might eaſily have been propoſed, to prevent his Majeſty from being diſturbed in his paſſage to Parliament, an offence which was not ſufficiently guarded againſt by the ſtatute of Edward; but ſo thoroughly objectionable was the meaſure now brought before them, that he found himſelf compelled, he ſaid, to give his vote in the negative.

After ſome obſervations from the Earl of Abingdon, the Duke of Leeds, and Marquis Townſhend, the two former of whom expreſſed their diſlike of the bill, the Duke of Bedford cloſed the debate, by a brief ſpeech, in which he declared, that if the meaſure paſſed into a law, it would be ſuch an infringement of the conſtitution, as no man could contemplate without feelings of horror. The queſtion being put, the ſecond reading was carried by ſeventy-nine contents againſt eight not-contents; and the bill was ordered to be committed, on the following day.

The Houſe having, at the time fixed, reſolved itſelf into a committee, Lord Grenville made a motion, which was agreed to, to omit the words "malicious and adviſed ſpeaking." The Duke of Leeds then moved to inſert certain words of the ſtatute of Edward the Third, the chief purpoſe of which was, to make it neceſſary, in the indictment, to charge an overt act of treaſon. After a long and learned diſcuſſion, in which many peers, particularly the law lords, took a part, the amendment was withdrawn, and, on the ſuggeſtion of the Lord Chancellor, to the words "any printing, writing," were added the words "or other overt act." When the ſecond clauſe came under debate, the Duke of Leeds moved to ſubſtitute the phraſe, "eſtabliſhed conſtitution of this realm, conſiſting of king, lords, and commons," inſtead of the expreſſion the "eſtabliſhed government and conſtitution of this realm;" as being leſs liable to miſconſtruction. The propriety of this amendment was, however, doubted by the Lord Chancellor, who thought that it would leave an opening for artful ſeditious perſons to write atrocious libels on each ſeparate branch of the conſtitution, without incurring the penalties of the law.

Lord Thurlow, on the other hand, agreed with the noble mover of the amendment; and inſiſted on the difficulty of defining, with logical preciſion, the terms, government and conſtitution. As to the penal enactment of the clauſe, he thought it would be infinitely too ſevere, in many caſes, to which it might be applied. Was it, he aſked, ſo very criminal in any one to ſay that it was an abuſe for twenty acres of land, below Old Sarum Hill, to ſend two members to Parliament? Yet this might be conſtrued as tending to produce a diſlike of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. He was convinced that the laws of the country, as they now ſtood, were fully adequate to the reſtraint and puniſh-

puniſhment of thoſe crimes againſt which the clauſe was directed; and if thoſe crimes had been committed, and aſſumed a threatening aſpect, as they indiſputably had, it was not for want of proper laws, but becauſe the laws had not been vigilantly enforced, by the executive authority. Severe enactments, he believed, in general, to be very ill calculated to attain their purpoſe. In the preſent caſe, juries would probably rather acquit, than expoſe an individual, proſecuted under this bill, to a ſeven year's tranſportation. He was likewiſe ſtrongly adverſe to the clauſe which left it to the diſcretion of miniſters, whether they would proſecute or not. That the miniſters now in office would abuſe this power he did not ſuſpect; but it was undoubtedly open to great and dangerous abuſe; as ſome future miniſter might protect one culprit, and launch all the vengeance of the law upon another, or might, for ſiniſter ends, employ his creatures to commit treſpaſſes, from the puniſhment due to which he would be enabled to ſhield them. His lordſhip was, therefore, of opinion that the whole of the clauſe ought to be expunged.

Theſe obſervations were by no means pleaſing to ſome of the noble lords on the miniſterial ſide. They were commented upon by lords Mansfield and Grenville, the latter of whom pleaded that the laws now in being were not ſufficient, and that miniſters were reſponſible for any abuſe of their power. But the principal notice of them was taken by the Lord Chancellor. In behalf of the clauſe, he urged the magnitude of the crimes which it was intended to reſtrain, and the daily daring commiſſion of them. Did the bill, he aſked, really puniſh with too much ſeverity, thoſe who taught that royalty was an uſurpation, that ariſtocracy was a nuiſance, and that the people were ſlaves, who ought to break their chains? With reſpect to the clauſe which provided that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted, except by order of the king or his council, he thought it ſo far from being objectionable, that he admired it, becauſe it prevented the odium from attaching upon any particular individual, and, by rendering the Secretary of State and the council reſponſible for the indictment of every perſon, it became a check upon government, and retarded proſecution. Under ſuch circumſtances, the Secretary of State and the Council would, of courſe, be cautious in what manner they acted. The diſcretionary power, which was the ſubject of alarm and complaint, was, he ſaid, already, in truth, poſſeſſed by the government. The Attorney-General might file an information, and follow it up by an indictment, and then, with a writ of *noli proſequi*, all further proceedings might be quaſhed. The clauſe was, therefore, for the reaſons before given, rather beneficial than otherwiſe.

Theſe arguments, however, were not deemed concluſive by the Earl of Lauderdale, who contended that the reaſonings of Lord Thurlow remained unſhaken. The diſcretion which was allowed to miniſters he perſiſted in treating as highly improper, and he declared that he would rather truſt it to the Attorney-General than to miniſters; the Attorney-General being

a man accuſtomed to exerciſe his reaſon, and examine and compare facts, previouſly to drawing his concluſions; while, on the contrary, the members of the Privy Council were, from habit, diſpoſed to ſee things through a medium. Alluding to a caſe, which will be noticed in the next chapter, he alleged that it was eaſy to conceive that there might be, at the head of affairs, men who would puniſh with mercileſs fury the libeller of one branch of the conſtitution, while they would cheriſh and reward the libeller of the other; men who would proſcribe and hunt down the friends of thoſe principles which placed his Majeſty on the throne, while they would openly extend their patronage to the ſlaviſh advocates of high prerogative doctrines.

After ſome debate, the amendment propoſed by the Duke of Leeds was negatived; and, with reſpect to the duration of the puniſhment, an amendment was adopted, leaving it to the judgment of the court, to tranſport for any period, not exceeding ſeven years.

In the ſubſequent converſation, the biſhop of Rocheſter gave great offence, by his unguarded and unconſtitutional language. Common ſpeculative and philoſophical diſquiſitions might, he ſaid, ſtill be written and publiſhed; though he always thought they did more harm than good. The bill was merely directed againſt thoſe idle and ſeditious meetings, for the diſcuſſion of the laws, where the people were not competent to decide upon them. In fact, he did not know what the maſs of the people, in any country, had to do with the laws, but to obey them.

This ſpeech called forth a pointed cenſure, from the Earl of Lauderdale, and the Duke of Bedford. The latter attributed it to the noble prelate's ſcanty knowledge of the conſtitution of his country; and the former declared that, had he heard it in Turkey, from the mouth of a Mufti, he ſhould have accounted for it from the ſpeaker's ignorance, his religious doctrines, or the deſpotic nature of the government; but to hear it in a Britiſh Houſe of Peers, from a Britiſh biſhop, excited his utmoſt wonder.

In explanation, the biſhop ſtated that any body of individuals, who felt themſelves oppreſſed by any partial law, had a right, he conceived, to meet and repreſent their grievances to the legiſlature; as had formerly been done by the ſnuff manufacturers, and the Weſt India planters, with reſpect to the ſlave trade, and the exciſe on ſnuff.

The houſe having divided upon the clauſe, it was carried by forty-five votes againſt three; and the report of the committee was ordered to be received on the morrow.

When the report was brought up, the duke of Leeds again propoſed his amendment, but without ſucceſs. The debate on the report was ſhort, and marked by leſs aſperity than the preceding debates. The principal ſpeaker was the duke of Bedford, who contended that the laws, as they now ſtood, were ſufficiently ſtrong, and lamented that we ſhould be extending our criminal code, at the very period when all other civilized countries were contracting theirs.

When, however, the final reading of the bill came on, the noble lords, who had been the chief oppo-

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ponents of the meaſure, renewed their oppoſition, with increaſed vigour. At the opening of the diſcuſſion, the Earl of Lauderdale moved for a copy of any examination taken by the ſecretary of ſtate, or before the privy council, on the ſubject of the attack made on his Majeſty's perſon. His object he ſtated to be, to obtain ſome evidence which, by connecting the ſocieties with the aſſailants of the ſovereign, might juſtify the paſſing of the preſent extraordinary bill. The motion was reſiſted by Lord Grenville, and the Lord Chancellor, on the ground that miniſters hoped to trace the crime to its ſource, and that it would, therefore, be highly imprudent to publiſh ſuch evidence as might warn the culprits of their danger. It was, at length, withdrawn by the noble propoſer; but not without his having, in ſtrong terms, expreſſed a firm conviction that the miniſters had no expectation of making any diſcoveries, and only uſed the pretence, for the purpoſe of deluding the Houſe.

The bill having been read, Lord Lauderdale moved a clauſe, to extend its operation to Scotland; or rather to prohibit any proſecutions being inſtituted there, otherwiſe than under this act, for any offence which came within the proviſions of the act. This clauſe was intended to prevent the crime of ſedition from being puniſhed with greater ſeverity in Scotland than in England; there being a probability that, by indicting at common law, inſtead of proceeding on this ſtatute, the Scotch tribunals would be enabled to inflict a double quantum of puniſhment.

This obvious inſinuation againſt the Scotch tribunals was animadverted upon, by Earl Mansfield, who contended that the clauſe was brought forward in an irregular manner, and was wholly unneceſſary; there being no reaſon whatever to interfere with the long eſtabliſhed Scotch ſyſtem of criminal juſtice, under which the people had lived happy and contented, and againſt which they had not preſented a ſingle petition. The Earl of Hopetoun was of a ſimilar opinion. In reply, Lord Lauderdale ſeverely cenſured the preſent Scotch ſyſtem, denied it to be the real law of the land, and charged the defenders of the cenſured ſyſtem, with a deſign to introduce it into England, at no diſtant period. The clauſe was then negatived, without a diviſion.

The houſe having diſpoſed of theſe attempts to modify the bill, the Duke of Bedford roſe, and, at conſiderable length, again arraigned the principle of the bill. So overwhelming, he declared, was his anxiety of mind, and ſo powerfully did his feelings impel him to make another ſtruggle, that he could not remain ſilent, although he deſpaired of urging much that was new in point of reaſoning, or of producing any beneficial effect. He, accordingly, once more went over thoſe arguments which he had formerly urged, and which he now laboured to place in as ſtriking a light as poſſible. The moſt conſpicuous of theſe arguments were, the total want of evidence to juſtify the bill; the nullity of the bill, as far as related to its avowed purpoſe, the protection of the King's perſon; the folly of ſuppoſing that exceſſive ſeverity was the beſt mode of deterring from the commiſſion of

offences; the danger of entruſting miniſters with ſuch extravagant powers; and, laſtly, the nature of the meaſure itſelf, which meaſure was deſcribed to be, not merely an extenſion of the general law, but a ſtab to the conſtitution, and a daring attempt to ſtrike at the very foundation of the liberties of Engliſhmen. Not only was there, he ſaid, no proof that the bill was requiſite, but, on the contrary, there were, in the conduct of miniſters, poſitive circumſtances, which gave room to ſuſpect that they did not believe their own aſſertions. Referring to what had been pleaded, with reſpect to the notoriety of ſeditious meetings and practices, he again argued that the known law of the land was ſufficient for the puniſhment of ſuch practices; and, conſequently, that the miniſters had either been guilty of a ſhameful neglect of duty, in not bringing the ſeditious to juſtice; or that they pretended a belief in the exiſtence of ſedition, merely to have a pretext for introducing a meaſure calculated to work the deſtruction of freedom. Much ſtreſs having been laid on the example of the French revolution, his Grace contended that it was neither brought about by the harangues of field-preachers, nor the diſcuſſions of political clubs. It was cauſed by the profligate manners of a licentious court, and by a corrupt and unprincipled ſucceſſion of miniſters, who involved the ſtate in an unjuſt and unneceſſary war; ſquandered the reſources, and irretrievably ruined the finances, of a flouriſhing nation; and ſtretched the ſeverity of the law beyond the ſufferance of human nature. Though, in this country, the virtuous and amiable character of the ſovereign baniſhed the licentious immorality of the French court, yet, in the compoſition of the cabinet, and the proceedings of corrupt and wicked miniſters, would be found the ſame revolutionary cauſes which contributed to the downfal of the French monarchy. His Grace then indulged in a ſevere attack upon the penſion granted by his Majeſty to Mr. Burke; whom he repreſented as having, by his writings, contributed in an eminent degree to create and continue the war, and all its conſequent enormous expences. He cloſed his ſpeech by predicting that the moſt ſiniſter effects would reſult from the fooliſh and dangerous conduct, which was perſeveringly followed by his Majeſty's Miniſters.

In reply, Lord Grenville vindicated the bill, on the ſame principles as he had before done. He inſiſted that the notoriety of the ſeditious practices was ſuch, that there did not exiſt a perſon in the metropolis who was ignorant on the ſubject; and this notoriety he held to be ſufficient evidence for the houſe to proceed upon. Equally obvious was, in his judgment, the connection between the ſocieties and the committers of the ſcandalous outrage againſt his Majeſty. The dangerous doctrines, which were taught at the meetings of thoſe ſocieties, tended to irritate the minds of an ignorant and infatuated multitude, and to excite in them an utter diſlike of every form of government. That the law was already ſtrong enough to puniſh offenders, he again poſitively denied; and ſtated, on the contrary, that it was even ridiculouſly

ridiculouſly ineffective. The preſent bill, however, he would once more aſſert, did not create any new crimes, did not conſtitute any new treaſons; it only altered the puniſhment which was inflicted, under the exiſting laws. As far as reſpected the origin of the French revolution, Lord Grenville, in a great meaſure, agreed with the Duke of Bedford; and he likewiſe unequivocally declared, that the government of this country, far from deprecating that revolution, had, at its commencement, looked upon it in a favourable point of view, under a belief that it afforded a proſpect of increaſing the felicity of a great nation, and contributing to the continuance of the tranquillity which then exiſted throughout Europe. The principles promulgated by the French clubs, and other meetings, had, he ſaid, perverted that revolution, and brought on all the robberies, aſſaſſinations, horror and blood, by which France was ſubſequently deſolated and diſgraced. It was well known that, in England, political aſſemblies had been held, which openly profeſſed to imitate the clubs of France; and therefore, it was incumbent on the Miniſters to prevent the clubs of this country from ſcattering their firebrands, and ultimately producing the ſame dreadful effect which a ſimilar mode of conduct had produced in France.

Unconvinced by the reaſoning of Lord Grenville, the Earl of Lauderdale made a long and vehement ſpeech, in which he repeated all that had been formerly urged againſt the bill, by himſelf and his noble friends. He likewiſe took occaſion to paſs a ſevere cenſure on the lack of talent which the Miniſters diſplayed, in their conduct of the war. Nor did he leſs ſeverely animadvert on their groſs neglect, in ſuffering the King to return to Buckingham Houſe, without a ſufficient guard, after they were apprized of the flagrant inſults which he had experienced, on his way to the Parliament Houſe. On this point he ſpoke with much feeling and energy; declaring that had he, on that day, had the honour of attending his Majeſty, a dagger ſhould have pierced his own breaſt, before any ruffian ſhould have reached the perſon of his ſovereign. Among the heavieſt of the charges which he brought againſt the Miniſters, was that of their having adviſed the grant of a penſion to Mr. Burke; whom his Lordſhip deemed it decorous to ſtigmatize, by name, which the Duke of Bedford had not done, as an apoſtate, and a man who was labouring to inculcate doctrines that tended to extinguiſh the principles of freedom. This attack on Mr. Burke was followed by an attack on the Biſhop of Rocheſter, in which the learned Prelate was treated with no ſmall ſhare of acrimony, and was deſcribed as a new convert, willing to atone for paſt errors, by preſent zeal of an oppoſite kind. His Lordſhip aſſerted that the Biſhop had once been a friend to parliamentary reform, and had attended a meeting held for the attainment of that object; but his opinions had changed with circumſtances, and he could not now do leſs than read his public recantation. The noble Earl cloſed his harangue by a ſort of indirect prediction, that a

continuance of ſuch meaſures as the Miniſters were at this moment purſuing would, at length, have the certain effect of driving the people to deſpair, and to the conſequent adoption of raſh and violent means, for the puniſhment of their oppreſſors.

The cenſure which the two noble Lords had thrown on Mr. Burke, called forth, on that illuſtrious character, a warm and eloquent panegyric, from Lord Grenville, who declared that he was proud to boaſt of, and ready to be reſponſible for, the ſhare which he had taken in recommending the grant of a penſion, ſo well deſerved by the moſt eminent and meritorious ſervices. The Biſhop of Rocheſter likewiſe vindicated himſelf, at conſiderable length; and declared that he had no remembrance of ever having been at ſuch a meeting as the noble Lord deſcribed. With reſpect to the doctrine, which he had advanced on a preceding night, he now explained and limited it in ſuch a manner as to render it nearly, if not wholly, unobjectionable.

The queſtion was then put, and the bill was paſſed by a large majority; there being only ſeven non-contents, againſt ſixty-ſix of oppoſite ſentiments. A proteſt, ſtrongly deprecating the bill, as unneceſſary and unconſtitutional, was entered on the journals by the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale.

CHAP. XVI.

Subſtance of the Bill for preventing Seditious Meetings and Aſſemblies. Mr. Pitt moves for leave to bring in the bill. He is vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others. Leave given to bring in the bill. Motion agreed to for a call of the Houſe. Strong oppoſition to the firſt reading of the bill. Lord William Ruſſel moves an adjournment. The adjournment is negatived, and the bill read a firſt time. Bill for the protection of the King's perſon brought down from the Houſe of Lords. The firſt reading oppoſed by Mr. Sheridan, who moves for a Committee to enquire into the exiſtence and extent of the danger of Seditious Meetings. Warm debate on the occaſion. His motion is negatived, and the bill read. Proceedings, in the mean time, out of Parliament. Circular letter and addreſs of the Correſponding Society. Extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club. Meeting of the Correſponding Society. Addreſs to the King, and Petitions to the two Houſes voted by the perſons aſſembled. Numerous meetings and petitions in various parts of the kingdom. Petition of the London Correſponding Society preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Sturt. Proſecution of Mr. Reeves. Second reading of the Bill to prevent Seditious Aſſemblies. It is again ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. Lord Mornington attacks the London Correſponding Society. The ſecond reading carried by a very large majority. Bill for the protection of his Majeſty's perſon read a ſecond time. Reply of the London Correſponding Society to Lord Mornington's attack.

attack. Declaration of their principles. Mr. Fox makes a fruitleſs attempt to put off the further reading of the bill. Mr. Curwen, with equal ill ſucceſs, moves an adjournment. The Houſe reſolves itſelf into a Committee, on the Bill for preventing Seditious Meetings. The Houſe reſolves itſelf into a Committee on the Bill for protecting the King's perſon. Debate on the report of the Committee on the Seditious Meeting Bill. Bill read a third time, and paſſed. Bill for protecting the King's perſon read a third time, and paſſed. Petitions for and againſt the two Bills. Meeting of the London Correſponding Society. Addreſs, Petition, and Reſolutions of the Society. Animated debates in the Houſe of Lords on the bill to prevent Seditious Meetings. The bill is paſſed. Two Proteſts againſt it, entered on the journals, by the Peers in oppoſition. Meeting and declaration of the Whig Club.

WHILE the Bill for the protection of his Majeſty's perſon was paſſing through the Houſe of Lords, the Bill for preventing Seditious Meetings was brought into the Houſe of Commons, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The latter bill conſiſted of numerous clauſes, the firſt of which provided that no meeting, compoſed of more than a certain number of perſons, ſhould be holden, to conſider of any petition or remonſtrance or to deliberate upon any grievance in church or ſtate, without previous notice by advertiſement, which advertiſement ſhould be ſigned by individuals who were at leaſt reſident houſeholders. By the two following clauſes, all meetings held in contravention of this law were declared to be illegal; and all perſons attending them, who did not diſperſe in a given time, on being commanded ſo to do by the proper authority, were to be ſubject to puniſhment. The next enactments ſtated that if, at any meeting legally called, illegal modes of altering the preſent laws were propoſed, or if ſuch meeting in the judgment of two or more juſtices of the peace, or of other ſpecified civil authorities, ſhould, by reaſon of any ſpecial circumſtances, become dangerous to the public peace, then ſuch juſtices, or other civil authorities, were authorized to declare the meeting an unlawful aſſembly, and to diſperſe it by force, if neceſſary; and were indemnified for the maiming or death of individuals who endeavoured to reſiſt them.

The concluding part of the act related to places in which ſeditious lectures were delivered. By the clauſes of this part, a licence was made requiſite for houſes, rooms, or fields, where money was taken for admiſſion to hear diſcourſes or lectures; the licence was made revocable by the juſtices; unlicenſed houſes and rooms were ſubjected to the penalty levied on diſorderly houſes; and juſtices of the peace were empowered to demand admiſſion into any room, houſe, or field, in which they had reaſon to ſuſpect that diſcourſes or lectures were delivered, contrary to the proviſions of the act.

When he moved for leave to bring in the bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declined entering, at that moment, on any extended diſcuſ- Nov. 10.

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ſion of the meaſure. The two proclamations of his Majeſty having been previouſly read, he grounded his motion on the neceſſity of preventing the recurrence of ſuch outrages as they deſcribed. Thoſe outrages he conſidered as having undoubtedly had their origin from the ſeditious aſſemblies; which ſerved as vehicles to faction and diſloyalty, fanned and kept alive the flame of diſaffection, and filled the minds of the people with diſcontent. Never were, he ſaid, the Commons of England more loudly called on by the wiſhes and prayers of an anxious community, than they now were by the whole people of England, to avert the ruin with which the country was menaced from thoſe aſſemblies. With reſpect to the public aſſemblies, he conſidered them as a mere pretext for their plea of meeting to obtain a parliamentary reform; and though he acknowledged, in the fulleſt manner, that no encroachment ought to be made on the people's undoubted and valuable right of diſcuſſion and petition, he yet deemed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent the exerciſe of that right from being perverted to the moſt ſiniſter purpoſes. Great caution, he owned, would be required, in order to avoid, on the one hand, an infringement of the right, and, on the other, the ſufferance of ſuch an abuſe of it as would, in the end, operate to the deſtruction of the right itſelf. But though there was a conſiderable difficulty, there was not an inſuperable one. It appeared to him, that the deſired end might be anſwered, by enabling the magiſtrate to keep a watchful eye over public meetings; and inveſting him with a power to diſperſe them, as ſoon as they became likely to be productive of evil conſequences. As to the more private meetings, at which ſeditious lectures were given, he propoſed to apply to them regulations ſimilar to thoſe contained in the act called Mansfield's act, by which houſes where improper meetings were held on Sundays were to be treated as diſorderly houſes; and, to prevent any evaſion, he thought the law ſhould apply to every houſe, wherein any perſons met, exceeding, by a number to be hereafter fixed, the real family of the houſe. He concluded by making the uſual motion, for leave to bring in the bill.

The reſtriction on meetings in private houſes excited violent murmurs, and cries of hear him, on the ſide of the oppoſition. As ſoon as the ſpeaker had read the motion, Mr. Fox roſe, and oppoſed it, with his wonted warmth and eloquence. Both the bills he conſidered as wholly grounded on the gratuitous aſſumptions, that the ſocieties were the promoters of the outrage againſt his Majeſty, and that the laws were inſufficient for the puniſhment of ſeditious and treaſonable offences. There was not the ſhadow of a proof brought forward, in ſupport of theſe aſſumptions. The plan of the Miniſters inſpired him, he ſaid, with horror, and was of the moſt deteſtable nature. Its authors ſeemed to expect to bring the people to ſubmit to rigid deſpotiſm. The public meeetings for the diſcuſſion of public ſubjects, to which this bill was deſigned to put an end, were not merely lawful; they were agreeable to the very eſſence of the

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Britiſh conſtitution; and to thoſe meetings, indeed, we were indebted for much of the liberties which we enjoyed, under that conſtitution. But they were not, it was ſaid, to be prevented; they were only to be regulated. "Regulated!" exclaimed the honourable member. "Attend to the regulation! I thought I knew the rights of men,—aye, and the rights of Engliſhmen." This ſentence having given riſe to a loud cry of hear, hear,—"What!" continued he, "that is a ſlip you ſuppoſe. The rights of man is a ſentence without meaning. Do you ſay that men have no natural rights? If ſo, Engliſhmen's rights can have no exiſtence; nay, this houſe would have no exiſtence. The rights of man, I ſay, are clear; man has natural rights, and he who denies it is ignorant of the baſis of a free government; he is ignorant of the beſt principles of our's; for thoſe rights are naturally connected with the beſt parts of the hiſtory of our country." Mr. Fox then proceeded to animadvert, in the ſtrongeſt terms, on the power of diſſolving public meetings, with which the magiſtrate was to be inveſted; and he denied that any ſtate could be free in which ſuch a monſtrous power was ſuffered to exiſt. Was it freedom, to be compelled to apply to a magiſtrate, for a licence to meet and ſpeak; or was it freedom, to be prevented from ſpeaking by that magiſtrate, whenever he thought proper to imagine that what was ſpoken had a tendency to diſturb the peace and tranquillity of the realm? To call a ſtate free, under ſuch reſtrictions, was a mockery, and a groſs inſult on the feelings and underſtandings of mankind. It would be far better to declare at once that a free conſtitution was no longer ſuitable to the circumſtances of England. He hoped, however, that the people would never ſurrender their rights; that, while they yet were allowed to meet, they would aſſemble and expreſs their abhorrence of theſe bills. Thoſe who neglected this duty would be traitors to their country. By their negligence the peaceable means of obtaining a redreſs of grievances would be for ever loſt. Suppoſing, for a moment, which, however, he did not believe, that the miniſters had no other object in view than to prevent a revolution, he contended that the mode which they adopted could only be prompted by the worſt and moſt deſperate frenzy. What but madneſs could, in that caſe, have urged them to proceed on a plan which had no regard for the liberty of the people, no regard for the glorious efforts of their anceſtors, no regard for their maxims, no eſteem for the experience to be derived from a peruſal of our hiſtory, no eſteem for the principles and the conduct which had made us what we were? If the revolutions which had happened, in England and in France, were referred to, it would be found that they had not been occaſioned by the facility of popular meetings, or the freedom of popular opinions. No; they were occaſioned by cauſes of an oppoſite kind; by the ſtrong means which were adopted, to prevent the people from manifeſting their ſentiments on the proceedings of government. To avoid ſimilar diſtreſs, we ſhould avoid ſimilar meaſures. While Engliſhmen poſſeſſed a legal mode

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of making known their feelings and grievances, there would be nothing to fear from them; but if that legal mode were taken away, they would be brought to the level of thoſe who have no alternative between an abject ſubmiſſion to the moſt oppreſſive tyranny, and a remedy by violence and force of arms. Either alternative was dreadful; and, therefore, he once more expreſſed his hope, that the people would aſſemble, and, by a decided manifeſtation of their abhorrence, put a ſtop to meaſures which would be deſtructive of their liberties. For himſelf, he declared, that he ſhould conceive that he betrayed the truſt repoſed in him, if he did not move for a call of the houſe, that every member might attend, and, by his vote, become reſponſible to his country, for the part taken by him, on this momentous and alarming ſubject.

The bringing in of the bill was likewiſe oppoſed by Mr. Stanley, Mr. Halhed, Mr. Maurice Robinſon, and Mr. Curwen. The firſt of theſe members ſpoke with much warmth, declaring, that if the bill paſſed into a law, England was on the eve of a revolution. He reminded the Miniſters that Monteſquieu had conſidered an enormous increaſe of penal laws to be one of the ſureſt proofs that a country was verging on ruin. That opinion he alſo held, and for that alone, even were there not numerous other and more powerful reaſons, he would oppoſe the meaſure. The principal arguments advanced by Mr. Halhed were, that there was no evidence whatever of the guilt of the ſocieties; that the laws in being were competent to detect and puniſh crimes; and that the miniſters were induced to take theſe ſteps ſolely for the two purpoſes of cruſhing all attempts to bring about a parliamentary reform, and of making themſelves maſters of all the electors of Great Britain, and conſequently of the new parliament, which was expected to be called at an early period. By Mr. Robinſon and Mr. Curwen it was argued that the bill would alienate the people from the monarch, and that the neceſſity of it was contradicted by the ſpeech from the throne, which had borne teſtimony to the general moderation and loyal behaviour of the people.

It was, on the other ſide, admitted, by Sir William Pulteney, that any ſemblance of an infringement of the privileges of the people ought to be regarded by them with the deepeſt jealouſy; but it did not appear to him at preſent that the meaſure before the houſe was deſerving of cenſure. If, however, in its future ſtages, it were proved to be hoſtile to freedom, it might be hindered from paſſing into a law. He thought that, even if ſuch aſſemblies as the bill was directed againſt, were entirely ſuppreſſed, the liberty of the preſs would be fully adequate to prevent the conſtitution from being violated. That liberty could neither exiſt in a republic, nor under a deſpotiſm; it could exiſt only under a limited monarchy, like our own; and it ought to be carefully preſerved. The danger of inflammatory meetings was, that the audience heard but one ſide of the queſtion, and their paſſions and their ignorance ſtimulated them into action, without their having conſidered what might be ſaid, in confutation of the doctrines which had

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inflamed them. It was erroneous to look on it as a hardſhip to have the magiſtrate preſent at public aſſemblies. In America, the free ſtate of which had been ſo much vaunted and praiſed, no aſſembly could be held, without the preſence of the magiſtrate. The propriety of this was obvious. It enſured a fair hearing to thoſe who were not of the ſame ſentiments as the majority, and who, otherwiſe, would be in danger of being torn to pieces, if they ventured to deliver their opinions. But it might be objected that the magiſtrate would, perhaps, exceed his powers. To this he deemed it a ſufficient reply that, in that caſe, the party aggrieved might apply to the court of King's Bench, where he would, doubtleſs find able and willing advocates, and ample redreſs.

A more elaborate vindication was entered into by Mr. Wilberforce; who, however, diſclaimed the idea of pledging himſelf to the ſupport of every particular proviſion of the bill. Calling on the houſe to take a review of all that, within the laſt three years, had occurred on this ſubject, he reminded his hearers that the perſons, againſt whoſe ſiniſter exertions the meaſure was deſigned to guard, had, during all that time, been ſedulouſly employed in poiſoning the minds of the people, inſtilling into them falſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and exciting a contempt for the Britiſh Conſtitution, and an attachment to thoſe principles of ſpurious liberty, which had produced ſuch extenſive and horrible calamities in France. Nor had they imported French politics alone; they had imported French philoſophy alſo. Their numerous publications avowed as much hoſtility to the religion as to the conſtitution of Great Britain; they diſplayed a marked hoſtility to every thing which was ſacred. Various means had been vainly tried, to put a ſtop to their proceedings. They redoubled their efforts, and preſſed onward, with increaſed audacity. Seditious and inflammatory lectures and harangues were delivered, and the moſt atrocious hand-bills and prints were circulated. The daring and brutal attack on his Majeſty rendered it too certain that theſe multiplied efforts had not been without their natural effect. Was it prudent, then, to ſuffer theſe men to purſue their plans; plans evidently digeſted with care, and carried into execution with undeviating and unremitting conſiſtency and regularity? Ought they to be allowed to follow up, in all the great manufacturing towns, the ſyſtem, which they had already begun in ſome of them, the ſyſtem of popular aſſemblies, debating-clubs, and ſeditious harangues, ſuch as it was organized in the metropolis? Certainly not; and, therefore, he thought the government deſerved thanks, for endeavouring to arreſt the progreſs of the growing miſchief. Yet, he owned that, it was not willingly that he reſorted to this bill. All, however, that was left him was a choice of difficulties; and, in weighing the diſadvantages and advantages of the plan, he was clearly of opinion that the latter were preponderant.

He then proceeded to conſider the bill as it related, in the firſt place, to the great popular meetings; and, in the ſecond, to the ſmaller

ſmaller meetings and ſocieties. With reſpect to the firſt of theſe diviſions, he thought that the plan laid no reſtraint on the conſtitutional modes of diſcuſſing public queſtions, and ſtating, and obtaining redreſs for, national grievances. It left untouched the grand conſtitutional organs which the wiſdom of our forefathers had provided for the diſcuſſion of political matters, and the making known to parliament the national will. Nay, he was convinced that it would give them new life and vigour, by regulating thoſe aſſemblies which had encroached on their province, and uſurped their powers. It ſolely acted to avert thoſe evils which were likely to reſult from tumultuous aſſemblies; and it did this in the moſt unexceptionable way, by bringing aſſemblies under the cognizance of the law, and enabling the magiſtrates to perform their duty. As to the ſocieties and minor meetings, the caſe appeared to him to be of a ſtill clearer kind. There could not, he imagined, be two opinions on the ſubject. They might do much harm; they could do no good. Inſtead of promoting the cauſe of truth and fair inveſtigation, they were the ſure parents of falſehood, prejudice, and paſſion. While reaſoning on this head, he took occaſion to controvert the poſition advanced by Mr. Fox, that they ought to be ſuffered, as vents for the humours of the body politic, and that the revolutions of England and France were occaſioned by the want or the reſtraining of ſuch kinds of aſſemblies. The Houſe of Commons, Mr. Wilberforce, on the contrary, held to be that popular aſſembly where all popular grievances might be ſafely and freely diſcuſſed, to which the people ſhould be encouraged to bring, without fear, their complaints, and where they might always expect to find thoſe who would ſtand forth, to plead the cauſe of the injured or oppreſſed. This was the grand preſervative of the Britiſh Conſtitution; and here all the national humour might without danger, be ſuffered to ferment. France poſſeſſed no ſuch body; and, in conſequence, all the national diſcontent, which had long been working ſecretly, burſt forth at length like a torrent, and with the greater violence from its having been ſo long repreſſed. In like manner, all the misfortunes of our firſt Charles might be traced to his diſcontinuance of parliaments, for a period of eleven years. Here were the cauſes of the two revolutions, and not in the ſcarcity, diſcouragement, or ſuppreſſion of meetings and ſocieties. In reply to an argument, which had been uſed by two of the ſpeakers in oppoſition, namely, that this bill, in truth, accuſed all the Britiſh people of diſaffection, while, on the contrary, the ſpeech from the throne had borne teſtimony to their loyalty, Mr. Wilberforce contended that nothing could be more groundleſs than this argument; for, if the diſaffection were general, the preventive remedy muſt be too late. But, in truth, this was preciſely the time to interfere, before the poiſon had generally diffuſed itſelf, and while the public mind was in a favourable and healthy ſtate. On the whole, he ſolemnly declared it to be his conſcientious opinion, that,

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in voting for the meaſure, ſubject to ſuch improvements as it might receive in the committee, he ſhould be lending his aid to invigorate the ſtamina of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

As ſoon as Mr. Wilberforce had concluded, Mr. Sheridan roſe, but for a far different purpoſe than to declare himſelf convinced by the reaſoning which he had heard. His ſpeech was, on the contrary, even of a more cauſtic and ſarcaſtic tone than uſual. Mr. Wilberforce was treated in it with little forbearance, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer with none at all. The latter, becauſe the ſpeech of Mr. Fox had not induced him to abandon his project entirely, or at leaſt to ſubſtitute one of a leſs obnoxious nature, was treated as incapable of contrition and ſhame. The propoſed bill was affirmed to be a direct attack on the fifth article of the Bill of rights, which confirmed the right of petitioning. The power which was to be confided to the magiſtrates, Mr. Sheridan deemed enormous, unconſtitutional, and liable to be abuſed, in the groſſeſt manner, by magiſtrates who were dependent on the miniſtry, like thoſe of Weſtminſter, whom he deſcribed in the moſt opprobrious terms. In fact, the law would, he thought, have the certain and fatal effect of making reſpectable and independent men aſhamed of belonging to the magiſtracy, and would induce them to reſign their ſeats; by which means the magiſtracy would ultimately be compoſed of only hired and venal creatures. As to the remedy which, in caſe a magiſtrate exceeded his authority, Sir William Pulteney had pointed out, Mr. Sheridan maintained that the trouble and expence of ſeeking it would render it unattainable. In common with all the members of his party, he denied that there was any connection between the proceedings of the ſocieties, and the tumultuary proceedings which occurred, on the firſt day of the Seſſion. Thoſe tumults he firmly believed to have been raiſed by the vaſt army of ſpies which had been diſbanded. It was, he ſaid, but natural to ſuppoſe that, finding the community peaceable and loyal, and knowing that the miniſters would be glad of any handle to lop away the liberties of the country, the ſpies themſelves committed the violent outrages, which they had induſtriouſly and baſely attributed to others. Such a libel as this bill, would not, he hoped, be ſuffered to paſs. If, however, it did paſs, he ſhould think it an unworthy act to make uſe of that excluſive privilege which members of parliament were to enjoy; the privilege of being the prattling repreſentatives of a dumb and enſlaved people.

Nearly ſimilar ſentiments, and with equal bitterneſs, were expreſſed by Mr. Martin, who likewiſe ſeverely cenſured the great encreaſe of the military force, and of barracks, within the kingdom. Such a military force was, he ſaid, eſtabliſhed in the country, that he feared much blood would be ſhed, before the nation could regain its liberties, and defend the conſtitution. Why this ſhedding of blood was to take place, or how it was to tend to the defence of the conſtitution, he did not explain. With reſpect to the bill brought forward, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he declared that he remembered the day, when no member

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of the houſe, no miniſter, however bold he might have been, would have dared to propoſe it.

In anſwer to theſe gentlemen, the Secretary of War, Mr. Windham, defended the meaſure with a warmth fully equal to the warmth of their attack. The cry which had been raiſed, that the liberties of the country were gone, and that the people were enſlaved, he conſidered as having been little juſtified by any thing like reaſoning, on the part of thoſe by whom it had been ſo loudly clamoured. But, he ſarcaſtically obſerved, that, as the feelings of the honourable perſons in oppoſition had ſo long been in uniſon with the feelings of the perſons who compoſed the ſocieties, it was no wonder that thoſe gentlemen ſhould, on this occaſion, uſe the ſame language as the members of the ſocieties. Nothing could be more certain than that a number of men were engaged in a deſign to ſubvert the Conſtitution; and, therefore, though it was with regret that he attempted a remedy, if the laws actually exiſting were not ſufficient to reach the hoſtile ſocieties, new laws, capable of reaching them, muſt be framed. Whether certain doctrines had made a progreſs in England, and whether they were attended with danger, or likely to be ſo, was, he ſaid, the point at iſſue, and on which he called for judgment. He would maintain the affirmative. The gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe ſeemed to have forgotten the exiſtence of ſuch a thing as the French revolution, which had been triumphantly repreſented as the greateſt fabric ever founded on human virtue by human wiſdom. Was it not manifeſt that the authors and followers of the Gallic ſyſtem were ambitious to produce a greater change in the world than was produced by its converſion from paganiſm to chriſtianity, or by the Saracens under the ſtimulating influence of the tenets of Mahomet? Had they not trampled under foot the ſettled law of nations, laughed at all the bonds of treaties, endeavoured to exterminate all traces of ancient inſtitutions, and to compel the civilized world to adopt new maxims and new principles? Was there a country in Europe which was ſafe from the poiſon of thoſe principles, and which had not felt the direful effects of the great democracy? In particular, was it not notorious, that, in this country, there was a ſet of men, who openly profeſſed attachment to the French republicans, invariably advocated their cauſe, prayed for their ſucceſs, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to co-operate with and to join them? Such being clearly the caſe, it was evidently neceſſary, as he had before urged, that the progreſs of laws and of crimes ſhould go hand in hand. The ſole queſtion was, whether the ſocieties were to be ſuffered to proceed, as far as they pleaſed, in preaching ſedition and treaſon. There never yet was a ſtate which permitted ſuch meetings. Nay, the glorious ſyſtem of French liberty did not permit them, but repreſſed, and with an extreme ſeverity, all proceedings which were hoſtile to the ſafety of the government.

Mr. Windham was anſwered by Mr. Grey, in a ſpeech, which, though ingenious and replete with

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aſperity, added nothing to the ſtock of argument which had already been brought forward. It conſiſted, indeed, chiefly of cenſure on Mr. Windham, for his change of party, and of inſinuations and invectives againſt his colleagues in adminiſtration, who were deſcribed or alluded to in the darkeſt colours. After a few brief remarks from Mr. Montague, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Bouverie, the debate was cloſed, and, the queſtion being put, for bringing in the bill, it was carried by a large majority; there appearing only forty-two diſſentient againſt two hundred and fourteen approving voices.

Mr. Fox now, of courſe, made the motion, which he had announced, for a call of the Houſe. The language which the Miniſters held, on this ſubject, gave riſe to a deſultory converſation, which was carried on with much ſpirit. Mr. Dundas declared, that, although he conceived a call to be, in general, either haraſſing or nugatory, he would not only not oppoſe it, at this time, but even thought it proper; as he was willing to own that, unleſs the majority of the people concurred in the bill, it ought not to receive the ſanction of parliament. Such concurrence he doubted not that it would receive; he having, for ſeveral months paſt, been actually beſieged in his office, by ſolicitations for ſuch a meaſure, and it having, at length, been brought forward in conſequence of advice from a number of gentlemen.

This ſpeech immediately called up Mr. Sheridan, and furniſhed him with an opportunity to urge againſt the miniſters a charge of inconſiſtency and falſehood. It was, he ſaid, now clear that the late outrage on his Majeſty was, as the members in oppoſition had affirmed it to be, a mere pretext; one of the Miniſters having candidly confeſſed, that the plan was in contemplation, before that outrage took place. He likewiſe animadverted on the manner in which the planners and promoters of the meaſure were kept concealed from the public view; and he expreſſed a ſanguine hope, that the voice of the people would be loudly and pointedly raiſed, againſt a bill which ſtruck a deadly blow at the root and foundation of their acknowledged and invaluable liberties.

In anſwer to the charge of inconſiſtency, the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that by the recent atrocious attack the production of the bill had been expedited, and the ſentiment of its immediate neceſſity rendered more general; but that, as previous to that event, many gentlemen of high authority had deemed it expedient and politic, it might, probably, have been introduced, even had ſuch an attack never occurred. The call he would not oppoſe, though he held it to be unneceſſary; but he certainly would not allow of any delay in the ſtages of the bill. It was his intention that the bill ſhould be twice read, and proceed through the committee, previouſly to the call of the houſe.

After ſeveral animadverſions, from Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, on this improper haſte, as it was conſidered, the call was agreed to, and was fixed for that day fortnight.

On the night appointed for the firſt reading of the bill, the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer not being preſent when buſineſs commenced, Lord William Ruſſel made a motion of adjournment. This occaſioned a converſation, in which ſeveral members took a part, and in the courſe of which the gentlemen hoſtile to the miniſtry vehemently cenſured the propoſed meaſure, and complained of the rapidity with which it was intended to be carried through the houſe. The queſtion of adjournment was, however, negatived.

The queſtion being put, that the bill be read a firſt time, a warm, though rather deſultory debate enſued. The firſt reading was oppoſed by Mr. Lambton, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Grey, Generals Tarleton and Smith, Mr. Stanley, Mr. M. Robinſon, Sir William Milner, and Lord William Ruſſel. In argument they chiefly relied on the total want of proof that the bill was neceſſary, or that the ſocieties had any ſhare in the recent outrage; and they again enlarged on the ruin which muſt inevitably fall on the conſtitution, if a law ſo hoſtile to liberty were to receive the ſanction of parliament. Mr. Curwen, nevertheleſs, did not approve of the mode of conduct purſued by the ſocieties, whoſe imprudence, he thought, afforded a colour to the Premier, for producing a plan which ſtruck at the root of freedom.

On the other ſide, the neceſſity and conſtitutional nature of the bill were aſſerted by Mr. Canning, Mr. Alderman Luſhington, and Mr. Wilberforce, on the ſame ground as had been taken, by various ſpeakers, in the preceding debate. Mr. Luſhington, however, did not wiſh that the meaſure ſhould be made a permanent law, but only an annual regulation.

Mr. Alderman Anderſon having told the Houſe a vague ſtory, which he had heard on his way to town, of the Duke of Bedford having promiſed an individual of the Correſponding Society the loan of his phaeton, to harangue the populace from; Lord William Ruſſel ſeized this opportunity to move an adjournment, for the purpoſe of giving time to enquire into the fact. This motion was ſupported by Mr. Grey, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Sheridan, the former of whom pleaded that an enquiry would be proper, as the honourable member had ſeemed to believe the ſtory, and as the connection of perſons of rank with ſeditious aſſemblies had, beſides, been aſſigned, in other quarters, as a ſtrong reaſon for aſſenting to the bill. The adjournment was, notwithſtanding, negatived, by a large majority; and the bill was then read for the firſt time. The ſecond reading was alſo carried by a hundred and twenty-nine ayes, againſt twenty-three noes. The clauſe relating to private families, which, when the meaſure was firſt propoſed, gave, and not unnaturally, ſo much offence, was expunged by the framers of the bill, previouſly to the firſt reading.

When the bill for the protection of the King's perſon was brought into the Houſe of Commons, it was reſiſted, with even more vigour and acrimony than it had been in the Houſe of Lords. Mr. Sheridan oppoſed the firſt reading, which was, however, carried, by a great majority. On the queſtion of the

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ſecond reading, he again divided the houſe, and was again unſucceſsful. Foiled in theſe two attempts, he, nevertheleſs, made a third. He moved that a committee be appointed, to enquire into the exiſtence and extent of the danger of the ſeditious meetings, as referred to in his Majeſty's proclamation, laid before the houſe, by his Majeſty's miniſter, on the fourth of November.

A long and animated debate was produced by this motion. The neceſſity of appointing a committee was ſtrongly inſiſted on by the mover himſelf, and alſo by Mr. Jekyl, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Fox. On the other hand, it was as ſtrongly contended to be wholly unneceſſary, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney General, the Secretary of war, Mr. Powys, Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Sir Francis Baſſet.

The mover urged, as had ſo often been urged before, that no proof had been brought forward, yet that proof was indiſpenſable, to juſtify parliament in paſſing two ſuch rigorous bills. He did not, however, believe that any evidence could be produced in their behalf. On the contrary, he unequivocally charged the Miniſters with making aſſertions which they knew to be falſe, relative to the ſeditious nature of the meetings, and thus creating an alarm, for the ſole purpoſe of libelling the country, and depriving it of its liberties. He once more adduced, in ſupport of this opinion, the ſpeech from the throne, which had teſtified to the good conduct of the people. If, as ſome affirmed, the doctrine of King killing was preached, at Copenhagen Houſe, why, he aſked, did not the government do their duty, and proſecute the offenders? But the fact was, that, far from diſſeminating pernicious doctrines, the Correſponding Society, though hoſtile to the Miniſters, and friendly to reform, profeſſed to be animated by a ſpirit of loyalty to his Majeſty. With reſpect to the hand-bills and inflammatory papers, which were declared to have been circulated, there was, he ſaid, no evidence that they were circulated, or approved of, by the ſocieties. It rather appeared to him that they were the work of the miniſterial agents, the ſpies and informers; men who had a palpable intereſt in forging ſuch productions, and attributing them to the perſons whoſe ruin they were contriving. On this head he ſpoke at conſiderable length, and with much acrimony; maintaining that all the plots which had been talked of, and proſecuted, ſince the original plot in 1792, were mere inventions of the hired hoſt of informers and ſpies, or of their employers, the Miniſters; againſt the latter of whom, he did not heſitate to inſinuate an accuſation of their having forged one of the plots, for the purpoſe of influencing the minds of juries, to the prejudice of individuals, who were then about to be brought to trial, on a charge of treaſon.

A ſimilar line of argument was adopted by the reſt of the members who called for the nomination of a committee. Mr. Jekyl, however, more perſonally attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, with even more plainneſs than Mr. Sheridan, laid at the door of the Miniſters, the ſeditious papers which had been publiſhed.

The caſe of Titus Oates, in the reign of Charles the Second, he cited as a caſe in point. In that, as in this, plots had been encouraged or originated by Miniſters, for ſiniſter ends. The ſupineneſs of the Attorney General likewiſe ſeemed to him to ſtrengthen the idea that the libels complained of proceeded from the complainants themſelves. Sentiments of the ſame tenor were avowed by Mr. Curwen, who, nevertheleſs, again expreſſed his diſlike of ſome of the proceedings which had taken place in the ſocieties. The ſpeech of Mr. Fox was long, eloquent, and animated, ſeldom deviating into any over warmth of language; but it was not marked by any peculiar novelty of reaſoning or illuſtration. Britiſh freedom he conceived to have been greatly abridged, ſince the commencement of the preſent reign; and he thought that it would even have ceaſed to exiſt, had not the enormous influence of the crown been counteracted, by the liberty of ſpeech, and the liberty of the preſs. Inſtead of reſtrictive laws, and ſeverity, he recommended treating the people with reſpect and gentleneſs; and he reminded the miniſters that terror could always be applied to, but never without danger, ſince, when it once failed, it ever after inſpired no other feeling than that of contempt.

It was, on the other ſide, argued by Mr. Powys, that the notoriety of the ſeditious meetings was ſufficient to juſtify the legiſlature in reſorting to ſtrong regulations, to avert the peril which menaced the ſtate. The riot-act was, he alleged, unanimouſly paſſed, on the ſole evidence of public notoriety. The libel which had been handed about at Copenhagen Houſe, and which had been fathered on the Miniſters, he ſtated to have iſſued from the preſs of a man who was uſually employed by the Correſponding Society; and he, therefore, called on the vindicators of the ſociety to prove that it had not authorized the printer to publiſh the libel in queſtion. But the documents and authorities of the ſocieties themſelves furniſhed evidence, that the perſons compoſing thoſe ſocieties did not wiſh merely for a parliamentary reform, but that they deſired to overturn the government, and eſtabliſh another, modelled on the ſyſtem of the republic in France. The laws in being were not adequate to reach the crimes of theſe perſons, and, conſequently, new laws ought to be enacted, before the plans of the ſeditious were conſummated, by the ruin of the country.

Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Sir Francis Baſſet, agreed with Mr. Powys, that general notoriety was a ſufficient juſtification of the bill under debate; and the former thought that no perſon, who read the reports of the Parliament and the proceedings at the Old Bailey, could doubt that, though acquitted of high treaſon, the individuals tried in 1794, had been guilty of great miſdemeanours. France, he maintained, had been reduced to a calamitous ſituation by clubs and ſocieties, and it behoved this country to guard againſt ſimilar miſchief being produced, by ſimilar cauſes.

The ſame opinions, delivered with his wonted eloquence, were held by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who likewiſe animadverted

verted severely on the conduct of Mr. Fox, controverted his assertion that freedom had been diminished during the present reign, and warned him that the societies aimed at nothing less than to destroy the constitution, and that, if he persisted in being their champion, he would, without his consent, be used as a powerful instrument for attaining their destructive ends.

Called up by the censures which, in some of the preceding speeches, had at least been implied against him, the Attorney General entered into a vindication of himself, and of the measure which was now before the house. He showed clearly that, with respect to the state trials in 1794, he had strictly performed his duty, without falling short of or going beyond it. In answer to the reproach of displaying supineness at the present moment, he replied that he had neither had time to prosecute the numerous libels which were published, nor power to prosecute them in the manner most advantageous to the country. Those libels were multiplied to infinity, and disseminated in the most artful mode, for the express purpose of grappling with, and rendering nugatory, the provisions of the law. The statutes in existence were, he said, utterly incapable of punishing, or stopping the progress of, the libellous publications. In order to show the virulence of the libels which received the sanction of the societies, he read to the house extracts from two hand-bills, published by "the printer of the London Corresponding Society, at the British Tree of Liberty." The first of these, entitled "The Summary of the Duties of Citizenship," declared that "the tyrants of England might be divided into several classes; that the most fatal to the felicity of the country are governors of all descriptions, priests, soldiers, and lawyers." It then proceeded to vilify the monarch, and added "we are perplexed with another description of tyrants—men who hallow the Divinity. The books of Moses and of Christ, answer to the cobweb charters of state, produced in support of pious fraud, and were never written by the men whose names they bear: these men have been in all ages the defenders of despotism; let us go on in enlightening the country." The second of these productions was called "the Rights of Kings," and stated that "the curse of the Almighty to man is kingly government. Wherever that is established, the country grows pale, and the inhabitants enervated through subjection and depravity." The Attorney General next adverted to the proceedings of the seditious assemblies themselves, and called to the recollection of his hearers, that the societies, as far back as the year 1792, had circulated the works of other men, in which works it was contended that there ought to be no King in this country, that annual parliaments and universal suffrage are unalienable rights of men, and that parliament is but an usurper of the rights of men. He likewise reminded the house, that, after the death of the French monarch, the Corresponding Society addressed the Regicidal Convention, and avowed their hope, that France would soon have to send congratulations

lations to a National Convention in England. Nor had the ſeditious ſtopped here. They had avowed their reſolution no longer to petition King, Lords, and Commons, whom they ſtyled their "enemies, plunderers, and oppreſſors," but to reſort to meaſures of another kind. Such men could not, he urged, be ſuffered to proceed in their projects, without imminent hazard to the ſtate, and, therefore, it was neceſſary that the legiſlature ſhould provide an efficient remedy for the growing evil. After a ſpirited but deſultory rejoinder, from Mr. Sheridan, in which he introduced a variety of topics, not immediately connected with the ſubject; the houſe divided, and the motion for a committee was negatived, by a hundred and ſixty-ſeven voices againſt twenty-two.

In the mean time, the public mind was thrown into a ſtate of extraordinary fermentation, by the debates in parliament, and ſtill more by the ſteps which were taken out of doors, either to render the bills obnoxious to the people, or to procure for them the popular aſſent. Greater exertions were, however, made by the foes than by the friends of the propoſed laws. Both the regular oppoſition to miniſtry, and the clubs, were indefatigable in their efforts, to prevent the bills from being ſanctioned by the legiſlature; or, failing in that, to brand them at leaſt with the ſtigma of being paſſed in contradiction to the national voice.

The day ſubſequent to that on which Lord Grenville's bill was introduced into the Houſe of Peers, the London Correſponding Society addreſſed a circular letter to all its affiliated ſocieties; * and, to the Britiſh nation, a reply to what it was pleaſed to denominate the calumnies propagated by perſons in high authority. The circular announced that the bill would be vigorouſly oppoſed, by an union of all the parties which felt any attachment to the cauſe of liberty, and it fixed a day for a general meeting of the members of the ſociety. The reply vehemently attacked the miniſters, and the meaſure now before the lords; treated as obvious and judicially proved falſehoods the charges brought againſt the friends of reform; and diſavowed and reprobated the recent attack which was "ſaid to have been made on the perſon of the chief magiſtrate." The tone of this production, though haughty, was more guarded than that of the former papers which had iſſued from the ſame quarter.

On the part of the regular oppoſition, an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club was held, in which the bills were repreſented to be of the moſt obnoxious nature; and ſundry reſolutions were unanimouſly paſſed. By theſe reſolutions, the baſe outrage committed againſt the ſovereign was marked with proper cenſure, and the people were called on, to haſten and exerciſe their right of petition, for the purpoſe of inducing the parliament to reject propoſitions which ſtruck at the liberty of the preſs, and the freedom of public diſcuſſion. In the courſe of this meeting, the Duke of Norfolk mentioned, in terms of cen-

* See Appendix to the Chronicle p. *133. 134.*

ſure,

ſure, the raſh proceedings, violence and uproar of ſome of the ſocieties, and lamented that they had excited, in a conſiderable part of the community, an indiſpoſition to every ſtep which was deſigned to oppoſe the meaſures of their government.

Previouſly to their meeting, the London Correſponding Society publiſhed an advertiſement, recommending to their partiſans to behave in a peaceable manner, and to offer no reſiſtance, even ſhould any of them be taken into cuſtody. The meeting, which was as numerous as the former, was held, on the twelfth of December, in a field near Copenhagen Houſe, and paſſed without any diſturbance taking place. An addreſs* to the King, and ſeparate petitions, to the Lords and Commons, praying them to reject the pending bills, were voted; as were likewiſe ſeveral reſolutions, thanking the Whig Club and certain members of parliament; accuſing the miniſters of calumny and tyrannical deſigns; and diſclaiming and reprobating the tumultuary exceſſes, which occurred at the commencement of the ſeſſion. With very few, and thoſe not highly offenſive exceptions, the language of the petitions and addreſs was not liable to blame, on the ſcore of intemperance.

From every corner of the kingdom, the Metropolis and Weſtminſter having ſet the example, petitions were now poured on the table of the houſe, on the ſubject of the bills. Many were friendly, but a large majority were indiſputably and ſtrongly hoſtile. Scarcely a petition was preſented which did not give riſe to ſome pointed remarks, from the one ſide or the other, reſpecting the ſhare of attention which was due to it, and the mode by which it had been procured. Not unfrequently, the petitions originated debates of ſome extent, during which accuſations of having uſed unfair arts, to obtain ſignatures, were interchanged, with mutual aſperity, between the contending parties.

When the petition of the Correſponding Society was brought before the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Sturt, a circumſtance occurred, which afforded a ſhort and inglorious triumph to the ſocieties, and the party in oppoſition. In the courſe of an exceedingly violent harangue, Mr. Sturt quoted a paſſage from a pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on the Engliſh government," written by Mr. Reeves, whoſe laudable and effective exertions, in the year 1792, had naturally rendered him an object of inveterate hatred to all thoſe individuals whoſe opinions he had cenſured and controverted, or whoſe projects he had defeated. This paſſage, objectionable only in as far as it was capable of being twiſted into an improper meaning, deſcribed the Britiſh government under the metaphor of a tree, of which the monarchy was the trunk, and the two legiſlative bodies the branches; the former able to exiſt without the latter, while the latter, on the contrary, could not for a moment exiſt, but in conjunction with the former.† This aſſertion, hiſtorically

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 146, &c.

† The following is the whole of the paſſage which was the ſubject of animadverſion. "With the exception of *the advice and conſent* of the two houſes of parliament, and the interpoſition

hiſtorically and legally true, was conſidered by Mr. Sturt as not merely a libel, but as direct and deſperate treaſon, the author of which deſerved to be viſited by heavy puniſhment. The cry raiſed by him was immediately ſwelled by the voices of all the gentlemen of his party, who laviſhed on the paſſage quoted, and on its author, every expreſſion of reproach and invective which their memory could ſuggeſt. Even the miniſters and their friends, with one exception, ſilently abandoned the writer to the fury of his enemies, or joined in uſing the language of reprobation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf, as if anxious to propitiate his adverſaries, and wipe off the ſtigma of cheriſhing unconſtitutional principles, took, on this occaſion, a hoſtile part in the debate. Mr. Windham alone maintained that Mr. Reeves had aſſerted nothing which was erroneous or criminal, and had ſolely erred in not more carefully guarding his words from the poſſibility of miſconſtruction. But his arguments had no other effect than to ſubject him to ſarcaſm and reproof. Various motions were made againſt the pamphlet, the burning of which ſome recommended, while others called for the proſecution of its author. At length, the reſult was the nominating of a committee, to aſcertain the writer; a previous ſtep which was neceſſary, before any thing further could with propriety be done, the work having originally been publiſhed without its author's name. After the formality of three reports from the Committee, and ſeveral debates on the beſt mode of proceeding, a vote of the houſe declared the pamphlet to be libellous, and ordered a proſecution to be inſtituted againſt Mr. Reeves, by the Attorney General. Theſe debates afforded, to the members in oppoſition, an excellent opportunity to give free ſcope to their hoſtility againſt the miniſtry, and of that opportunity

interpoſition of juries, the government, and the adminiſtration of it in all its parts, may be ſaid to reſt wholly and ſolely on the King, and thoſe appointed by him. Thoſe two adjuncts of parliaments and juries are ſubſidiary and occaſional; but the King's power is a ſubſtantive one, always viſible and active. By his officers, and in his name, every thing is tranſacted that relates to the peace of the realm and the protection of the ſubject. The ſubject feels this, and acknowledges with thankfulneſs, a ſuperintending ſovereignty, which alone is congenial to the ſentiments and temper of Engliſhmen. In fine, the government of England is a monarchy; the monarch is the ancient ſtock from which have ſprung thoſe goodly branches of the legiſlature, the Lords and Commons, *that at the ſame time give ornament to the tree; and afford ſhelter to thoſe who ſeek protection under it.* But theſe are ſtill only branches, and derive their origin and their nutriment from the common parent: they may be lopped off, and the tree is a tree ſtill; *ſhorn, indeed, of its honours*, but not, like them, caſt into the fire. The Kingly government may go on, in all its functions, without Lords or Commons: it has heretofore done ſo, for years together, and in our times it does ſo during every receſs of parliament; but, without the King, his parliament is no more. The King, therefore, alone, it is who neceſſarily ſubſiſts without change or diminution; and from him alone we unceaſingly derive the protection of law and government." Notwithſtanding a trifling ambiguity of language, it ſeems evident, that the writer of this paſſage really intended nothing more than to repreſent the monarch as poſſeſſing a permanent action, and the Lords and Commons only an occaſional action, in the great machine of government: a poſition ſo palpably true that it does not admit of contradiction.

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they availed themſelves to the fulleſt extent. Mr. Sheridan, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the bitterneſs of his remarks. The trial of Mr. Reeves did not come on till the following May, when the verdict of a jury acquitted him of criminal intention, but cenſured, nevertheleſs, his work, as an improper publication. On what ground the jury mingled this cenſure with the verdict of acquittal, their foreman did not, perhaps, think it neceſſary to explain.

We muſt now return, to follow the progreſs of thoſe bills, out of the diſcuſſion on which this trial aroſe. The great ſtand of the oppoſition, againſt the bill for preventing ſeditious aſſemblies, was made on the queſtion of the ſecond reading. The bill was defended by the Solicitor General, Mr. Anſtruther, Lord Mornington, Mr. Dundas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was reſiſted by Mr. Erſkine, and Mr. Milbank, Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox.

The debate was opened by the Solicitor General, Sir John Mitford, who, at conſiderable length, vindicated and explained the principles and tendency of the bill. The public notoriety of ſeditious proceedings, he, like his colleagues, deemed a ſufficient ground for calling on the legiſlature to provide additional ſecurities to guard the conſtitution; and he complained that the bill ſcarcely went far enough to accompliſh its purpoſe. Admitting that the right of Engliſhmen to diſcuſs public grievances, and to petition againſt them, ought to be held ſacred, he maintained that the bill left the right untouched, and ſolely provided againſt any abuſe of the right. In proof that the preſence of a magiſtrate would have no prejudicial effect, he urged that the freeſt ſtates which had exiſted, even the Roman republic itſelf, in the zenith of its liberty and fame, had never permitted the people to aſſemble, except in a regular body, under the controul of the magiſtrate. The proviſions of the bill were, he contended, conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our laws, and the practice of our government. It having been pleaded, in bar to the bill, that the community at large were loyal, and that the number of factious perſons was too inconſiderable to juſtify the houſe in giving its ſanction to ſo reſtrictive a law, the Solicitor General replied, that few in number as were the ſeditious, they were capable of doing infinite miſchief; and, on this head, he ſtrengthened his argument, by reminding his hearers that the revolutionary writers had laid it down as a maxim, that all revolutions are effected by minorities; it being, according to them, an indiſputable fact, that the perſevering active ſpirit of the few will always triumph over the peaceable inactive diſpoſition of the more numerous claſs of the people. No minority could, he ſaid, be more inceſſantly active than the minority in this country; and, conſequently, ſtrong meaſures were required, to put a ſtop to their progreſs. He concluded by giving it as his deliberate opinion, that the preſent laws were flagrantly inſufficient, either for prevention or puniſhment.

Mr. Erſkine, who had hitherto remained in the back ground, now took

took the lead in oppoſition, and ſeemed well diſpoſed to make up for his paſt ſilence, by his preſent exertions. His ſpeech was long, acute, ſevere; but diſplayed more of forenſic than of ſenatorial eloquence. Much of it was occupied by legal diſquiſition and deduction, and reference to, or quotation from, legal and parliamentary authorities. Much of it was alſo employed in vindicating the uſe of the word equality, in denying that his clients in 1794 were conſpirators, in recommending peace, and in laying down the cauſes which produced the revolution in France. Thoſe cauſes he aſſerted to be, an infamous deſpotiſm, a profound ſuperſtition, and, above all, the ſtrict ſeparation of the people into two claſſes; the one being a pampered, haughty, profligate nobility, the other a low, miſerable, and abject rabble. In this country, ſuch a ſeparation had, he thought, been for ſome time taking place, on the part of the higher claſſes. The bill before the houſe, he deſcribed as an act abrogating and annulling the conſtitution; an act to which the people of England ought not to ſubmit, and to which they would not ſubmit, unleſs they had become loſt to all ſenſe of freedom, and of national honour. The right of the ſubject to petition was abſolutely deſtroyed by it. On the power entruſted to magiſtrates, he animadverted with vehemence; repreſenting it as enormous, tyrannical, and calculated to prevent any meeting whatever from taking place. It was intended to ſtifle the voice of the country. Magiſtrates, he ſaid would never be at a loſs for a pretext to break up a meeting; one of their own hirelings could, in an inſtant, furniſh them with a pretext. Nor could any puniſhment be inflicted on them for exerciſing a power, which the words of the bill proved to be entirely diſcretionary. If thirty or forty of the moſt reſpectable magiſtrates in the kingdom, if even the twelve judges of England, were to join in a meeting, two hired, hungry, jobbing juſtices might, with impunity, diſperſe them all. No criminal information could be filed againſt thoſe juſtices, for this exerciſe of their diſcretion. Mr. Erſkine wound up his ſpeech by affirming that the laws were already ſtrong enough to puniſh thoſe offences at which the bill profeſſed to be aimed; and, in ſupport of this affirmation, he took an extenſive view of the various ſtatutes which, from the period of the reign of Charles the Second down to the preſent times, had been enacted, for the diſcouragement, diſperſion, or puniſhment of illegal and tumultuary aſſemblies.

Mr. Erſkine was fully replied to, by Mr. Anſtruther, and Lord Mornington. The firſt of theſe gentlemen re-ſtated, and placed in a ſtrong and luminous point of view, moſt of the arguments which had before been urged, and he, with much acuteneſs, controverted many of the poſitions which had been relied on by Mr. Erſkine, as well relative to the novelty as to the tyranny and danger of the meaſure. The danger and tyranny he ſhowed to have no exiſtence, but in imagination; and the novelty he denied, producing, at the ſame time, ſeveral inſtances, in which

which parliament had paſſed ſimilar reſtrictive laws, upon extraordinary emergencies.

The ſpeech of Lord Mornington was of conſiderable length, and poliſhed eloquence, cloſely reaſoned, and principally intended to demonſtrate the neceſſity of the law. He traced, minutely and accurately, the proceedings of all the ſocieties, pointed out the dangerous conduct and language which they had held, and ſupported his charges againſt them, by quoting books and pamphlets, which were publiſhed by perſons notoriouſly of their body, and recommended by them to the public as patriot bookſellers. Among the numerous extracts, quoted by the noble ſpeaker, was one which contained a direct call on the people, to ſeize and divide between them the property of the rich, and to murder the proprietors in caſe of reſiſtance; and another, which taught the doctrine of king-killing, and claimed for notorious regicides the reverence of mankind. To the favourite idea of ſome gentlemen, that the ſmallneſs of the numbers of the diſaffected was an objection to any extenſion of the laws; his lordſhip replied by deſiring them to remember that the men who excited the commotions in Geneva, who accompliſhed the dreadful maſſacres of September, and even who brought about the French revolution, were contemptible in numbers; and he aſked thoſe gentlemen whether, becauſe the conſtitutions of the people of England were ſtrong, they ought, therefore, to be fed with poiſon?

The debate was continued till a late hour, and an admirable diſplay of eloquence was made, by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Nothing new in reaſoning was, however, or indeed could be, urged, on either ſide of the queſtion. A varied arrangement, and additional ornament, was all that could be expected. A conſiderable ſhare of the debate was, in reality, conſumed in perſonal attacks, and in bitter recrimination, between the contending parties, each of which ſeemed anxious to paint in the darkeſt colours the whole political life of the party oppoſed to it. At length, on a diviſion being called for, the ſecond reading was carried, by two hundred and thirteen againſt forty-three voices.

On the order of the day, for the ſecond reading of the bill to protect the perſon of the ſovereign, no debate occurred. Mr. Fox, in a brief ſpeech, oppoſed it, on the ground that many members were abſent; but the ſecond reading was, nevertheleſs, agreed to, by ſixty-four ayes againſt twenty-two noes.

The pointed attack which Lord Mornington had made on it, compelled the London Correſponding Society to take ſome ſteps, to clear its character. It accordingly iſſued a declaration, addreſſed to the Britiſh people, in which it ſolemnly denied that it had publiſhed, ſanctioned, or connived at the publication of any other works than ſeven, the names of which it enumerated. The declaration likewiſe diſclaimed ſome of the principles of the books quoted by his lordſhip, and aſſerted that the perſon who publiſhed thoſe books was not a member of the ſociety. This aſſertion was repeated by Mr. Sturt, in the houſe of Commons.

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It is certain, notwithſtanding, that he ſtyled himſelf one of the ſociety's bookſellers, and that his houſe was one of the houſes which it appointed for the reception of ſignatures, againſt the pending bills. His name was even officially inſerted, in the liſt of receivers of ſignatures, on the day ſubſequent to the date of the ſociety's declaration. From this circumſtance, it is obvious, that his incendiary conduct was not regarded with any great degree of abhorrence, by thoſe who now diſavowed any participation in his pamphlets, and rejected ſome of his principles.

This declaration was ſpeedily followed by a ſecond *, entitled an explicit declaration of the principles and views of the London Correſponding Society, addreſſed to the parliament and people of Great Britain. It was elaborate, not intemperately written, and contained little that could give riſe to ſerious objection. It certainly ſpoke a very different language from ſome of the former manifeſtos of the Correſponding Society.

In proportion as the bills proceeded in their progreſs through the Houſe of Commons, both parties ſeem to have heated by continual debate, and to have grown leſs cautious than uſual in their choice of expreſſions. On the twenty-third of November, in announcing the days on which he wiſhed the bills to go into their reſpective committees, the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid againſt the members on the contrary ſide, a charge of ſhamefully miſrepreſenting the propoſed meaſures, and of having uſed inflammatory language, and the moſt unfair dealing, for the purpoſe of ſwelling the number of petitions. This accuſation was not liſtened to with much patience by thoſe againſt whom it was made. Mr. Grey, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, anſwered it, with equal aſperity, and a ſevere altercation in conſequence enſued. In the courſe of the conteſt, Mr. Fox moved to poſtpone, for eight days, the further conſideration of the bills. His ſpeech was more than commonly pointed and indignant. The bills he ſtigmatized, as poſitively repealing the Bill of Rights, and cutting up by the roots the whole of the Conſtitution, by changing our limited monarchy into an abſolute deſpotiſm. Parliament would not, he truſted, ſanction them, contrary to the declared ſenſe of the great majority of the people. But if, in ſpite of that declared ſenſe, miniſters ſhould be ſo reſolute in their ſpirit of deſtruction, as to carry them through, by means of their corrupt influence in the two houſes, and ſhould attempt to put them in force, then, were the people to aſk his opinion, he ſhould, he ſaid, reply to them that obedience was no longer a queſtion of morality and duty, but of prudence. It would be a caſe of extremity, which would juſtify reſiſtance, and the ſole queſtion would be, whether that reſiſtance was prudent. This he repeated, as his deliberate opinion. With reſpect to amendment, he declared that no mending could render the bills leſs execrable. It might cover the poiſon; it might make them more palatable; and this would be ſo much the worſe. For his own part,

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 152*.

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he wiſhed the people to ſee the attack upon the conſtitution, in all its glaring open treaſon, that they might be rouſed to the defence of their liberties; and, therefore, he would not lend his aid to qualify the atrocious wickedneſs which diſtinguiſhed the bills.

Theſe hardy expreſſions were immediately caught up, by the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, and commented upon in terms of the bittereſt reprobation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer conſidered them as nothing ſhort of advice to the people, to appeal to the ſword; and he declared that they inſpired him with the deepeſt indignation and horror. Though he did not expreſsly give them the name of treaſon, he plainly intimated that they had an undoubted claim to be called by that appellation. The Secretary at War, too, concurred in the opinion of his colleague; and added that, if Mr. Fox, who reſted on no majority but that of force, had determined to reſort to that majority, he would find that, in ſuch a caſe, miniſters were, on their part, determined to exert, in reſiſtance to him, a vigour more than law.

The ſentiments of Mr. Windham excited, among the members in oppoſition, as much clamour as thoſe of Mr. Fox had done, among the friends of the miniſtry. They were vehemently cenſured, and thoſe of Mr. Fox vindicated, and fully coincided in, by Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan; the latter of whom inſinuated a compariſon between Robeſpierre and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and predicted the ſame fate to the latter as had been ſuffered by the former. At the cloſe of the debate, Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived, and the motion of the Premier was adopted.

Notwithſtanding the defeat of Mr. Fox's attempt, the party hoſtile to the bills determined to make another effort, to retard them at leaſt, and to gain time for procuring againſt them a more full manifeſtation of the public hatred. Accordingly, a motion, to adjourn the diſcuſſion for a week, was made, on the twenty-fifth of November, by Mr. Curwen, and was ſupported by Mr. Harriſon, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Lambton, and Mr. Fox. The neceſſity of proceeding with ſlowneſs, in order to afford the people an opportunity of expreſſing their ſentiments; the horrible nature of the bills; their being wholly unneceſſary, and likewiſe ineffectual for their oſtenſible purpoſes; and the dreadful conſequences which might ariſe, from their being paſſed into laws; were the main arguments which were urged in favour of delay. In bringing them forward, a brilliant diſplay of oratory was made, eſpecially by Mr. Fox, whoſe ſpeech, particularly towards its cloſe, however it might fail to convince, could not fail to give pleaſure by its glowing eloquence. The gentlemen in oppoſition did not deny that they were actuated by a wiſh to throw all poſſible impediments in the way of the meaſures. On the contrary, they gloried in being ſo actuated. They would, they ſaid, entrench themſelves in all the forms which were wiſely allowed by the houſe, and they felt a firm conviction, that every day, every hour, every moment, that they protracted the paſſing of the bills,

bills, was a day, an hour, a moment, preſerved to the freedom of the people.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Wallace, Mr. W. Addington, and Mr. Grant. The principal ſhare in the debate was, however, taken by the latter gentleman, who ſpoke with an acuteneſs, elegance, and animation, to which even his opponents bore honourable teſtimony. He ingenuouſly avowed, that the bills did, in ſome degree, trench upon the conſtitution, and were ſuch as, if brought forward, in time of peace, merely as a ſpeculative improvement, he would reject, without a moment's heſitation. But it appeared to him, that the legiſlature was reduced to a choice between two evils. It muſt either ſanction the bills, or ſuffer the ſeditious to accompliſh the ruin of the Conſtitution itſelf. In this arduous dilemma, he would vote for the leſſer evil, for an evil it certainly was. The houſe, he ſaid, had been adviſed to try conciliation, and to reclaim the diſaffected, by gentleneſs and a reform of abuſes. But he denied that conciliatory conduct could be productive of any beneficial effect. On this head, he went into an elaborate detail, to prove that the reformers, as they were called, would admit of no compromiſe: They held our government to be an uſurpation of the rights of the people, and the adminiſtration of it to be altogether corrupt, ridiculed our conſtitution as a ſyſtem of ſlavery, diſliked every form which bore a reſemblance to it, entertained a gloomy and fanatic averſion to all that was Engliſh, and would, therefore, be ſatisfied with nothing ſhort of a ſurrender of our religion, our property, and all our ancient and cheriſhed laws and inſtitutions. They would accept nothing leſs than the whole of what they were pleaſed to denominate the rights of man. It was true that, ſince parliament had deliberated on repreſſive meaſures, they had turned ſhort round, changed their tone, and profeſſed an extravagant and romantic reverence for the conſtitution; but the purpoſe of this ſudden change was too obvious not to be perceived at the firſt glance, and ought to be fruſtrated by the vigilance, promptitude, and wiſdom of the legiſlature.

On the queſtion being put, the motion for adjournment was negatived, by two hundred and fifty-nine noes againſt ſeventy ayes. The houſe again divided, on the queſtion of the ſpeaker leaving the chair, which was carried, by a majority of two hundred and one. The Houſe then went into a committee, on the bill for preventing ſeditious meetings, the chairman reported progreſs, and the diſcuſſion was poſtponed, till the day after the morrow.

When, on the day appointed, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider the clauſes, and fill up the blanks, of the bill for preventing ſeditious meetings, all the leading members of oppoſition, Mr. Sheridan alone excepted, faithful to their reſolution of lending no aid to mitigate the rigour of the meaſure, immediately roſe, and quitted the houſe in a body. Even Mr. Sheridan remained behind only to indulge in ſarcaſm and reproach.

In filling up the blanks of the ſecond clauſe, it was ſettled that the number of perſons, requiſite

requiſite to conſtitute an illegal meeting, muſt exceed fifty. When the third clauſe was read, making it criminal for twelve perſons to remain one hour together, after an order to diſperſe had been proclaimed, the ſolicitor general propoſed that the penalty ſhould be death, without benefit of clergy. To many friends of the bill this appeared, and certainly on good grounds, to be too ſevere; and an amendment, providing that diſobedience ſhould only be puniſhed as a miſdemeanour, was in conſequence moved, and was warmly ſupported by Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Banks, and Sir William Dolben. But their benevolent efforts were unſucceſsful. The heavier penalty was adopted, by a majority of eighty againſt thirteen. One great improvement was, however, made in the bill, by ſtriking out the whole of the clauſe, which originally empowered the magiſtrates to diſſolve a meeting, whenever, by reaſon of ſpecial circumſtances, it ſhould, in their judgment, become dangerous to the public peace *. The duration of the bill was the laſt point which came under debate. Three years was the period which was fixed on, by the ſolicitor general. Mr. Stanley, on the contrary, contended for limiting the time to a year; but, this being overruled, he ſuggeſted the term of two years. On the latter queſtion the houſe divided, and the ſolicitor general's motion was carried, by forty-ſix affirmative againſt only two negative voices. The bill then paſſed the committee, the report was immediately received, and a day was appointed, for taking it into conſideration.

The bill for the protection of the king's perſon did not paſs ſo ſmoothly through the committee. On the order of the day being moved, for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, it was warmly oppoſed by Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Fox; particularly by the former, who, in a long ſpeech, fraught with legal learning and diſquiſition, objected to the bill, on the ſcore of its looſeneſs of language, its inutility, and its harſh and unconſtitutional ſpirit. It went, he ſaid, to create new and unneceſſary treaſons, to diſorganize the ſyſtem of our civil juriſprudence, to alter and render oppreſſive the preſent libel law, and, by ſanctioning grievous and vexatious meaſures, to excite diſaffection, and to engender diſcord. Theſe aſſertions were controverted, by the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Attorney General, who conſidered them as entirely without foundation. The commitment of the bill was finally carried, by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-three. A motion was made, by Mr. Stanley, to limit the duration of the bill to three years; but it was negatived, and the period of the King's life was adopted as the term, by a hundred and twenty-nine voices againſt only ſix diſſentient. The reſt of the clauſes were then read, and agreed

* In a work, which profeſſes to be a hiſtory of the year 1796, this clauſe is erroneouſly ſtated to have received the ſanction of the houſe.

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to, with merely the difference of ſome trifling technical alterations.

When the report of the committee, on the ſeditious meeting bill, was received, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan ſtated a variety of objections, to particular parts of the bill, but they ſtill perſiſted in declining to bring forward any amendments. Mr. Fox, however, moved that the reading of the report ſhould be delayed, till the next day; and this being negatived, without a diviſion, he, and all the members of his party, again left the houſe. After their departure, the report was gone through, and a few changes and additions, of little moment, were made in ſome of the clauſes.

The final reading of the ſeditious meeting bill took place on the third of December. The bill for the protection of the King's perſon was not read the third time, till the tenth of the ſame month. On both theſe occaſions, the party in oppoſition rallied all their ſtrength, and made a vigorous reſiſtance. The firſt of the bills was, nevertheleſs, paſſed by a large majority; there being only fifty-one noes, againſt two hundred and ſixty-ſix ayes. The bill was immediately ſent up to the lords, and was, on the ſpot, read a firſt time, and ordered to be printed. The ſecond bill was alſo paſſed, without a diviſion, after an animated debate. Mr. Sheridan propoſed a clauſe, to extend the proviſions of the bill to Scotland, in order to deprive the Scotch judges of that arbitrary and diſcretional power, which they had ſo obnoxiouſly exerciſed; but his clauſe was negatived, by a hundred and eighty-four ayes, againſt twenty-ſeven noes.

During the whole of the diſcuſſion, petitions continued to flow in, from all parts of the country, on the ſpirit ſtirring theme of the bills; and to be the fruitful ſource of ſharp diſpute, between the contending parties. In point of number of ſignatures, the petitions againſt the bills certainly maintained, till the laſt, a ſuperiority over thoſe of a contrary nature. There is, however, reaſon to ſuppoſe that the great weight of property, and even of intellect, was indiſputably on the ſide of thoſe who were friendly to reſtrictions. At the ſame time, it muſt in candour be ſtated, that very many perſons, who thought it neceſſary to check, without delay, the progreſs of ſedition, were alſo of opinion, that this might be accompliſhed by laws leſs unfavourable to the liberty of the ſubject than thoſe which were adopted.

After the bill for preventing ſeditious meetings had been ſent up to the lords, the London Correſponding Society convoked, in Mary-le-bone-fields, an aſſembly of their partiſans, which was numerouſly attended. An addreſs to the nation *, a petition and remonſtrance to the King, and various reſolutions, were voted by the multitude. Seemingly tired of their recently aſſumed moderation, the ſociety now threw off the maſk and again ſpoke the language of defiance and menace. Nothing could be of a more ir- Dec. 7

* See the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 154*, &c.

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flammatory tendency than their addreſs. It held up to the hatred of the country, as ſanguinary, corrupt, profuſe and tyrannical the whole ſyſtem of foreign and domeſtic policy, on which the government had acted, for the laſt half century; in covert but eaſily underſtood terms, it ſtimulated the people to reſiſt the continuance of that ſyſtem, unleſs they wiſhed to become the ſcoff of mankind; and it ſtrenuouſly laboured to withdraw from their duty the ſailors and ſoldiery, by teaching them that they were reduced to the vile condition of ſlaves, and unjuſtly and wantonly ſubjected to the moſt ignominious puniſhments. The laws before parliament were drawn in the darkeſt colours, as certain to be productive of the direſt conſequences to the happineſs and ſafety of Engliſhmen, and leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient to rouſe the people, it was falſely and inſidiouſly added, that they were ſaid to be only a part of a regular digeſted ſeries of deſpotic enactments. Then, with that mockery, or cunning, which they had before diſplayed, the ſociety cloſed their addreſs, with a recommendation of circumſpectneſs and temperance. The petition to the King was couched in more guarded words, and expreſſed a hope that he would put his negative on the bills, diſmiſs his miniſters, and reſtore the bleſſings of peace. The principal of the reſolutions were of a ſimilar tenor with the addreſs to the nation, and were obviouſly meant to lead the community to believe that, by attempting to carry the bills into effect, the government would violate the compact, made at the revolution of 1688, and, by ſo doing, would juſtify an open reſiſtance on the part of the people.

In the courſe of its paſſage through the Houſe of Peers, the bill againſt ſeditious meetings was vigorouſly oppoſed, by the Dukes of Bedford, Norfolk, and Leeds, the Marquis of Lanſdown, the Earls of Moira, Derby, Lauderdale, and Abingdon, and by Lord Thurlow. The latter, eſpecially, contended againſt it with much warmth, and with all the weight of his acknowledged abilities. On the other ſide, it was as ſtrongly defended by the Lord Chancellor, Earls Spencer, Mansfield, and Weſtmoreland, and Lords Grenville, Boringdon, Mulgrave, and Hawkeſbury. It was finally paſſed *, on the fourteenth of December, by a majority of forty-three; there being fifty-ſeven contents againſt fourteen who voted for its rejection. Two ſpirited proteſts againſt it were entered, by its opponents, on the journals of the houſe.

The laſt public proceeding, to which theſe bills gave birth, was an extraordinary meeting of the Whig Club, in which it was reſolved to form an aſſociation, for the ſole purpoſe of obtaining their repeal. An argumentative and well written declaration †, of the motives and principles of the club, was, likewiſe, ſubſequently publiſhed, by order of a general committee, at which Mr. Fox preſided.

* For a ſketch of the bill, as paſſed, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 172*.
† See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 160*.

Of the two laws, the theme of ſo much reproach, invective, and gloomy prediction, the one expired, and the other has continued to exiſt, without having, in a ſingle inſtance, been brought into action. Still, however, it affords cauſe for regret, that circumſtances ſhould have been ſuch as to make neceſſary their enactment. Independently of the ſtrong objection which lies againſt any extenſion of our penal code, already too voluminous, and too profuſe of life, there is ſomething peculiarly and juſtly obnoxious in laws which circumſcribe within narrower bounds, or render more difficult the ready exerciſe of, the liberties of the ſubject. Succeſſive encroachments, each of them perhaps trifling in itſelf, at length have the fatal effect, of both wearing down the rights, and deſtroying the ſpirit of the people. Each encroachment acts as the pioneer for that which follows its footſteps. Even when the benevolence, or the timidity, of a miniſter forbears to put reſtrictive ſtatutes in force, they yet operate injudiciouſly, by depreſſing the vigour and high feeling of the public mind. They can, likewiſe, always be called into formidable action, by a ſubſequent miniſter, of leſs tenderneſs, or more courage; who, under the ſhield of laws which have preſcription in their favour, may venture, and with a ſmaller ſhare of odium, to go farther than he would have thought of going, had it been neceſſary for him to require, from a probably jealous legiſlature, new powers to ſanction his proceedings. Nor does the repeal, or natural death, of ſuch ſtatutes deprive them of all their noxious qualities. They furniſh plauſible precedents to thoſe who are deſirous of narrowing the limits of freedom; and this alone would render it an evil for them to have exiſted, as it too often happens that a precedent, however abſurd it may be, has, with many perſons, an over-powering weight of influence, which ought never to be allowed but to the deductions of reaſon. Had not the daring projects of the Britiſh partiſans of republican or, more properly ſpeaking anarchical France compelled the miniſters of this country to deviſe reſtrictive meaſures, ſuch laws would either never have been projected by them, or would have been negatived by parliament; and this circumſtance affords another ſtrong inducement, to every Engliſh lover of freedom, to regard with a bitter hatred the diſorganizing principles of the French revolution.

CHAP. XVII.

Committee of Supply. A hundred and ten thouſand ſeamen voted. General Macleod moves for returns of the whole military force of the country. Motion acceded to. Mr. Windham brings forward the army eſtimates. Debate upon the ſubject. The oppoſition animadverts ſtrongly on the conduct

duct of Miniſters. They complain of the enormous amount of the eſtimates, and of the neglect in ſending out medicines to the Weſt Indies. Reply of the Miniſters. Debate on the Fencible Cavalry. The oppoſition declare the eſtabliſhment of fencible cavalry to be expenſive, unconſtitutional, and intended to introduce a military government. General Smith moves the recommitment of the report. The oppoſition cenſure the expedition to Quiberon, the conduct of miniſters to old officers, and the ſlowneſs with which the reinforcement had been got ready for the Weſt Indies. The miniſters reply with great ſpirit to the various charges brought againſt them. The motion for the recommitment of the report is negatived. Debate on bringing up the report on the Army extraordinaries. The extenſive erection of barracks is ſeverely reprobated by the oppoſition. Mr. Whitbread moves, but without ſucceſs, to leave out of the report the ſum expended on barracks. Motion reſpecting barracks brought forward by General Smith. He moves for a Committee of Enquiry. Mr. Windham enters into an elaborate defence of the barrack ſyſtem. General Smith's motion ſupported by Mr. Courtenay, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Fox. The motion is negatived.

THE buſineſs of providing for the defence of the State, and of raiſing the ſums applicable to that defence, commenced on the fourth of November, when Lord Arden, in a committee of ſupply, moved that a hundred and ten thouſand ſeamen, including eighteen thouſand marines, ſhould be employed for the naval ſervice of the year 1796, and that a monthly ſum of four pounds per man ſhould be allowed for thirteen months. The motion was agreed to. A complaint was made by Mr. M. Robinſon that, in conſequence of the faulty mode of ſtowage, a great mortality had taken place among the troops ſent to the Weſt Indies. The complaint, however, was aſſerted, by Mr. Dundas, to be wholly unfounded.

The Houſe, on a ſubſequent day, granted 624,000l. for the ordinary pay of the navy, including the marines; and alſo a ſum of 708,400l. for building and repairing ſhips of war.

Next in order were the army eſtimates, which were brought forward, on the twentieth of November, by Mr. Windham. Previouſly to the diſcuſſion of them, General Macleod moved for returns of all the military force of the country. It was, he ſaid, one of the moſt important duties of the houſe, to keep a vigilant guard over the purſe of the people, to watch the conduct of miniſters in carrying on the war, to ſee that the means of thoſe miniſters were equal to their ends, and that they were not buſied in forming idle, extravagant, and impracticable projects. The object of his motion was to procure an enquiry, as to what purpoſe the money of their conſtituents was iſſued, how it was applied, the number of men that were paid, and the allowance granted to each. He intimated alſo that, if the returns were granted, the houſe would ſee that gallant and experienced officers had been neglected, and truſt had been com-

mitted to officers who, neither from age nor military ſkill, were qualified to diſcharge it with advantage to the country.

The charges urged by the general were repelled by the miniſters, who contended, that the executive government had been active and vigilant in their exertions for the ſecurity of the country, that never had the military ſtrength of Great Britain been more ample than at preſent, nor ever had better military arrangements been made for the maintenance of the conſtitution and laws. Some of the returns moved for could not, they ſaid, be given, becauſe they did not exiſt, but on the other heads they were willing to give all the information in their power, being convinced that the reſult of that information would be found to do them honour. The motions ſlightly modified, were then carried.

Mr. Windham now entered upon the army eſtimates. The firſt reſolution which he moved was, that 207,000 men ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the current year. Under two articles was comprehended, he ſaid, the whole land force of the country. The firſt, that of guards and garriſons, included the army on the continent, when there was any, all the troops in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and thoſe who ſerved on ſhip-board, and was in reality ſynonimous with our home army. By withdrawing the army from the continent, this branch of our force was decreaſed to 42,219. The ſecond article, that of colonies and plantations, comprized all the troops not contained in the firſt; the troops at Gibraltar, Corſica, and elſewhere. In conſequence of the augmentation of the army in the Weſt Indies, this diviſion of our force had ariſen from 35,000 men, to 77,868. The Weſt India Staff alſo was encreaſed, but he deſired the committee to recollect that the medical ſtaff was included in the increaſe. The general reſult of the whole he ſtated to be, that the army, which nevertheleſs, was found equal to every purpoſe of defence, had undergone a reduction of twenty-five thouſand men, and that a ſaving of 817,000l. had, in conſequence, accrued.

The eſtimates called forth many objections from ſome of the members in oppoſition. General Tarleton conſidered them as much larger than might have been expected in the preſent circumſtances of the war. To the whole ſtatement of the fencible cavalry he particularly objected, and declared that he did not ſee the utility of ſo much cavalry within the kingdom, in addition to the regulars and yeomanry cavalry. The increaſed number and expence of general and ſtaff officers was alſo a ſubject of complaint. He remarked, too, that though the body of American reduced officers had been leſſened, the charge on that head was as great for the preſent year as the laſt. On the progreſſive augmentation of the land force, and the conſequent burthens ſuſtained by the people, he expreſſed great alarm. From the year 1792, to the end of 1794, the expenditure had, he ſaid, accumulated in the extraordinary ratio of from one million to eleven; and if the country went on upon this plan of

increaſing

increaſing profuſion, ruin muſt be the inevitable conſequence.

Much blame was, by General Macleod and others, thrown upon miniſters, with reſpect to the army in the Weſt Indies. The medicines for that army had, it was ſaid, been ſent out in the moſt extraordinary manner; they had been ſent in a ſingle ſhip, which was captured by Victor Hugues. The negligence of miniſters in this inſtance might be productive of the moſt fatal effects. It was alſo aſſerted, that there was but too great reaſon to fear that the ſtorms would prevent the reinforcements, to the Weſt Indies, from ever reaching their deſtination.

The miniſters defended themſelves from the accuſation of neglect by ſtating that the magnitude of our naval force in the weſtern hemiſphere was ſuch as to render the capture of the medicine ſhip a matter of ſurprize; and they added, that no exertion had been omitted to repair the loſs, as ſoon as it was known. In proof that nothing had been forgotten which could contribute to the comfort of the troops, they appealed to a letter of the commander-in-chief, bearing teſtimony in their favour. The fears which oppoſition had expreſſed for the ſafety of the troops they removed by producing recent diſpatches, which announced the arrival of the reinforcements in the Weſt Indies, without any loſs.

When the reſolution was put, to vote 480,000l. for the maintenance of 10,000 fencible cavalry, a warm debate enſued. It was contended that miniſters could aſſign no plauſible reaſon for the keeping up of ſuch a force. That force could not be meant to repel foreign invaſion, as the ſuperiority of our navy made the idea of invaſion an abſurdity too great to enter into the mind even of an old woman. It was, in reality, meant to ſupport the machiavelian policy of the miniſter, and to compel the people, by military execution, to ſurrender their rights and liberties. Miniſters, however, were warned that the experiment might be fraught with danger to them, and were adviſed to look back to the time of the ſecond James.

By the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary at War it was anſwered, that government conſidered the whole of the exiſting force as not more than ſufficient to place the country on a reſpectable footing with regard to its foreign enemies, and inſure its internal tranquillity. I am ſorry to declare, ſaid the ſecretary, that there has been occaſion for the fencibles, and if the opinions of certain gentlemen ſhould be followed, there is likely to be a great deal more occaſion for them.

On this queſtion the oppoſition divided the houſe. It was, notwithſtanding, carried, by 62 voices againſt 14.

The debate was renewed, when the report of the committee of ſupply was brought up, on the ſecond of December. General Smith moved the recommitment of the report, on the ground that time ought to be given for a minute examination of the eſtimates. The motion was ſupported by General Macleod, General Tarleton, Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, and Mr. William Smith. Among the moſt prominent objects of their animadverſion was the fencible cavalry. It was

again repreſented as ſhamefully expenſive, uſeleſs for any good end, and deſigned to enable the miniſters to ruin the conſtitution, and eſtabliſh a tyranny over the country. A compariſon was drawn between Mr. Pitt, and Lewis the fourteenth. The ſyſtem of Lewis the fourteenth, it was ſaid, was dragooning thoſe whom he thought religiouſly diſaffected; the miniſter's ſyſtem was dragooning thoſe whom he thought politically diſaffected to his meaſures.

Complaint was made that regiments upon the eſtabliſhment had been given to members of parliament, for the diſgraceful purpoſe of patronage and corruption. Old officers of great merit and experience had been obliged to ſell out, or remain broken-hearted under the command of raw boys, who were ignorant of even the commoneſt military manœuvre. Such officers alſo thought themſelves ill treated, in not being preferred to command the fencible corps, inſtead of perſons who were wholly inexperienced.

The expedition to Quiberon was cenſured in the ſtrongeſt terms. It was alſo urged that the expence which the nation had incurred on account of the emigrant corps, and the manner in which the emigrants were employed, ought to be made a ſubject of enquiry. In one regiment, of not more than 270 men, it was affirmed, that ninety ſerjeants were enrolled. The ſervices of thoſe corps were no longer wanted; and, therefore, it was proper that they ſhould be diſbanded.

The conduct of the miniſters with reſpect to the Weſt Indian expedition was likewiſe an object of bitter animadverſion. They were charged with having been ſcandalouſly dilatory in collecting troops for the expedition, with having kept the men lingering in tranſports till death relieved them from their ſufferings, with having delayed the ſailing of the fleet, and, finally, with having diſpatched it at a ſeaſon when it would naturally have to encounter the tempeſts, and when, if ever it arrived ſafely in port, the fit period for military operations would be gone by.

In addition to all this, the oppoſition contended that the eſtimates were unreaſonably high, and that miniſters were guilty of greater extravagance than the moſt extravagant of their predeceſſors. The juſtice of the war, in its origin, they alſo denied, and maintained that Europe for the laſt twelve months might have enjoyed the bleſſings of tranquillity, had it not been prevented by the machinations of Britiſh miniſters. Mr. Fox went ſo far as to tell the houſe that Great Britain appeared to Europe in the moſt odious and deteſtable light; as by its obſtinacy it had kept alive the flames of war, which, but for its efforts, would have ſubſided.

The recommitment of the report was oppoſed by Lord Belgrave, the Secretary at War, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Sergent, Mr. Dundas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

With regard to the fencible cavalry, it was anſwered, by the miniſters and their friends, that, on a general view of the force of the country, the cavalry did not appear to be out of proportion to the reſt of the army. It was alſo, they ſaid,

ſaid, to be obſerved that the augmentation of that cavalry was not a new meaſure; it took place before Midſummer laſt, at a period when the ſituation of the country was relatively different. Indeed, a reduction had taken place in this reſpect, the troop which conſiſted of eighty being reduced to fifty-five men. A great number of dragoons had alſo been ſent out of the country, and as it was neceſſary to keep up a certain force in the kingdom, it ſeemed to make little difference whether that force were compoſed of infantry or cavalry, nor did it appear that the force kept up was at all larger than was requiſite.

The charge of giving away regiments for corrupt purpoſes was aſſerted to be untrue. The reaſon, it was ſaid, why old officers had not been preferred into fencible corps was, that the recompence would not have been adequate to their merits, as the officers in thoſe corps had no half-pay, nor any of the advantages afforded by the regular ſervice. The plan, too, of employing men of large fortunes in their reſpective counties was more conducive to the public benefit, as they eaſily procured men, and the corps partook more of the nature of a militia than of regular troops.

As to the Quiberon expedition miniſters declared themſelves ready, upon a proper occaſion, to prove that the meaſure itſelf was wiſe, ſeaſonable, and practicable; and that nothing had been left undone to enſure its ſucceſs. The emigrant corps, they ſaid, had, from their firſt being raiſed, behaved bravely, and done very eſſential ſervice; and, ſo far were they from being now uſeleſs, that, having been recruited and completed, they were embarked with the expedition to the Weſt Indies. The circumſtance of there being ſo large a proportion of officers in one regiment was explained to have ariſen from the regiment having been formed during the heat of the campaign; ſo that no proviſion had been made to fill up the places of the men who were ſlain in battle.

In giving this explanation, the phraſe of "killed off" was uſed by Mr. Windham, when he ſpoke of thoſe who had fallen. The phraſe was noticed by ſome of the members with diſapprobation, as betraying careleſſneſs and levity; and out of the houſe it was induſtriouſly employed to render the honourable gentleman unpopular. By the party-writers and declaimers of the day, it was dwelt upon, as an irrefragable proof that Mr. Windham had no feelings of humanity for thoſe who were the victims of war. That ſuch a charge againſt him was highly calumnious there is not the ſhadow of a doubt; but it is much to be regretted that the ardour of his mind, or his love of ſtrong paradoxical language, ſometimes led him to uſe expreſſions, which, though innocently meant, were capable of receiving from his enemies a malevolent conſtruction.

The vindication of miniſters, on the ſcore of the Weſt India expedition, was principally undertaken by Mr. Dundas. He contended that no delay had taken place, or, at leaſt, no delay which could poſſibly have been avoided. The ſending away a great armament of twenty or thirty thouſand men had been talked of, he ſaid,

as lightly as if the queſtion was merely as to ſending a machine out of the country. The many preparations which were neceſſary for it had never been conſidered. The expedition depended upon drafts from the continent and various former ſervices; the regiments when landed required time to refit, to repoſe, to recruit, and to get the many reinforcements neceſſary; ordnance, proviſions, ſtowage, ammunition of all kinds, and a thouſand other things, were to be provided. Every thing had, however, been got ready in time, and the expedition had been prevented from ſailing only by the contrary winds, for which miniſters were certainly not reſponſible. The late hurricane was undoubtedly a ſerious and expenſive diſaſter, but never had a great misfortune been ſo ſpeedily repaired. At this moment the fleet was completely equipped and refitted; it waited for nothing more than a fair wind, and he truſted it would yet arrive at its deſtination in ſufficient time to be productive of the moſt important and beneficial conſequence.

The attack of Mr. Fox upon the juſtice of the war, and the character of the Britiſh nation, called forth the indignant eloquence of Mr. Pitt, who made a ſplendid panegyric on the conſtitution and exertions of this country, and conſidered the conduct of Mr. Fox as arrogant and preſumptuous, in oppoſing his individual judgment to the repeated and ſolemn judgments which had been given by the houſe on the ſubject of the war.

The reply of Mr. Fox, in explanation, was at once ſpirited and moderate. The queſtion being now loudly called for, the motion for the recommitment of the report was put, and negatived without a diviſion.

The report of the army extraordinaries, which was brought up on the fourth of December, produced a debate of ſome length and animation. A number of articles of minor importance were animadverted upon, but there was one article which excited particular attention. Jealous as the oppoſition were of all miniſterial meaſures, there was no meaſure which they viewed with greater jealouſy than the erection of barracks, which had, for a conſiderable time, been carried on, in various parts of the kingdom. The report on the army extraordinaries neceſſarily brought this ſubject under diſcuſſion.

An amendment, to leave out the ſum paid for the erection of barracks, was moved by Mr. Whitbread. He was ſupported by General Smith, Mr. Grey, Mr. M. A. Taylor, General Tarleton, Mr. Courtenay, Mr Sheridan, and Mr. Fox. It was ſaid that the ſum of 330,600 pounds was on this occaſion called for, without a ſingle document being produced to prove the expenditure, and was enormous; that the building of barracks was carried on to an unconſtitutional length; that barracks were, in truth, fortreſſes; were calculated to diſſociate the ſoldier from his fellow citizens, to overthrow freedom, and to introduce a ſyſtem of military government.

In reply, it was urged that the article of barracks, in the eſtimate, included forage to cavalry, addi-

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tional allowance to inn-keepers, and coals, candles, and beer, furniſhed to the ſoldiers; that in point of economy, the ſyſtem of barracks was completely defenſible; and that, for the ſake of diſcipline and the preſervation of public tranquillity, it was expedient to follow the ſyſtem which was ſo loudly, yet unjuſtly condemned.

The motion of Mr. Whitbread was negatived by ſeventy-four voices, againſt twenty-eight. General Smith was equally unſucceſsful in a motion for recommitting the report. The debate terminated by Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan moving for ſeveral papers, relative to the expences of barracks. Theſe papers were ordered by the houſe.

The whole of the papers thus ordered, were not laid on the table before the ſeventh of March; a circumſtance which furniſhed the oppoſition with occaſion of frequent complaint. At length, on the eighth of April, General Smith came forward with a motion, that "it be referred to a committee, to inquire into the amount of the expenditure in erecting barracks, to inveſtigate by what authority the public money has been ſo applied, and to report the evidence with their opinion to the houſe."

No apology was neceſſary, he ſaid, for calling the conſideration of the houſe to a ſubject of ſuch importance. The expence of erecting barracks was alarmingly enormous; it amounted to more than half the ſum ſaved by Mr. Burke's bill for the reform of the civil liſt. The whole money, expended and to be expended, would be nearly 1,400,000l. Nor was the expence all. The ſyſtem of barracks put an immenſe influence into the hands of the miniſters. There were forty-ſix barrack-maſters, a barrack-maſter general, and nineteen officers, with ſalaries, amounting in all to eleven thouſand pounds. Barrack-maſters had even been appointed, and enjoyed ample ſalaries, before the barracks were built. The conduct of miniſters was, he contended, a groſs violation of Mr. Burke's bill. But the expence, great as it was, was a trifling object, when compared with the unconſtitutional nature of the meaſure. Barracks were already erected capable of containing thirty-four thouſand men, which was double the number of the uſual peace eſtabliſhment. It was clear from this, either that the miniſters had betrayed their truſt, by uſeleſsly ſquandering the public money in building barracks that were not wanted, or that they meant to maintain a ſtanding army, ſufficient to enable them to exerciſe "a vigour beyond the law." The conſtitution had, he declared, been violated and endangered by ſuch a miſapplication of the national treaſure, without the conſent of Parliament, and he, therefore, called upon the houſe to direct an inveſtigation. If the houſe did not do ſo, what he aſked, was to become of the rights of the people, and who were to be conſidered as their protectors?

The leading part in the defence of the miniſtry was taken by the ſecretary at war. The expence of the barracks was the firſt point to which he replied. He admitted its magnitude; contending, at the ſame time, that the

the proper ſtate of the queſtion was, not whether there was a great expence, but whether there was a comparative proportion between the greatneſs of the expenditure, and the importance of the object. On the fulleſt inveſtigation being made, he was confident that nothing would appear, but œconomy and good management for the public intereſt. Not an abuſe could be pointed out which when known, or even ſuſpected, had not inſtantly been remedied or guarded againſt. It had been ſaid that a permanent expence was entailed upon the people. This was not the fact. The heavy expence was at an end, and there would only remain the annual expence of barrack-maſters, which would be inconſiderable. There would, on the other hand, be a permanent ſaving. Including the additional allowance to inn-keepers, the yearly charge to the public would be heavier under the old ſyſtem than under the eſtabliſhment of barracks. He was certain that barracks were cheaper in time of war, and he believed that they would alſo prove cheaper in time of peace.

The practice of billeting ſoldiers on inn-keepers was, he ſaid, an old abuſe; a practice ſtrange, and unknown in any other country. The ſoldiers of the ſtate were not provided at the coſt of the ſtate; but at the coſt of a particular claſs of inhabitants. It was not eaſy to ſhew why ſuch a burthen ſhould be laid upon inn-keepers any more than upon attornies, ſhop-keepers, or any other claſs of people. When the practice commenced, the ſoldier's pay was greater in proportion to the price of commodities, and he then, perhaps, might have been able to pay for his fare as well as any other gueſt. In progreſs of time, however, when there was no proportion between the pay of the ſoldier and his expences at an inn, the inſtitution became oppreſſive to the inn-keepers, ſo much ſo at length, that, laſt year, it had been found abſolutely neceſſary to paſs an act for their relief. It might be urged, indeed, that innkeepers made travellers pay. Still the expence was of oppreſſive operation, and borne either by inn-keepers or travellers, or both. There was alſo another ſtrong objection, which was, that, when the troops were in motion in all parts of the country, they were, in travelling, obliged to follow, with infinite inconvenience, the courſe of the inns, and as the number of capital inns had, for ſome time, been conſiderably on the decreaſe, the grievance became more intolerable to thoſe which remained. In fact, all circumſtances combined to render the erection of new barracks indiſpenſably neceſſary.

Adverting to the objection that the expence had been incurred without being ſubmitted to the judgment of parliament, he ſaid, that, unleſs it became a queſtion of mere form, another queſtion would ariſe, built upon the ſpirit and meaning of our conſtitution, and upon true wiſdom. That there had been a departure from form he would readily allow. The queſtion then was, whether miniſters had miſled the public judgment, or whether the expence had been *bona fide* incurred for the public ſervice, and, from incidental circumſtances, not regularly ſubmitted to the houſe.

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He inſiſted that no public inconvenience had ariſen from the mode of expenditure, nor was there any reaſon to think that the public judgment had been miſled. It could not, in reality, be maintained that the expence was gone into without the knowledge of the houſe. Though the queſtion had not come before the houſe regularly, it had been diſcuſſed in other forms, and having, on ſuch occaſions, the approved judgment of the houſe, it could not, be ſaid, to come unawares upon the nation. In the year 1793, it had come before the houſe, to be diſtinctly conſidered, and he had a right to plead the event of that diſcuſſion, as a virtual approbation of the meaſure. The houſe, therefore, had been ſubſtantially apprized of the meaſure, and as to any eſtimates or details which could have been given, they would have been a compliance with mere form. In no part of the expenditure could the amount of the expence have been eaſily aſcertained. Much had been contracted on the ſpur of the occaſion. Any eſtimates which could have originally been preſented, would, he repeated, have been merely vague conjectures.

The honourable general, he ſaid, had ſtated that three or four years ago there were no ſuch things as barracks. Did he, indeed, know ſo little of the matter, as to make it neceſſary to tell him that barracks, capable of containing 20,000 men, had been erected many years ſince, and were now in uſe! Perhaps it would be ſaid that there was the leſs neceſſity for new barracks. To this he would anſwer that the old barracks were calculated only for infantry, and that they were placed in ſituations not fit for the commodious arrangement of troops throughout the kingdom.

What peace eſtabliſhment it might be neceſſary to keep up, he would not venture to ſay, but it did not follow, as had erroneouſly been inferred, that becauſe barracks exiſted, thoſe barracks muſt neceſſarily, in time of peace, be filled with troops. The ſurplus barracks would, on the breaking out of a new war, be eminently uſeful. If, inſtead of the permanent barracks, adminiſtration had been contented with temporary erections, repeated expences might be incurred, and repeated inconveniencies ſuſtained. It was wiſe, therefore, to ſubmit to a firſt large expence. Theſe barracks, however, were not capable of maintaining any extraordinary increaſe above the peace eſtabliſhment. The cavalry of the laſt peace eſtabliſhment amounted to 3700 men; the barracks built for cavalry would contain 5400 men, and he appealed to the houſe whether the trifling addition could afford any reaſon for alarm.

The patronage which it was affirmed the barrack ſyſtem would put into the hands of miniſters, he denied to be as extenſive as it had been repreſented, and he defended himſelf and his colleagues from the charge of having waſted the public money by paying ſalaries to thoſe who had no duty to perform. Far from the ſituation of the newly appointed barrack-maſters being extremely lucrative, many of them conſidered it as ſo much beneath their expectation, that they were every day reſigning. The places of the officers under the barrack

rack maſters were any thing but ſinecures. The holders of them were obliged to conſtant attendance, and had no perquiſites. They were commonly half-pay officers, and he was glad that there was ſuch a receptacle for ancient and wounded officers, who had grown grey in the ſervice of their country.

Looking at the queſtion in a conſtitutional point of view, the ſyſtem of barracks was, he contended, forced upon the government, by the preſent ſtate of things. It was indiſpenſably neceſſary to withdraw the ſoldiery from the contagion of ſeditious principles, and this could not be done if they were ſuffered to take up their reſidence in the houſes of publicans.

Mr. Windham cloſed his ſpeech by an elaborate defence of an expreſſion uſed by him on a former occaſion, and to which General Smith had alluded in bringing forward the preſent motion. The expreſſion of a vigour beyond the law, was, he ſaid, perfectly correct as he had applied it. He had ſaid no more than what was conveyed in the maxim *Silent leges inter arma*, when it is impoſſible to preſerve the forms of law, becauſe the oppoſite party appeals to another deciſion. A recourſe to arms had been ſeemingly recommended, and he had, therefore, replied that, in caſe the recommendation was adopted, it would be requiſite for the government to maintain its authority by diſplaying a vigour beyond the law.

General Smith's motion was ſupported by Mr. Courtenay, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Grey: by Mr. Courtenay in a ſtrain of ludicrous and ironical language, by the other members and particularly by Mr. Fox, with much argument, and much eloquence.

It was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, denied, that parliament had given an implied ſanction to the barrack-ſyſtem. The caſe which was referred to, as affording proof of the ſanction, did not afford any ſuch proof. The motion, which at that time was made, was for the paſſing of a reſolution that ſuch a ſyſtem of erecting barracks, as was then entered upon, was contrary to the practice and example of our anceſtors. The houſe did not negative the motion; it got rid of it by the order of the day. The moſt that could be drawn from this deciſion was, that it did not diſapprove of what was immediately doing; but certainly the deciſion gave no countenance whatever to the unauthorized expenditure of public money. There was, indeed, not a doubt that if Parliament had known the extent to which miniſters intended to go, it would have put a decided negative upon the plan, as it had formerly done upon the Duke of Richmond's plan of fortification.

It was, alſo, urged, that it was not a mere form which, in this inſtance was violated; but, on the contrary, a fundamental principle of the conſtitution. The conſtitution forbade money to be raiſed or applied without the conſent of parliament. Money, however, had been ſo applied by the miniſters.

The patronage which the barrack ſyſtem gave to the miniſters, was aſſerted to be by no means an unimportant conſi-

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deration, and, it was added that, there was reaſon to believe that a part of this patronage had been exerciſed with a view to a general election.

The pretext that barracks were neceſſary to preſerve the ſoldiers from ſeditious principles was treated as ridiculous. Did ſoldiers, it was aſked, never go out when they were in barracks? Were they always kept under lock and key? Always faſtened to a chain, and guided by their leaders? Did they never live with their families, never mingle with the world as citizens, and ſhare alike the bleſſings of ſociety? Was it abſolutely impoſſible to ſcatter ſeditious papers in the barracks? Or were miniſters not inveſted with ſufficient power to puniſh thoſe who endeavoured to ſeduce the military from their duty?

The plan of ſecluding the ſoldiers from all communication with their fellow citizens, was repreſented as unconſtitutional, abominable and highly dangerous. It tended to make them mere machines, unfit for the defence of a free country. That they ought not to be taught diſobedience was admitted: but it was, on the other hand contended, that indiſcriminate obedience was not the duty of an Engliſhman, whether a ſoldier, or any other citizen. The example of France was likewiſe held up as a warning againſt the barrack ſyſtem. It was contended, that the mode in which the French army was cantoned out in barracks, was a principal operative cauſe in producing the revolution.

Our anceſtors, it was ſaid, were particularly careful to guard againſt the erection of baracks and inland fortreſſes; and there was certainly no reaſon why we ſhould be leſs ſo. We ſeemed, however, to have thrown away all that conſtitutional jealouſy, which ought ever to be awake in a free ſtate. We had ſacrificed it to a falſe alarm. Yet the exorbitant power and influence of the crown, in this country, muſt ever be pregnant with danger to its liberties. In better times the opinion was that it ought to be curtailed, and in the preſent day was there no ground for a continual and watchful jealouſy?

The accounts of the expenditure were not leſs cloſely criticized than the principle of the expenditure itſelf. They were ſaid to be vague, confuſed, and contradictory. In proof of this ſome items were pointed out by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Grey.

The barrack ſyſtem was warmly defended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who maintained that it did not ſeparate the ſoldiers from the reſt of the community, that it was not a novelty unauthoriſed by the conſtitution, and that it had in fact, though not in words, received a parliamentary ſanction. Mr. Steele vindicated the accounts from the charge of inaccuracy and inconſiſtency, and ſtated the ſum which had been expended in the preceding year.

The houſe than divided. The motion was loſt by a majority of ſeventy-four; the ayes being twenty-four, and the noes ninety-eight.

The ſubject, nevertheleſs, did not entirely drop here. It was more than once introduced in ſubſequent debates, and a motion was even brought forward by General Macleod, to procure the removal

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of ſoldiers from barracks, in places were an election was held for a member of parliament. This motion, however, the general, on the advice of his friends, was induced to withdraw.

CHAP. XVIII.

Debates relative to finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announces the Budget at an early period. Petition from Mr. Morgan. The Budget opened. New Taxes. The Miniſter's ſtatement of the reaſons which induced him to abandon, in raiſing the Loan, the principle of competition. Diſſatisfaction of the Members of Oppoſition, with reſpect to the Loan. Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Fox, and others, controvert the ſtatements of the Miniſter. Motion of Mr. W. Smith for the Chairman to leave the Chair. It is carried in the negative. Debates on the new Taxes. Some of the Taxes are adopted, with little oppoſition. Strenuous oppoſition to the tax on Legacies. It paſſes through the Houſe of Commons. It is oppoſed in the Houſe of Lords, but finally paſſes. The Bill for taxing the collateral ſucceſſion to Real Eſtates meets with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that it is withdrawn by the Miniſter. Mr. Sheridan fails in an attempt to obtain the ſuſpenſion of the Legacy Bill. Tax on Dogs propoſed by Mr. Dent. Spirited and witty Debates in conſequence. Mr. Dent's Bill is thrown out. Mr. W. Smith moves for a Committee of the whole Houſe to enquire into the circumſtances of the late Loan. Mr. Pitt oppoſes a Committee of the whole Houſe, and moves for a Committee above Stairs, which is carried. The Loan Bill attacked in the Houſe of Lords. The Miniſters require a vote of Credit for Two Millions and a Half. Warm Debates in conſequence, and ſevere cenſure upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Vote of Credit Bill is finally carried. Proteſt of the Earl of Lauderdale againſt the meaſure.

THE financial affairs of the country engaged, during this ſeſſion, a very conſiderable ſhare of the attention of Parliament, and gave riſe to numerous and animated debates. As early as the eighteenth of November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced his purpoſe of ſhortly bringing under the view of the Houſe of Commons, the Ways and Means, or Budget, of the year. Previouſly, however, to the day named by the miniſter, a petition, which became ſubſequently a cauſe of warm diſcuſſion, was preſented to the houſe by Mr. W. Smith. It was ſigned by nearly two hundred perſons, who had joined, under the management of Mr. Morgan, as ſubſcribers to a loan liſt, on the principle of competition, and who now complained that the Loan had been unfairly diſpoſed of to Meſſrs. Boyd and Co. by which ſerious injury had been done both to themſelves and to the public. They, therefore, called upon the houſe to withhold its ſanction from the contract, which had been entered into with Meſſrs. Boyd and Co. by the

Chancellor of the Exchequer. The conſideration of this petition was poſtponed, till the ſitting of the Committee of Ways and Means.

The Budget was opened, on the ſeventh of December, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Noticing, in a brief exordium, the difficulty of making at ſo early a period an eſtimate of the expences of the year, he aſſigned as his reaſon, for now coming forward with the Budget, that a beneficial effect would moſt probably be produced, by ſhewing the enemy that we were amply provided with the means of carrying on the war. Then, after having rapidly contraſted the wretched ſituation of the French finances, and the flouriſhing ſituation of the Britiſh, he proceeded to lay before the houſe the following ſtatement of the neceſſary ſupplies.

SUPPLIES.

			£.	s.	d.
NAVY—110,000 ſeamen -	£.5,720,000				
Ordinary -	£.624,152 1 8				
Extraordinaries	£.708,400 0 0				
		1,332,552 1 8			
			7,052,552	1	8
ARMY—guards, garriſon, &c. Chelſea, &c. &c.		- -	6,104,452	14	5
Extraordinaries - -		- -	2,646,990	19	10
Foreign corps - -		- 300,000			
Sardinian ſubſidy - -		200,000			
Further extraordinaries computed at		- 350,000			
			850,000	0	0
ORDNANCE -		- -	1,744,471	8	1
Miſcellaneous ſervices, plantation eſtimates, &c. &c.			360,616	8	5
Vote of credit -		-	2,500,000	0	0
Exchequer - -		-	3,500,000	0	0
Annual addition to ſinking fund		-	200,000	0	0
Deficiencies of grants -		- -	2,333,000	0	0
		Total	£.27,292,083	12	5

The miniſter next touched on each head of the Ways and Means, to meet this expenditure, and then ſummed up the whole as follows:

WAYS

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land tax - - - -		£.2,000,000
Malt - - - -		750,000
Growing produce of consolidated fund on 5th Jan. 1796, computed at -	2,395,000	
Money arising from the sale of Dutch prizes	1,000,000	
Impreſt - - - -	200,000	
	3,595,000	
Deduct from half year's intereſt on new ſtock	360,000	
		3,235,000
Exchequer bills - - - -		3,500,000
Loan - - - -		18,000,000
	Total	£.27,485,000

The further ſums, which would require to be provided for, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, were, he ſaid the Navy Debt, which had increaſed to 8,000,000l. in conſequence of circumſtances which were not likely to ariſe again. The purchaſe of India ſhips, and the employment of numerous tranſports, had been the chief cauſes of this increaſe. In the enſuing year, however, he looked to a ſaving of at leaſt two millions and a half in this branch. The army extraordinaries would not he thought, exceed the ſum of two millions and a half. The whole ſum, beyond the eſtimates, to be incurred on theſe two heads, during the year, would be four millions. To this was to be added a million for corn bounties, though it was very likely that the whole of it would not be expended. On the other hand, there was a fund, which might be looked to with confidence, if the houſe was diſpoſed to refer to it, in aid of the public ſervice. This was the proviſion made by the lottery for the American loyaliſts, which, on an average of three years, had produced three hundred thouſand pounds annually, and from which only two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds would be due after the preſent year. The exiſting taxes, both old and new, he declared to be fully productive, and equal to the purpoſes for which they were raiſed. It only remained, therefore, for him to find taxes to pay the yearly ſum of 1,111,500l. which was the intereſt at 6l. 3s. 6d. per cent. on the loan of eighteen millions for the ſervice of 1796.

The firſt which he propoſed was a tax on legacies. In Holland, this tax, he ſaid, had exiſted without hardſhip or complaint, and the principle of it was recogniſed in England, where a duty on certain kinds of legacies had been raiſed for a conſiderable time. It was his intention to extend it to all legacies, except thoſe to widows and

and to lineal deſcendants. The tax would operate on the capital bequeathed, and the proportion would be two per cent. on the firſt collateral branch; three per cent. on firſt couſins; four per cent. on ſecond couſins; and ſix per cent. on more remote relations, and on ſtrangers. In calculating at the loweſt rate the property of the kingdom, he computed the value of the landed property to be ſeven hundred millions, and of the perſonal property to be ſix hundred millions. By reference to the records of the eccleſiaſtical courts of Canterbury and York, it had, he ſaid, been found, that one-fifth of the former property, and one third of the latter, went to collateral branches. Taking, therefore, the medium of one-fourth, the tax would give two hundred and ninety-four thouſand pounds, from which muſt be deducted the preſent legacy duty, of forty-four thouſand pounds, leaving for the amount of the new tax the ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.

The ſecond tax which he brought forward was an addition of ten per cent. upon the aſſeſſed taxes, which would produce one hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

From doubling the duty on horſes uſed for pleaſure, he expected a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, and from a ſmall tax, of two ſhillings, on horſes kept for induſtry, the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds,

Tobacco he conſidered as clearly an article of luxury. The conſumption of it had increaſed, and he, therefore, thought it would bear an additional impoſt of four pence per pound; which would give an increaſe of a hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds to the revenue.

A new duty, of two pence half-penny per yard, upon printed calicoes, he eſtimated at a hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds.

From a regulation of, which would not be an addition to, the duties on ſalt, he looked for thirty-two thouſand pounds.

The laſt article was ſugar. By reducing only one-fourth the drawback upon this commodity, a ſaving of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds would, he ſaid, be effected.

The total amount of theſe taxes was eleven hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds, which, however, he ſet down at only eleven hundred and twenty thouſand; being five thouſand pounds more than would be wanted to diſcharge the intereſt of the loan.

Having gone through this part of the ſubject, Mr. Pitt proceeded to a defence of the manner in which he had acted with reſpect to the late bargains for the loan, which as we have ſeen, was ſtrongly impeached by the petition recently preſented to the houſe. The terms, upon which the loan had been obtained, he held up as highly advantageous to the country. The yearly intereſt was, he ſaid, only four pounds thirteen ſhillings and ſixpence, which together with the proviſion for the gradual reduction of the capital, made the whole ſum amount to little more than ſix per cent. Contraſting theſe terms with thoſe of the loans made during and after the American war, and likewiſe with the terms of the loan for 1795, he contended that they were wor-

thy of praiſe, for their extraordinary cheapneſs; and he conſidered it as a ſubject of triumph, that, in the fourth year of an expenſive war, he had been able to procure a loan of eighteen millions at ſuch reaſonable intereſt.

With reſpect to the circumſtance which he was aware would excite moſt animadverſion, that of his having abandoned the principle of competition, he ſtated that he was under the neceſſity of doing ſo, or of breaking in upon a principle of public faith, materially connected with our permanent credit. It was originally his wiſh that the preſent loan, like former loans, ſhould be conducted in the way of competition. Some time ago, however, he had heard it ſuggeſted, that the gentlemen connected with the laſt loan had a right to a preference in any loan to be made, till all the dividends of the preceding loan were paid off. He had lately received a formal notice of the pretenſions of the contractors. The pretenſions were reſted on two grounds; firſt, that, in no inſtance had a new loan been contracted for, till all the payments of the former loan had been diſcharged; and ſecondly, that he himſelf, in negotiating the laſt loan, had promiſed, on condition of their paying the final dividend at an earlier period than uſual, that he would not negotiate another loan before their contract was fulfilled. By a reference, he ſaid, to the governor of the bank, he found that the facts were accurately ſtated by the contractors, and he was, therefore, convinced that he could not, conſiſtently with a due regard to the public faith, and to his own character, contract for a new loan without their conſent. Yet he conſidered it as politic, by an early diſplay of our reſources, to ſtrike terror into, and thus diſpoſe to peace, an enemy who was already tottering on the very verge, or rather fallen into the very gulph of bankruptcy. A loan muſt conſequently be raiſed without delay. In this ſituation of things the contractors were willing to enter into a competition of offers, reſerving to themſelves the option of taking the loan on terms one-half per cent. more beneficial to the public than the loweſt terms offered by any rival contractor; or, in caſe this ſhould prevent others from bidding, they were willing to take the loan on ſuch terms as ſhould be fixed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer himſelf. When the negotiation was opened, Mr. Morgan refuſed to bid, and the bargain was, therefore, concluded with Meſſrs. Boyd and Co., according to the mode which they had ſuggeſted.

The ſtatement made by the miniſter was liſtened to with much ſcepticiſm by the members on the other ſide of the Houſe. Mr. W. Smith took the lead in oppoſition, and was powerfully ſeconded by Mr. Fox. Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Huſſey, and Mr. Jekyl, alſo joined in pointedly animadverting on the conduct of Mr. Pitt. With the view of entering on an enquiry into the manner in which the loan had been contracted for, Mr. W. Smith moved that, after the reſolution for granting eighteen millions was agreed to, the chairman ſhould report progreſs, and leave the chair. This gave riſe to a warm debate.

Though the opponents of the loan diſclaimed the idea of charging

ing the minister with fraud, they maintained that the transaction was liable to great suspicion, and that the reasons which he had urged in his defence were by no means satisfactory. That the loan, even supposing the business to have been fairly conducted, was procured on advantageous terms, they strenuously denied; affirming, on the contrary, that the money might have been borrowed at two per cent. less; and, in support of this assertion, a letter from Mr. Morgan was read to the house. The raising of the whole eighteen millions in the three per cents. was also censured. They refused to believe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had abandoned the principle of competition merely because he thought himself bound by the promise which he had given, on a former occasion; and they justified their disbelief by remarking that it was highly improbable that the honourable gentleman could have forgotten such a a promise, if it had really been made. That he had, however, forgotten it was certain, both from his own confession, and from his having originally intended to obtain the loan by open competition. With respect to the amount of the final payment which remained due upon the loan of 1795, and which had been stated at five millions, they contended that it was in reality no more than 477,000l.; as though there was a sum of five millions which was not written on the bank books, it was well known that more than four millions had been disposed of in the market. The only loss, therefore, which could possibly have been sustained, would have been upon less than half a million. They remarked, too, that none of the subscribers to the preceding loan had come forward to complain. It was, however, the subscribers alone, not the contractor, merely an ostensible person, who could have any right of complaint. To them, if to any body, the promise must, in fact, have been given. Yet the loan had been bestowed on Messrs. Boyd and Co. who this year had an entirely different list of subscribers; so that the engagement, said to have been entered into, was substantially, though not apparently violated. If any preference were due, it was, they said, due to Mr. Morgan, who, three years ago, had sustained loss by the minister negociating a second loan before the first was completed. Several circumstances in the transaction were likewise noticed by them, as affording cause for suspicion. A rumour had, they said, been long prevalent, that Messrs. Boyd and Co. were sure of the loan. They also thought it strange, that the minister had instantly closed the bargain, instead of allowing the usual time to intervene between the beginning and the conclusion of it; and they added that there was something, not easily to be accounted for, in Mr. Boyd venturing to allow the minister to dictate the terms of the loan. Such extreme generosity, such a boldness of confidence, seemed to prove rather too much. Mr. Jekyl spoke with more plainness, and asserted positively that Mr. Boyd had been favoured on this occasion in consequence of his having previously assisted the minister, by negociating certain illegal bills, the circulation of which was a scandalous and dis-

graceful trick, unworthy of a ſtateſman.

The queſtion being put, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair, it was negatived, by a majority of 210; the ayes being 27 and the noes 237.

Some diſcuſſion took place on the following day, when the report of the reſolutions was brought up by Mr. Hobart, from the committee of Ways and Means. The tax on horſes was objected to by Mr. Fox, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Sheridan, Sir Gregory Page Turner, and others, as likely to be productive of very injurious conſequences to agriculture, unleſs greatly modified, before it received the ſanction of the houſe. With reſpect to the duty on tobacco, Mr. Fox urged that to tax luxuries was certainly right, if the tax could be framed in ſuch a manner as to fall on the rich alone. In the preſent caſe, the rich and the poor were ſo blended together, as conſumers of tobacco, that the former could not be taxed without the latter. His mind, he ſaid, revolted above all things againſt inflicting taxation upon the innocent luxuries of the poor. So narrow was the circle of their enjoyments, that to break in upon them was an act of cruelty. By a few of the members, connected with the Weſt India commerce, obſervations were made on the propoſed diminution of drawback upon ſugars, but no oppoſition was offered to the meaſure. The tax on collateral ſucceſſion was not ſo fortunate. It called forth, from various quarters, ſeveral remarks, which plainly ſhewed that it would not be ſuffered to paſs into a law, without encountering a powerful reſiſtance.

When the reſolution for allowing ſix ſhillings and ſixpence long annuity to the loan ſubſcribers was moved, Mr. Huſſey moved an amendment, to reduce to four ſhillings and ſixpence, the ſum to be allowed. This amendment was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Grey, who re-ſtated their former arguments againſt the manner in which the buſineſs of the loan had been ſettled. The amendment, however, was negatived without a diviſion. In the courſe of his ſpeech, Mr. Grey ſarcaſtically obſerved, that various parliaments had been characteriſed by various epithets; one had been called *parliamentum doctum*, another, *parliamentum indoctum*; the preſent ought to receive the denomination of *parliamentum incorruptum*, as deſerving of peculiar confidence, ſince it had refuſed all enquiry into ſuſpicious loans, or whatever elſe might reaſonably be conſidered as an object of ſuſpicion.

When the taxes came ſeparately under the view of the houſe, ſeveral objections were again ſtarted. The tax on tobacco was reſiſted, as before, on the ground of its bearing hard upon the pooreſt claſſes, whom it deprived of an innocent luxury. On the ſuggeſtion of general Tarleton, clauſes were added to extend to ſoldiers, on board tranſports, the privilege, already enjoyed by the navy, of purchaſing tobacco free from duty. In the horſe duty bill clauſes were alſo introduced, to exempt horſes of trifling value, and farmers of ſmall property, from the operation of the tax.

The

The reduction of the drawback on ſugar was agreed to, with the ſingle diſſenting opinion of Sir William Pulteney, who repreſented it as being in effect a heavy land tax upon the whole of our Weſt Indian poſſeſſions.

Looking forward, perhaps, to the conſequences which ultimately happened, the miniſter divided the collateral ſucceſſion duty into two branches, each of which was made the ſubject of a ſeparate bill. The bill for taxing legacies was the firſt which was introduced, and was ſtrenuouſly reſiſted in every ſtage of its progreſs. Mr. Alderman Newnham took the lead in oppoſing it, and he was powerfully ſeconded by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and other members. They contended that the meaſure was at once unnatural, oppreſſive, and inquiſitorial, and that it was meant to pave the way for a tax upon property, deſcending in a direct line. No reaſon, indeed, could, they ſaid, well be given, why the principle ſhould not be applied to direct, as well as to collateral ſucceſſion. It was unnatural, becauſe it was a heavy tax on the bounty of a man to a faithful friend, or domeſtic, and, which was far worſe, on his parental affection for a natural child, who by this bill was placed in the ſame ſituation as a perfect ſtranger. Beſides, they urged that this circumſtance of conſidering an illegitimate child as a ſtranger would be productive of a ſcene of confuſion, and of endleſs litigation; ſince, as the act made a difference in the rate of taxation, between remote relations, and perſons having no affinity with the teſtator, it would be neceſſary to aſcertain the legitimacy of the grand-father, as well as of the father of a legatee. That it was oppreſſive, a thouſand arguments might, they declared, be brought to prove. One, however, would be ſufficient. By the frequent occurrence of deaths in a family the ſame property might be liable to be taxed five or ſix times in a year. In the caſe of officers, expoſed to the epidemical diſorders of tropical climates, the whole of their property might be ſwallowed up by the tax. England, they ſaid, was perhaps the beſt country in the world to live in, but, if the bill paſſed, it would certainly be the worſt to die in. But it was the inquiſitorial nature of the meaſure, which met with the largeſt ſhare of reprobation. There were, it was urged, many circumſtances which men engaged in mercantile concerns might fairly and prudently wiſh to conceal, even from a partner in trade; yet, by this bill, every thing was to lie expoſed to the public at large. When any partner in a buſineſs died, and left his property among his relations, government, if unſatisfied with the ſtatements given by the executors, might inſiſt upon examining the whole of the accounts. Every man's warehouſe might be ſearched, the books in his counting-houſe inſpected, and the exact ſtate of his affairs diſcloſed to the world. The worſt conſequences might reſult from ſuch a diſcloſure. In addition to all this, it was contended that the tax was in reality a tax upon capital, a ſort of tax which the beſt writers upon political economy condemned as of the moſt objectionable kind. On theſe grounds, and likewiſe

that the other bill, which was the counter-part of this, might be brought together under the view of the houſe, the opponents of the meaſure moved for an adjournment of the debate, after having been foiled in an attempt to get entirely rid of the bill.

The defence of the tax was undertaken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the attorney and ſolicitor general. With reſpect to the principle of the tax, they alleged, that it was fully recognized by the exiſting legacy duty. The preſent bill had moreover the merit of removing ſeveral difficulties, which ſtood in the way of the execution of former legacy laws. That any intention was entertained of laying an impoſt upon direct ſucceſſion was unequivocally diſclaimed. As to the inquiſitorial nature of the plan, they replied, that if the right of inſpection into private concerns was an evil, it was an evil to which mercantile men were already ſubjected, and which had not yet produced thoſe fatal effects to commercial credit, which were now predicted as a neceſſary conſequence. But they denied that the bill before the Houſe gave inquiſitorial powers to the commiſſioners of ſtamps. The commiſſioners were only authorized to concur in an enquiry, when it was demanded by the legatee, and therefore, if there was any hardſhip it muſt be voluntary. The objection which was made with reſpect to natural children, was particularly anſwered by the Attorney General, who declared, that the act was lenient, when compared with other acts, ſince if the teſtator ſtated the legatee to be his child, though illegitimate, it would enjoy the exception in favour of the lineal deſcent, which, as the law actually ſtood, was not the caſe. No clauſe, however, of this purport, is to be found in the bill. Nor does it appear probable that the law would conſider the declaration of a father, as ſufficient to give the privilege of legitimacy to his natural children. The motion for adjournment was negatived, and the bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons.

In the Lords, the bill called forth great aſperity of cenſure from the Earl of Lauderdale. His lordſhip not only re-urged, with much force, the objections brought forward in the other houſe, but attacked the whole ſcheme, as having an inevitable tendency, and as being perhaps deſigned, to deſtroy the dignity and independence of the peerage, by reducing the Peers to beggary. In proceſs of time the tax would, he ſaid, ſwallow up and annihilate the fortunes of their lordſhips' collateral heirs, who might ſucceed to their titles. Lord Grenville and the Biſhop of Rocheſter defended the tax, and the latter ſhewed by calculations that the fears entertained by Lord Lauderdale of the impoveriſhment of the nobility were wholly groundleſs. The bill finally paſſed without a diviſion.

When the bill for taxing the ſucceſſion to real eſtates was brought in, which was not till late in the ſeſſion, it was ſtill more decidedly oppoſed than its companion bill had been. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Francis, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Baſtard, and Sir William Pulteney were among its moſt active opponents. All thoſe objections

objections which had been urged againſt the former bill, and which could be brought to bear againſt this, were re-urged with increaſed energy. To theſe were added ſuch as were peculiar to the meaſure. The tax was affirmed to be a partial and bad mode of levying a land tax, which the perſons coming into poſſeſſion of landed property would be unable to pay, without mortgaging their eſtates. The ſyſtem on which it was formed, if acted upon to its full extent, and who could ſay that this would not be done, would, they ſaid, enable the ſtate to ſeize upon the whole property of the country gentlemen, and to make them become, for a livelihood, the tools of a miniſter. Of all the ſpeeches on this occaſion, that of Mr. Francis was moſt diſtinguiſhed for eloquence and argument. Concurring in all the reaſons which his friends advanced againſt the bill, he chiefly oppoſed it on the high ground of its being dangerous to the freedom and conſtitution of the country. He remarked, in the firſt place, that, not operating immediately, but applying to caſes and ſituations which did not inſtantly exiſt, and which individuals might therefore hope were remote from themſelves, it annihilated that juſt and rational check, which the conſtitution relied on, in favour of the ſubject, namely, that the repreſentative would not, without a clear neceſſity, impoſe exorbitant taxes on his conſtituents, as long as he ſhared directly, and alike with thoſe who were to pay. The members of the houſe, however, would not bear this equal ſhare, as the greater part of them were already in poſſeſſion of all they had ever expected. In the ſecond place he obſerved, that another check upon unjuſt taxation was removed, by the tax not acting at once on the whole community, but ſucceſſively upon individuals, and thus preventing that united oppoſition which all would make to an iniquitous impoſt, when all were at the ſame moment aggrieved by it. But the worſt evil of the meaſure he conſidered to ariſe from the tax being intended to operate hereafter, inſtead of at preſent. If we could, he ſaid, ſhift the burthens off our own ſhoulders, what guard would there be left againſt the moſt profligate waſte of the public fortune? Were it poſſible to provide for the expences of a war, by taxes which were not to be paid till twenty years hence, few perſons, he feared, would care what was the amount of the expence, or what were the pernicious conſequences which reſulted from the war.

The friends of the meaſure were few in number, and did not make any vigorous exertions. They contended that many of the objections which had been urged againſt the bill were without foundation, and that others were greatly exaggerated, and they inſiſted that the tax could not prove oppreſſive or injurious in the ſlighteſt degree. On each diviſion the majority of the miniſter was diminiſhed in numbers, and when the queſtion was put for the third reading, it was carried by only two votes; the noes being forty-ſix, and the ayes forty-eight. Mr. Sheridan then moved to poſtpone it for three months, which was negatived by a ſingle vote. A motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to

put off till next day the third reading, was carried by the caſting vote of the ſpeaker.

On the next day the miniſter himſelf moved the poſtponement for three months, which was agreed to. The ſucceſsful reſiſtance made in this caſe, induced the members in oppoſition to attempt to obtain a bill for virtually repealing the tax on perſonal property; which, they contended, ought not to be enforced, while landed property was exempt from taxation. In this, however, they met, both in the Lords and Commons, with a complete failure, the bills brought in by them being rejected without a diviſion. A proteſt was, on this occaſion, entered on the journals of the Lords by the Earl Lauderdale.

It is not often that the dry and repulſive ſubject of taxation affords an opportunity for the diſplay of pleaſantry and wit. Such an opportunity was, however, now afforded by a financial propoſition in aid of the ſupplies. The propoſition was for a tax upon dogs. The idea was ſuggeſted in the committee of Ways and Means, by Sir Gregory Page Turner, and was taken up by Mr. Dent, who diſplayed an almoſt ludicrous eagerneſs upon the ſubject, and ſeemed diſpoſed to preach a general exterminatory cruſade againſt the canine race. He himſelf eſtimated at a million the number of dogs which would be deſtroyed, in conſequence of the tax. A conſiderable proportion of the tax he propoſed to apply to parochial purpoſes. Petitions againſt the dogs were procured from ſeveral towns; and the danger of hydrophobia, the great deſtruction of ſheep by vicious curs, and the monſtrous expence of maintaining the preſent multitude of dogs, were vehemently urged in argument by the partiſans of the tax. For a poor man to keep a dog they conſidered as an act of unpardonable extravagance, and their avowed deſign was to compel the ſlaughter of thoſe dogs which belonged to the poorer claſſes of the people.

This ſweeping ſentence, denounced againſt the dogs of the poor, was fatal to the bill. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Courtenay forcibly reprobated the barbarity of obliging the poor man to deſtroy his faithful companion, and the play-fellow of his children. Mr. Sheridan, in particular, attacked the bill with ſuch poignancy of wit that the houſe was in a roar of laughter, during the whole of his ſpeech. Nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in expoſing its abſurdity and cruelty. It was unanimouſly thrown out. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, ſubſequently brought forward the tax, with modifications, by which it was rendered an unobjectionable meaſure.

Diſſatisfied as the members on the ſide of oppoſition were with the mode in which the loan had been negociated, no additional ſtimulus was neceſſary, to induce them to enter into a more regular and detailed inveſtigation of the ſubject than they had been able to do on the night when the budget was opened. If, however, ſuch a ſtimulus had been wanting, it would have been abundantly ſupplied by the circumſtance of the miniſter bringing down to the houſe the meſſage reſpecting peace, which we have mentioned in a preceding

ceding chapter. The natural effect of this meſſage was an immediate and great riſe in the price of ſtocks, and a conſequent enormous profit to the loan contractors and ſubſcribers.

On the fifteenth of December, Mr. W. Smith brought forward a motion for a committee of the whole houſe, to enquire into the facts of the loan. He was ſupported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, the latter of whom aſſerted that the loan was replete with foulneſs, falſehood, trick, and connivance. The meſſage reſpecting peace was a ſubject which particularly called forth the moſt pointed animadverſions.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated his conduct, and conſented to an enquiry, declaring that he was thankful to the honourable mover for bringing forward the motion. To a committee of the whole houſe, however, he ſaid, that he could not agree, as ſuch a committee, by putting a ſtop to other buſineſs, would be attended with much public inconvenience. He therefore propoſed a committee above ſtairs, at which all who pleaſed to attend ſhould have votes.

This propoſal of a committee up ſtairs by no means met with the approbation of ſome of the members in oppoſition. A committee of that kind would, they predicted, produce nothing but a partial report, and would certainly defeat enquiry. Mr. Smith's propoſition was, nevertheleſs, negatived by a majority of thirty-ſeven, and that of the miniſter was adopted.

The party hoſtile to adminiſtration having ſucceeded in making the loan a particular ſubject of diſcuſſion, the loan bill was ſuffered to paſs unoppoſed, through the Houſe of Commons. In the Lords, however, the bill was warmly attacked by the Earl of Lauderdale, who thought the buſineſs ſufficiently important to authoriſe his moving, that the peers ſhould be ſummoned to attend upon the ſecond reading. When the bill was read a ſecond time, his lordſhip reſtated at ſome length, many of the arguments which had been urged in the other houſe, and particularly dwelt upon the meſſage reſpecting peace, the bringing down of which to the houſe, at ſuch a period, he conſidered as a preconcerted ſcheme, corruptly intended to put money into the pockets of the miniſter's favourites, who had a concern in loan. The terms upon which the loan was raiſed were defended by Lord Grenville, who, likewiſe, denied that there was any foundation for the charge of miniſters having brought forward the meſſage from corrupt motives.

The bill paſſed without further oppoſition.

Before the coming on of the final debate on the loan, another circumſtance occurred, which, in both houſes, gave riſe to much ſevere animadverſion. It had hitherto been uſual for the miniſters to wait till nearly the cloſe of the ſeſſion, before they called upon the houſe to grant them the cuſtomary vote of credit. On the preſent occaſion, however, little more than half the ſeſſion had elapſed when the vote of credit bill was brought forward. Such a departure from long eſtabliſhed practice was not likely to eſcape the notice of thoſe gentlemen who were hoſtile to adminiſtration. Nor did it. Accordingly,

cordingly, on the nineteenth of February, when the order of the day was moved for the third reading of the report on the vote of credit bill, Mr. Grey made a motion, that the conſideration of the report ſhould be adjourned for three weeks. Votes of the kind now propoſed were, he reminded the houſe, meant ſolely to provide for ſuch exigencies as were left uncovered by a deficiency of the ſupplies, or were not foreſeen at the time of voting ſupplies, and conſequently they were never required till towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion. This early calling for the vote of credit induced him, therefore, to believe there was too much truth in the rumour that the public expenditure had exceeded the ſums granted; that there was no department of government in which the public ſervice was not in arrear; and that the eſtimates of 1796 went to pay the deficiencies of the preceding year. He was led, he ſaid, to ſuſpect that the money for which the credit was now to be voted was intended to cover paſt expences inſtead of future, and for this reaſon he wiſhed the houſe by ſome ſtrict proviſion to tie up and limit to proſpective ſervices, the application of its grants.

None of the miniſters being preſent, the taſk of explanation fell upon Mr. Roſe, who was exceedingly conciſe. The truth of the facts which had been ſtated, he ſeemed, indeed, to admit, by ſaying that he believed the ſubject of arrears would ſoon come regularly before parliament; and with reſpect to the practice of ſatisfying the deficiencies of one year with the grants of the other, he defended it, by aſſerting that it had always been the practice, and that it was a matter of very trifling import from what fund the deficiencies were ſupplied. In concluſion, he requeſted Mr. Grey would not preſs his motion, as much trouble and inconvenience might ariſe from delay. The motion for poſtponement was negatived, and the original motion was carried.

The language uſed by Mr. Roſe only confirmed the ſuſpicions of the oppoſition, and prompted them to bring the ſubject again under diſcuſſion. When the bill itſelf was on the point of being read the third time, Mr. Grey renewed his motion for poſtponing the reading till that day three weeks. After having re-ſtated his former objections to granting the vote at ſo early a period, and proved from the records of the houſe that all former votes of the kind had been paſſed within a few days of the cloſe of the ſeſſion, he called upon the members to conſider the magnitude of the ſum which was demanded by the miniſter. In no preceding war had the ſum been more than a million. In 1793, however, the miniſter called for a million and a half, and for each of the three ſubſequent years he had required the ſum of two millions and a half. By granting money in this random manner many evils were produced. The houſe, he ſaid, deprived itſelf of its peculiar prerogative to guard the public purſe; miniſters were rendered leſs careful and accurate in their accounts; and parliament was prevented from fairly ſeeing the expences of the war, a full view of which might, perhaps, induce it to accelerate a peace.

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The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not attempt to diſpute the fact of the vote of credit having always hitherto been deferred till the cloſe of the ſeſſion, but he boldly claimed a right of altering the practice, and he even vindicated, on the ground of its merit, the change which he had made. The new mode was, he contended, the moſt economical, and the beſt ſuited to give parliament an opportunity of free and open inveſtigation. He had, he ſaid, ſtated the vote of credit in the budget, as an article of ſupply for the year, and had provided for it in the Ways and Means. It could, therefore, be applied or not, as the exigencies of the caſe might require, like any other public fund; while, at the ſame time, it would conſtitute a floating capital. That it was economical could not be denied, as it prevented ſeparate funds from lying idle till the ſervices to which they were peculiarly appropriated ſhould need them.

This reaſoning gave little ſatisfaction to the members on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, and was controverted by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The former declared that he did not ſee how the vote of credit and the eſtimates of the year could be blended without manifeſt confuſion. A vote of credit was deſigned to provide for expences incurred while parliament was not ſitting, and it ought not to be diverted to any other purpoſe. If unforeſeen expences occurred while parliament was ſitting, the miniſter ought to ſtate the fact to the houſe, that it might make a regular proviſion for them. As to the argument of economy drawn from the prudence of not allowing ſeparate funds to lie idle, Mr. Fox cruſhed it at once, by reminding the miniſter that in a vote of credit the money was not iſſued till it was wanted, and that the money, purpoſely provided according to the given eſtimates, was ready for all the common current expences of the year. By Mr. Sheridan it was urged, that if the houſe aſſented to the principle, acted on by the miniſter, it in fact reſigned its prerogative of guarding the public purſe; gave the miniſters the ſole diſpoſal of the public money; and left itſelf no ſecurity for its being convened. If it once forfeited that prerogative, inevitable ruin would be the conſequence. He likewiſe objected to the vote being for a ſum of ſuch magnitude as two millions and a half, and deſired to know how parliament could be ſure that the miniſter would not keep increaſing in his demands, till the ſum amounted to ſeveral millions.

Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the bill was carried by a triumphant majority; the ayes being 102, and the noes only 25.

When the bill came into the Houſe of Lords, it was vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of Lauderdale, who made a motion ſimilar to that which had been negatived in the Commons' Houſe. This anticipation of the reſources of the country, he conſidered as not only a groſs violation of the law, but as a palpable fraud attempted to be paſſed upon parliament. In ſubſtance his arguments were the ſame as thoſe which where uſed in the Houſe of Commons; but on the head of the miſapplication of the public money to ſervices for which it was

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not voted, he ſpoke much more at length, and with more explicitneſs, than either Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, or Mr. Sheridan had done; and he pledged himſelf to produce proof of the fact, and alſo that government had been compelled to raiſe money by the moſt diſgraceful and illegal practices.

The meaſure was defended by Lord Grenville, on the ſame ground as had been taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but in a ſtill more decided tone. The motion for poſtponing the reading of the bill was negatived without any diviſion.

On the third reading of the bill, the Earl of Lauderdale was joined by the Duke of Grafton, and by Lord Thurlow, the latter of whom declared it to be unconſtitutional, and dreaded leſt it ſhould be productive of the moſt miſchievous conſequences. After a ſharp and deſultory converſation, the queſtion for paſſing the bill was put, and carried in the affirmative. A proteſt, conſiſting of ſeven heads, and embodying, in a conciſe and ſtriking form, all the objections againſt the meaſure, was entered on the journals by the Earl of Lauderdale.

CHAP. XIX.

Motion made in the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. M. Robinſon, againſt Members of Parliament being concerned in loans to foreign powers. It is negatived. Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the circumſtances of the late loan. Strange claim made by the contractors. Mr. W. Smith moves thirty-nine reſolutions, declaring that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſacrificed the public intereſt in the negotiation of the Loan. His ſpeech in ſupport of the charge. Mr. Pitt is defended by Mr. Douglas, who moves counter-reſolutions approving his conduct. Reply of Mr. Francis. Mr. Pitt vindicates the ſteps which he had taken. He is anſwered by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The reſolutions of Mr. W. Smith are got rid of by the previous queſtion, and thoſe of Mr. Douglas are carried. Motion made by Mr. Jekyl to cenſure the Miniſter for the negotiation of certain Bills, called the Hamburgh Bills. It is negatived. Mr. Grey moves for a Committee of the whole houſe, to enquire into the ſtate of the nation. In his ſpeech he charges the Chancellor of the Exchequer with ſeveral violations of duty. The Miniſter is defended by Sir W. Pulteney, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Steele, and others. The motion is negatived by a large majority. Penſion granted by his Majeſty to Mr. Burke. It is frequently and ſeverely alluded to, by the members in oppoſition in both houſes. The Earl of Lauderdale, makes, in conſequence, a motion reſpecting the four and a half per cent duties. It is rejected by a conſiderable majority.

A JEALOUSY and diſlike of loans of every ſort was, at this moment, a predominant feeling among the members of the oppoſition. On the eleventh of February, Mr. M. Robinſon moved for leave to bring in a bill, to prevent Members of the Houſe of Commons from becoming a party, either as principals or by an agent, in

in the negotiation of any loan to a foreign ſovereign or ſtate. His ſpeech diſplayed little, or rather nothing, either of reaſoning or eloquence. It was unconnected, and abounded in alluſions and compariſons, which had no reference to the ſubject. The only argument, if argument it may be called, which he brought forward was, that it was ſaid one member of the houſe had twelve hundred thouſand pounds of the laſt reprobated loan, and that it was aſſerted that ſeveral members had made, and every member who choſe it might have made, twelve hundred pounds on the loan to the emperor. Of a war, carried on by this country, in any other manner than by ſea, he declared his diſapprobation.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, and oppoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who pronounced it to be uſeleſs, or only calculated to clog and impede the meaſure of a foreign loan. On a diviſion, it was rejected; the noes being ſeventy, and the ayes but nineteen.

The committee, which had been appointed to enquire into the circumſtances of the loan, met repeatedly, and entered into a cloſe examination of ſeveral witneſſes. By ſome of the members, an attempt was made to fix the charge of corruption upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, in order to procure proof of this charge, the liſt of ſubſcribers, formed by Meſſrs. Boyd and Co. was called for, and obtained. Nothing, however, appeared on the face of it to criminate the miniſter. In the courſe of the examination of the witneſſes, the moſt remarkable circumſtance was an incomprehenſible claim, urged by Mr. Boyd, with much pertinacity, and loftineſs of language. The ſubſcribers to the loan, that is to ſay, the perſons who furniſhed him with the money, he conſidered merely as individuals on whom he had conferred a ſignal favour, to whom he owed no duty, and who had no pretence to interfere in any of his proceedings; while, at the ſame time, he held himſelf up, in his abſtract quality of contractor, as having a certain "excluſive, inherent, and inalienable right," ariſing from his "ſuperior trouble, and greater riſk," on which he grounded and juſtified his oppoſition to the raiſing of another loan, as long as any of the payments on the old loan remained undiſcharged. This new-fangled right he ſtill retained, he ſaid, though he ſold or alienated his ſhare of the loan. Such language and ſuch pretenſions it is not eaſy to characterize in terms expreſſive of their nature, yet free from aſperity.

The report of the committee was preſented to the houſe, on the ninth of February, and a day was appointed for taking it into conſideration.

On the appointed day, Mr. W. Smith came forward with a ſeries of thirty-nine reſolutions, ſtrongly inculpating the conduct of the miniſter. Thirty-eight of theſe reſolutions contained a ſort of hiſtorical ſummary of the circumſtances which occurred during, or were at all connected with, the negotiation of the loan. From moſt of them inferences of criminality were deduced. It was, however, the thirty-ninth which pointed and compreſſed the ſubſtance of the whole. It ſtated Feb. 22.

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"that, in every part of the tranſaction of the late loan, the public intereſt had been ſacrificed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that the profits to the contributors, at the expence of the nation, had been ſo exorbitantly ſwelled, as to have riſen, even before the depoſit was made thereon, to an amount greatly exceeding the depoſit itſelf, viz. on a loan of eighteen millions, to the enormous and incredible ſum of two millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling."

In the exordium of the ſpeech by which he prefaced his motion, Mr. W. Smith, adverting to the report then before the houſe, diſclaimed any ſhare in the attempt which had been made, to fix upon the miniſter the charge of making the loan an inſtrument of corruption in the Houſe of Commons. This part of the proceedings he explained to have originated with another member of the committee, who was now preſent. The view which he himſelf took of the ſubject, rendered it, he ſaid, little neceſſary for him to ſuſpect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had reſorted to the clumſy mode of corrupting members of parliament by means of a loan, when, having in his power the diſpoſal of ſuch an innumerable number of places, civil and military, he poſſeſſed ſuch ample means of gratifying, in a leſs groſs and offenſive manner, thoſe who were deſirous of being gratified; and when, too, he could ſhower down ribbands and ſtars on thoſe who, by fortune or natural diſpoſition, were placed beyond the influence of pecuniary temptation. Nevertheleſs, he would not, he declared, pretend to believe that the loan had not been happily diſtributed among thoſe who were moſt open to that kind of influence. The miniſter could offer no more ſeductive retainer to thoſe whoſe habits, inclinations, and intereſts, would otherwiſe prompt them to be clamorous for peace.

Having laid it down as an eſtabliſhed principle, that fair and open competition was the mode by which a loan could be obtained on the moſt favourable terms to the public, Mr. Smith proceeded to examine the validity of the claim which had been ſet up by Mr. Boyd, and by which the miniſter had been induced to abandon the principle of competition. He remarked, that the claim itſelf, when firſt urged on the twenty-third of October, was not aſſented to by Mr. Pitt, who, on the contrary, reſolved that the loan ſhould be an open loan. In this ſituation the affair continued till the twenty-third of October, when, a formal annunciation having been made of the manner in which the loan was to be raiſed, Mr. Boyd became alarmed, and obtained an interview with the miniſter, in which he ſtated his claim. This claim he ſubſequently re-ſtated, by letter. It was bottomed on a ſuppoſed engagement, entered into by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that no public loan ſhould be negotiated till the period fixed for the payment of the preceding loan had elapſed. His right Mr. Boyd aſſerted to be "a right founded on juſtice and the nature of things, recogniſed by conſtant practice, and public opinion, and which he could not relinquiſh without evident loſs;" and, in proof of this, he affirmed that there

was

was ſtill floating in the market a ſum of five millions of money in ſcrip, which remained to be converted into ſtock. Notwithſtanding the palpable pains and care with which this letter had been written, it was, Mr. Smith ſaid, full of confuſion in argument, and of miſtatement in point of fact. With reſpect to the bold allegation that the right was recogniſed by conſtant practice and public opinion, he deemed it a ſufficient anſwer to ſay that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been concerned in more loans than Mr. Boyd, was evidently of a contrary opinion. If ſuch a practice had exiſted, the miniſter could not, for a moment, have heſitated or doubted, when the claim was brought forward. It, therefore, did not exiſt. Nor was the contractor nearer to truth in his aſſertion concerning the amount of ſcrip, which, inſtead of being five millions, did not reach, at the utmoſt, to the ſum of a million and a half. As to the excluſive claim of the contractors, ariſing from their ſuperior riſk, greater trouble, and ſpecial duties, Mr. Smith conſidered it as entirely groundleſs. That they encountered no riſk he ſatisfactorily proved. Their peculiar duties he confeſſed himſelf at a loſs to diſcover; and as to their trouble, it lay ſolely in waiting on the miniſter, and in putting down the names of ſuch friends as they choſe to favour with a ſhare in the loan. Contractor was even, he reminded his hearers, a term unknown to parliament; parliament being acquainted with no other term than that of contributor. He wound up this branch of his ſubject, by calling on the houſe to remember that, in 1794, the Chancellor of the Exchequer bargained with Mr. Boyd for a new loan, a month before the laſt payment on the loan of Meſſrs. Morgan and Co., and he aſked, whether Mr. Boyd then thought ſuch a meaſure contrary to juſtice, to uniform practice, and the public opinion?

Admitting, however, for the ſake of argument, the excluſive right of the contractors, the honourable mover proceeded to examine whether the miniſter had been compelled by an irreſiſtible neceſſity to bargain for a loan, before the period of their privilege was expired. This queſtion he decided in the negative. There was, he contended, no immediate want of money. Notwithſtanding the terms were ſettled on the twenty-fifth of November, the ſubſcribers were not called upon to make good their depoſit till the tenth of the following month; though, in former caſes, it had been the rule to require the depoſit within four days, at the lateſt. The money, therefore, could not have been wanted. In the preſent inſtance, had the miniſter waited, till he was releaſed from his onerous promiſe to Mr. Boyd, he would only have had to wait till the fifteenth of January. Had he, in the mean time, been preſſed for money, he might have ſtated his ſituation to the houſe, and obtained a vote of credit. Whatever others might think, the miniſter could not, after a recent deciſion, harbour any ſcruples capable of deterring him from demanding a vote of credit. But, if ſuch a vote had not been deemed eligible, a ſhort loan of two or three millions might eaſily have been raiſed. If this had

had been done, a loſs would at worſt have been ſuſtained merely on three millions, inſtead of on ſix times that ſum. The credit of the national reſources would, alſo, have been rather enhanced than injured, in the eyes of foreign nations, by the miniſter making known to parliament that three ſeparate parties were anxious to bid for the loan of eighteen millions, and that a punctilio prevented him, for the moment, from availing himſelf of their offers.

The terms on which the loan had been obtained, he repreſented as highly diſadvantageous to the public. Laying it down as a principle that, when the bonus was a little under or over four per cent., the terms might be conſidered as fair for both parties, he ſtated that the preſent loan came out at ſeven and a quarter premium. Mr. Boyd himſelf eſtimated the bonus at 6l. 15s. 9d. per cent. On the very firſt view of it, therefore, the bargain was manifeſtly an improvident one; the premium being, at the outſet, three per cent. higher than it ought to have been. Mr. Smith likewiſe contended, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given an erroneous account of the rate of intereſt, which was to be paid on the ſum borrowed, and he entered into a calculation, to prove that it was conſiderably higher than the houſe had been led to imagine. The firſt loſs ſuſtained on the loan by the public, he ſtated at half a million. By the bringing down the King's meſſage reſpecting peace, a further ſum of nine hundred thouſand pounds had been put into the pockets of the ſubſcribers. Whether, on the twenty-fifth of November, the purport of this meſſage was or was not foreſeen he could not tell; but, in either caſe, he might juſtly cenſure the miniſter, as there was no neceſſity to fix the terms of the loan before the fifth of December, by which time the miniſter might poſſibly have aſcertained whether ſuch a meſſage was to be delivered to parliament, and any pecuniary benefit, reſulting from its effect upon the ſtocks, would, conſequently, have been reaped by the public.

Another circumſtance which called forth his animadverſion was that of the capital being entirely created in the three per cents., which ſeemed, he ſaid, to have been done purpoſely to avoid obtaining a favourable bargain for the public. It was, he urged, an obvious principle of common policy to give the ſubſcribers a portion in that ſtock the value of which had been raiſed, by the purchaſes made by the commiſſioners for liquidating the national debt. The conduct of the miniſter had, however, been directly the reverſe of what it ought to have been. Though accuſtomed to purchaſe from the three per cents., the commiſſioners, juſt before the negotiation of the loan, bought from the four per cents., and, though in all former loans the terms were partly in the four per cents., the miniſter, on this occaſion, created the capital wholly in the three per cents.

The tranſaction relative to the Hamburgh bills he briefly but ſeverely mentioned; declaring that the money obtained on them was obtained in a manner which was diſgraceful to the country.

Mr. Smith cloſed his ſpeech by forcibly depicting the dangerous

conſequences

conſequences which frequent loans, eſpecially when made worſe by a waſteful mode of borrowing, muſt produce on the commerce, and, through that, on the ſafety and glory of the kingdom, by inducing merchants to withdraw their property from trade, and converting them into ſtock-jobbers and gamblers; by accumulating enormous wealth into few hands; by diminiſhing the number of moderate fortunes, and conſequently the quantity of individual comfort, of general proſperity, and of private and public virtue; and by rendering utterly impracticable, or at leaſt putting off to an indefinite period, the redemption, which was ſo anxiouſly deſired, of the national debt.

As ſoon as the reſolutions had been read, the Chancellor of the Exchequer roſe, and, declaring himſelf, at the ſame time, not unprepared for an inſtant reply, ſuggeſted that it would be proper to adjourn the debate, that the reſolutions might be printed. This was aſſented to by Mr. Smith, and the debate was accordingly poſtponed for three days.

When the debate was reſumed, Mr. Smith moved his firſt reſolution, and requeſted leave to make in three others ſome ſlight alterations, which, he ſaid, were requiſite, to preclude the friends of the miniſter from grounding arguments on mere matters of miſtake.

The defence of the miniſter was warmly undertaken by Mr. Sylveſter Douglas, in a long and elaborate ſpeech, which, however, partook too much of the manner of the bar, and was rather ingenious than eloquent. He ſet out by charging Mr. Smith with a want of conſiſtency. That gentleman, he ſaid, had ſanctioned the report, before the houſe, which ſtated that "on the inſpection of the liſts, as well as from the examination of the parties, the committee ſaw no ground to ſuppoſe, that any interference took place, on the part of any perſons connected with government, in the diſtribution of any part of the loan." Yet, notwithſtanding this, which was a complete vindication of the miniſter and his friends, the framer of the reſolutions inſinuated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had bribed the merchants and bankers of London to ſanction his meaſures, by making them a gift of two millions and a half of money.

As in the reſolutions there was nothing analogous to the opinion which he had cited as given by the committee, Mr. Douglas declared that he intended to meet ſome of them by counter-reſolutions, expreſſing an approbation of the miniſter's conduct; and that on the reſt he would move either the previous queſtion or a direct negative.

Aſſuming that it was on the evidence of Mr. Morgan that the greateſt part of the charge was grounded, Mr. Douglas took no ſmall pains to prove that this evidence was unworthy of credit. He endeavoured to ſhew, that the anſwers of that gentleman, to the queſtions put to him by the Committee were contradictory; and he repreſented him not only as a perſon whoſe memory and judgment were by no means accurate, but likewiſe as one who had miſled his friends, by inducing them to believe that he had a chance of obtaining the loan, though he knew at the ſame time that, in reality, he had no chance at all. That

Mr. Morgan would have contracted for the loan on terms as moderate as had been aſſerted, he did not, he ſaid, believe; nor did he ſeem to think that it was poſſible for any one to believe it. But, even admitting that the country might ſave a few hundred thouſand pounds, by breaking the contract with Mr. Boyd, he contended that the ſaving would not compenſate the injury which public credit, and the credit of government, would receive from ſuch an unprecedented procedure.

The claim of Meſſrs. Boyd and Co. to the new loan, he conſidered as having been ſatisfactorily eſtabliſhed; and he maintained alſo, that the rights which they inſiſted on, as mere contractors, were founded on juſtice. As to the principle, laid down by Mr. Smith, that no bonus ought to exceed four or five per cent., he treated it as a ſtrange and whimſical idea, which was not deſerving of a ſerious refutation.

On the ſubject of the Hamburgh bills he ſpoke at ſome length. That the negotiation of them had been the cauſe of Mr. Boyd having the loan, he denied; and, though he partly owned that the tranſaction was not ſtrictly commercial, he affirmed that it was perfectly fair. But, among all the charges, there was no one which ſo ſtrongly excited his indignation, as that which ſeemed to inſinuate that corrupt motives had induced the commiſſioners to purchaſe in the four per cents., inſtead of the three per cents., at the moment when the loan was raiſed. He declared that he was ſhocked by it, and that it was an outrage upon common ſenſe, and an inſult upon the commiſſioners, whoſe combined and individual characters he deſcribed as being ſuperior to calumny, and above temptation. In their defence he deemed it ſufficient to ſay, that the fact was, that the books of the conſols were ſhut, at the time when their purchaſes were made.

The charge built on the time of bringing down the meſſage from his Majeſty, was the laſt upon which he touched, and this he anſwered by ſaying, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the agent of the public, high in office, and of unimpeachable integrity, had aſſerted that an earlier communication of the meſſage was not in his power; and that, therefore, he could not but give implicit credit to ſuch an aſſertion. He even expreſſed more than doubts, whether the effect of ſuch a meſſage muſt neceſſarily be to produce a riſe in the funds. The meaſure which had been recommended, of raiſing a ſhort loan, he held to be in a high degree objectionable. To reſort to ſuch a meaſure would, he ſaid, be acting on very ſhallow policy, and be calculated to augment the confidence and inſolence of the enemy, by giving him a mean idea of the reſources which we poſſeſſed for the continuance of the war.

After ſtating that the mere refutation of the reſolutions by a vote of contempt, by an unanimous negative, was not enough; but that it was indiſpenſable for the houſe to approve the conduct, to vindicate the integrity, of the miniſter, and to convince the country what ſenſe they entertained of his honour and judgment, Mr. Douglas concluded by moving

ing an amendment to the firſt reſolution. This amendment juſtified, on the over-ruling neceſſity of the caſe, the late departure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer from the principle of competition.

This lofty tone could not but irritate ſtill more thoſe who thought that they had already abundant cauſe of complaint againſt the perſon in whoſe behalf it was adopted. Mr. Francis was the firſt who roſe to reply. The ſpeech which he delivered could not fail of being admired, even by the friends of the miniſter, for the arrangement and connection of its parts, the cloſeneſs of its reaſoning, and the vigour and propriety of its ſtyle. Much of the argument which he uſed, had, of courſe, been before urged, by the mover of the reſolutions; but he almoſt gave to it the charm of novelty, by his manner of ſtating it. Much, however, was new, and was well-applied.

As the preceding ſpeaker had relied very much on that part of the report which appeared to exculpate the miniſter from having made a corrupt uſe of the diſtribution of the loan, Mr. Francis began by a refutation of the concluſions which had been drawn from that ſource. He remarked, in the firſt place, that the honourable gentleman had perpetually, and not without a purpoſe, digreſſed from the queſtion, and had argued as if the perſonal corruption of the miniſter were the ſole object of enquiry, while, in fact, no ſuch charge had been made; the movers of the enquiry having repeatedly and explicitly diſavowed, as he himſelf now diſavowed, every idea of making it. At the ſame time, he muſt, he ſaid, deny that the opinion ſo much truſted to was given with the unanimous concurrence of the committee; or, that if it had been ſo, it would be a concluſive proof of the miniſter's innocence. Neither he nor ſeveral others had aſſented to it; nor had he even known that it was intended to be given. It was the work of the miniſter's friends, and was not added to the report till juſt at the cloſing of the committee, when he, for one, did not attend, becauſe he conſidered the buſineſs to be concluded. But, whether unanimouſly voted or not, it proved nothing in favour of the perſon who was its object. Even waving the deciſive objection that the committee when appointed was expreſsly interdicted from giving any opinion, and was confined to reporting evidence, he contended that the opinion was delivered in ſuch terms, and was drawn from ſuch imperfect evidence, as ſtill to leave really undecided the queſtion of the miniſter's innocence or guilt. Nor, he urged, would the fulleſt acquittal, pronounced by men who, like the majority of the committee, were the friends or dependents of the accuſed, have the weight of a feather in the mind of any well-informed and unprejudiced perſon.

Having previouſly vindicated the credibility of Mr. Morgan as a witneſs, and reminded the Houſe that Mr. Melliſh, as well as Mr. Morgan, had ſuſpected that the Chancellor of the Exchequer meant to abandon the principle of competition, Mr. Francis ſtated the main point of the ſubject under de-

bate to be, whether the miniſter had wilfully ſacrificed the public intereſt in every part of the late tranſaction. That the public intereſt had been ſo ſacrificed, he maintained to be indiſputable. Here, retracing the ground which had been trodden by Mr. Smith, he ſtrongly dwelt on the improbability, not to ſay impoſſibility, of the miniſter forgetting a ſtipulation of the kind which he was ſaid to have entered into with Mr. Boyd, when he negotiated the loan for the year 1795. He particularly remarked, too, upon the circumſtance of the miniſter treating the ſtipulation ſo lightly when it was firſt recalled to his memory by Mr. Boyd. The high language in which the contractors aſſerted their excluſive claim he laſhed with poignant ridicule, and their appeal to conſtant practice he ſhowed to be over-thrown by the Governor of the Bank, and by the practice itſelf.

To the defence that had been ſet up with reſpect to the ſuſpicious period at which the commiſſioners began to purchaſe in the four per cents., he replied, that it was no defence at all. That the books were ſhut was true. The books were invariably ſhut at the ſame time of the year. But why did not the ſame difficulty occur before? How did it happen that the commiſſioners never purchaſed in the four per cents. previouſly to laſt November?

With this change in the fund purchaſed from, he connected the king's meſſage, the Hamburgh bills, and the delay of twelve days between the ſettlement of the loan and the opening of the budget, and inferred from the whole, that the miniſter was guilty of the charge which was brought againſt him. To the time which elapſed between the loan and the budget he more particularly called the attention of the Houſe, as a ſtriking and important circumſtance; and he even went ſo far as to declare that if the miniſter would give a ſatisfactory reaſon for having, when the money was obviouſly not wanted, ſo precipitately and ſtrangely cloſed the bargain with Mr. Boyd, he would wave every other objection, and concur in a vote of acquittal. He conceived it, however, impoſſible to give any fair reaſon why the miniſter did not wait a few days, in the expectation that ſome one would come forward to bid on his own new plan of a qualified competition. In anſwer to the argument which, on this head, had been deduced from the wiſdom of intimidating the enemy by an early diſplay of our great reſources, he aſked how it came to paſs that, if this policy of diſplaying our reſources were really ſo excellent, and ſo calculated to produce an appalling effect, the miniſter had tied himſelf up from freely uſing it again, and had thus diſarmed himſelf of a powerful inſtrument of terror? Why had he now, for the firſt time, introduced into the loan contract a clauſe, that no payment on any new loan ſhould be made till after the laſt payment on the preſent? Might not freſh ſums be neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate before that laſt payment, and, in that caſe, muſt not the conſent of the contractors be purchaſed by the gift of another loan, which they, perhaps, would truſt to the miniſter's candour, and take,

take, as they safely might, on his own terms?

He wound up his speech by intreating his hearers to remember, that they acted as trustees for the nation, and were accountable for the trust reposed in them; that the evidence was before the public, who would compare it with the verdict, and judge accordingly; and that, though the minister might escape by a vote, the House would not be acquitted in the judgment of mankind.

The Chancellor of the Exchequor did not trust his vindication entirely to the zeal and talents of his friends. After a few observations in his behalf, from Mr. Steele, he rose, and defended himself at considerable length, and with his accustomed eloquence. His exordium was chiefly employed in animadverting upon the inconsistencies of his opponents, and in proving that the Committee of enquiry had performed its duty, and was not liable to the censures and insinuations which had been thrown out against it. He thought himself entitled, he said, to assume the benefit of the opinion given by the Committee, and to consider it as a clear full and decided testimony, that there was no distribution of the loan for the purpose of corrupt influence. The decision which, on this branch of the subject, had been come to by the Committee, was, he declared, highly grateful to his character and feelings. Undoubtedly, added he, there is no charge which can be brought against the transaction of the loan, there is no instance of neglect, there is no error of judgment, there is no want of providence, which I should not most seriously and severely regret; but still I should consider such charges as light, compared with that which forms the prominent point, and the most weighty one, in the present accusation, namely, that in the negotiation of the late loan I acted on motives of corruption, partiality, and undue influence, to answer political and interested purposes, both within doors and without.

Turning now to a consideration of the evidence which had been brought forward as affording strong presumptive proof of his guilt, he first explained the circumstance of the Hamburgh bills, of which such repeated mention had been made. He stated that, though large sums had been paid up, last year, on the loan, still the public exigencies had been such as to render additional supplies necessary; while, at the same time, the terms were not sufficiently tempting, to induce individuals to come forward with their money; nor could the aid of parliament be obtained, without calling it together, at great public and private inconvenience. In consequence of that emergency, he entered into a negotiation with a mercantile house, to which he offered treasury warrants, but Mr. Boyd informed him that bills of exchange were a more mercantile commodity. To avoid the heavy expence of stamps, which would have been incurred on inland bills, the bills were dated at Hamburgh, to make them foreign bills of exchange. They were, in reality, nothing more than mere forms of security to the lenders of the money; and though such a transaction would be discreditable to a merchant, as indicating a defi-

ciency of capital, it was not ſo to government; the ſums having been already voted, and funds provided for the payment of the bills. There was, he urged, nothing ſuſpicious or queſtionable in the buſineſs; nor was the ſervice of a nature or magnitude to give Mr. Boyd any claim to dictate the terms of a future loan. Mr. Boyd himſelf had not grounded on it any claim of the kind. With reſpect to the teſtimony of Mr. Morgan, to the contrary effect, the Chancellor of the Exchequer conſidered it as inconſiſtent with itſelf, and unſupported by any evidence from facts.

Proceeding to the charge drawn from his having abandoned the principle of competition, he replied that he had clung to that principle, till he was compelled to abandon it, by his being convinced that he could not reſiſt the claims of Mr. Boyd, without being guilty of injuſtice. When the loan of 1795 was made, it was propoſed, by the contractors, that there ſhould be no payment on any new loan, till the February of the ſucceeding year; and this he readily promiſed, under the idea that no more money would be wanting for the public ſervice till after that period. Of that promiſe the Governor of the Bank reminded him, during the laſt loan negotiation; and he was, he ſaid, confirmed in its propriety, by finding that, under ſuch circumſtances, no new loan had ever taken place, even when no aſſurance, direct or implied, had been given. He was, therefore, forced to yield to a claim which, though there was no expreſs legal agreement, was binding upon him, in honour and juſtice. Had there been an expreſs agreement it would have been preſent to his recollection: but, the fact was, that, in tranſacting all loans, there muſt be preliminary points of converſation; a good deal of diſcuſſion naturally took place, ſome points of which were committed to memorandums, and others ſuffered to paſs more looſely. The conſequence of ſuch a mode had, in this inſtance, been, that he had not fixed in his memory all the conditions, on which the loan of 1795 had been obtained. In anſwer to the obſervations, which had been made on Mr. Boyd's letter, Mr. Pitt urged that it was not his duty to conſider whether Mr. Boyd's claims were pleaded in a proper manner, but whether they were ſuch as in fairneſs ſhould be allowed. He thought, too, that the contractors, as being reſponſible for the fulfilment of the bargain, ſtood, with reſpect to government, in a ſituation diſtinct from the ſcrip-holders, and which gave them particular claims. As to the terms of the loan, he vindicated them, as being the beſt which could then be procured for the public, and he maintained that, after they were finally arranged, a delay of forty-eight hours in completing the buſineſs, could be productive of no other than injurious effects. The delay which took place, between the time when the loan was made and the time when it was announced to the Houſe, he accounted for, by his having been diſappointed, in bringing forward the budget, as he originally intended, on the ſecond of December.

With regard to the time of bringing down the King's meſſage, he

he declared that thoſe who knew him beſt, knew that it was not in his mind when the bargain was concluded. But, had he foreſeen it, he could not have foreſeen the riſe in the ſtocks. He did not think that the riſe was produced by the meſſage only. Excluſive of the meſſage, there were collateral cauſes for the ſudden riſe; among theſe were the Auſtrian victories, and the growing diſtreſſes of the enemy, which might lead to an idea that they were not able to continue the war. After all, the riſe had been but a temporary one, of four days. The benefit to the contractors, and the loſs to the public, had, he ſaid, been greatly overrated. It had been aſſerted, that the profit on the loan amounted to twelve per cent.; whereas the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, as the whole ſum of five per cent. on the loan ought not to be charged as the amount gained by the riſe; it not being poſſible that in a few hours, for four days, ſo large a ſum could be brought into the market. The Chancellor cloſed his ſpeech by reading the reſolution, which eſtimated at above two millions the gains of the contractors, and by declaring that he thought it needleſs to do more than to requeſt that the Houſe would attend to the wild extravagance of this aſſertion.

The defence of the miniſter did not appear ſatisfactory to Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan; the former of whom, however, explicitly acquitted him of perſonal corruption. But even improvidence, which he had ſeemed to treat as a mere peccadillo, they held to be no ſmall crime, in a miniſter of finance. They argued, that, if a promiſe had been given to Mr. Boyd, it was highly improbable that Mr. Pitt ſhould ſo far forget it, as to announce another loan, on the principle of competition; and they urged that the ſtatements of Mr. Boyd himſelf, on ſome important points, were in contradiction with thoſe of the miniſter. The claim of the contractor, merely as contractor, they conſidered as unworthy even of refutation. Nor did they deem at all ſatisfactory the account which was given of the buſineſs of the Hamburgh bills; which they ſtill held to be connected with the negotiation of the loan, and to be in itſelf diſcreditable. They likewiſe diſſented from the reaſoning on the King's meſſage, and re-aſſerted the correctneſs of the calculation, that a clear profit of twelve and a half per cent. had been made on the omnium. It was alſo, remarked, by Mr. Sheridan, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had no ground to triumph in his acquittal by the Committee; that Committee being chiefly compoſed of his own perſonal friends.

After a few words, in explanation, from Mr. Douglas and Mr. Smith, Mr. Douglas's amendment was carried, by a majority of a hundred and forty-eight. The firſt thirty-ſeven reſolutions were then got rid of, by the previous queſtion; the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth were negatived; and two reſolutions, approving of Mr. Pitt's conduct, were adopted by the Houſe.

The ſubject of the Hamburgh bills, which had ſo often and ſo bitterly been alluded to, and the mention of which had more than

once ruffled the temper of the miniſter, was, at length, brought before the Houſe, in a regular form. Mr. Jekyll, on the twenty ninth of February, moved three criminatory reſolutions; the firſt two of which gave an account of the tranſaction, and the third declared that it was "illegal and unconſtitutional, and had brought the public credit into diſrepute and ſuſpicion."

In ſtating and ſupporting his charge, the honourable mover was by no means ſparing of ſevere and irritating language. He denominated the bills a ſwindling tranſaction, and declared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in his public capacity, acted in a fraudulent and diſhonourable manner, had brought the acceptances of his Majeſty's treaſury into diſgrace, and had laid the foundation for future frauds and colluſion, in the public money tranſactions of government. Other expreſſions, of equal aſperity, were profuſely ſcattered throughout his ſpeech.

That Mr. Boyd had obtained the loan in conſequence of his having negotiated the Hamburgh bills, and that the negotiation of thoſe bills was, in the miniſter, a diſcreditable act, Mr. Jekyll conſidered as firmly eſtabliſhed, by the evidence which Meſſrs. Giles, Melliſh, and Morgan had given before the Committee. The tranſaction bore, he repeated, the concomitant marks and badges of fraud. It was, in the firſt place, conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy. In the next place, the bills were antedated; and thirdly, though pretended to have been drawn by Mr. Walter Boyd, at Hamburgh, they were drawn in England, and, the better to make them paſs as foreign bills, they were drawn upon unſtamped paper. Under theſe circumſtances, had the bills been brought into a court of juſtice, the parties holding them would have been nonſuited, and the bills, together with the right of action, would have fallen to the ground. Indeed, he ſeemed to conſider, and almoſt affirmed, the bills to be forgeries, and the perſons concerned in fabricating them to be liable to the ſevere penalty denounced by the law againſt the crime of forgery.

In the courſe of his argument, he likewiſe contended that the money obtained by them had been illegally diſpoſed of; it having, by order of the Lords of the Treaſury, been paid directly into the hands of the Paymaſter-general of the forces; whereas, by the ſtatute of the twenty-third of his Majeſty, it ought to have paſſed to the Paymaſter, through the medium of the Bank. Nor had any explanation ever been given of the ſervice to which the money was applied. He, laſtly, endeavoured to diſprove the aſſertion, made, on a former evening, by Mr. Pitt, that, before the bills were drawn, funds were provided for their payment. On the contrary, he maintained, by a compariſon of dates, that no funds would have exiſted, had not the miniſter hurried on the loan with Mr. Boyd, and thus enabled that gentleman to repay himſelf out of his own money.

In reply, Mr. Charles Long gave the ſame account as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had lately given, reſpecting the origin of the bills. No irregularity had, he ſaid, been committed, except

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in dating the bills from Hamburgh, inſtead of London; which was done ſolely with the view of ſaving expence and time. The ſecrecy, with which the buſineſs had been conducted, was not meant to cover any fraudulent intention, but was recommended by Mr. Boyd himſelf, to prevent the knowledge of the circumſtance from cauſing a ſcarcity of money. That the loan was haſtily negotiated, to enable the miniſter to meet the bills, Mr. Long denied; and he entered into a detail, which ſhewed that, independently of any payment on the new loan, there was a more than ſufficient fund, to provide for the bills, at the period of their becoming payable. As to what regarded the violation of the act of parliament, Mr. Long appeared to doubt whether he had not infringed the letter of the act, but he expreſſed a hope, that he had not offended againſt its ſpirit. He underſtood, he ſaid, that balances were not to be left in the hands of the Paymaſter-general, but he did not underſtand that money was not to be paid in his name; for that had always been the regular mode; though the money did not remain there, but was carried immediately to the Bank, and placed to his account. It amounted, in the end, to preciſely the ſame thing, whichever mode was adopted. In concluſion, he declared, that he had a perfect remembrance of the ſtipulation which was entered into, in 1795, that Mr. Boyd ſhould have a preference, in caſe of a new loan being called for previouſly to the laſt payment having been made on the old.

A long, and rather tedious, debate now enſued, in which ſeveral members, on each ſide, took a part. The chief ſhare in it was borne by Mr. Grey, who treated the negotiation of the bills with great ſeverity, and affirmed that the miniſter had additionally broken the law, by allowing Mr. Boyd five per cent. on the bills, inſtead of three per cent. which was the legal allowance of diſcount, on inſtalments of the loan. It was, he thought, highly probable, that the public had even paid five per cent. in addition to the three per cent. which was allowed by law.

Mr. Jekyll having replied, the Houſe divided, when the previous queſtion was carried, on the firſt two reſolutions, by a hundred and nine ayes againſt twenty-four noes. The third reſolution was negatived, by a majority of a hundred; there being only eight who voted for it, againſt a hundred and eight who oppoſed it.

Having been defeated on all theſe points, the oppoſition reſorted to a ſtep which they had taken, without ſucceſs, in the courſe of the ſeſſion of 1795. This ſtep conſiſted in moving for a Committee of the whole houſe, to enquire into the ſtate of the nation. On the former occaſion, the taſk was undertaken by Mr. Fox. It was now performed by Mr. Grey, who had made two preliminary motions, for the requiſite financial documents. The queſtion was debated on the tenth of March.

In his exordium, the honourable mover drew a gloomy picture of the ſtate of the country; reminded his hearers that it was a duty incumbent on the Houſe of Commons to watch carefully over the public purſe; enlarged on the neceſſity of

of economy; and lamented that, on ſo important a ſubject, the diſcuſſion ſhould be attended by ſuch ſcanty numbers as he then addreſſed. The war he affirmed to have been marked, above all others, by an enormous prodigality of expenditure; the ſole fruits of which had been diſaſter and diſgrace. Already we had added ſeventy-ſeven millions to our unfunded debt; independently of a floating debt, to the amount of twenty-two millions: while, in the American war, which had always hitherto been looked on as a war of the wildeſt profuſion, and in which we had ſupported immenſe armies, and carried on vigorous hoſtilities, in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and in America, the debt contracted in ſix years did not exceed a ſum of forty-three millions. In order to provide for the intereſt of the new funded debt alone, taxes muſt be impoſed, to the vaſt extent of two million ſix hundred thouſand pounds.

The various items of expenditure he claſſed under the three heads of army, navy, and ordnance; and, on each of theſe heads, he entered into detail, to prove that the miniſter had not only ſquandered the public money, with careleſs and unexampled extravagance, but had alſo expended much of it without eſtimate, without notice, and without the conſent of parliament. In the article of the navy, he eſtimated at nearly fourteen millions, the exceſs of the expenditure beyond the votes; in that of the army, at more than an equal amount; and in that of the ordnance, at three millions; making a total of thirty-one millions. The ſums voted were thirty-five millions. Yet, with the diſpoſal of ſixty-ſix millions, the miniſters had done nothing which tended to the glory or intereſt of the Britiſh nation. Our navy, indeed, had eſtabliſhed its ſuperiority over that of the enemy; but never, in any war, had our trade been ſo ill protected; and with regard to our military department, we had not a ſingle victory to comfort us, for all the heavy expence of treaſure and of blood.

Various charges of unconſtitutional practices, were next urged againſt the miniſters by Mr. Grey. The firſt of theſe was the building of barracks, on which he dwelt, with much earneſtneſs, as being contrary to law, and highly dangerous to the liberties of the country. Forty thouſand he aſſerted to be the number of men which the barracks, built ſince 1790, would contain; and he eſtimated at not leſs than eleven hundred thouſand pounds, the money which had been ſpent in theſe erections. Striking abuſes had likewiſe, he ſaid, been committed, with reſpect to the ſalaries and appointments of many of the barrack maſters. In the civil adminiſtration of the navy, and in the tranſport ſervice, he alſo complained that new boards had been erected, at conſiderable expence, and, as he ſeemed to intimate, for corrupt purpoſes. He contended, too, that the vote of credit had been miſapplied; that money had been improperly obtained from the Bank, and by fictitious bills; and that the act of appropriation had been violated, by applying money to uſes for which it had not been voted by the houſe; while ſervices, for which the votes were paſſed, were left ſhamefully in arrear. The military

military ſervice he mentioned as among the number in arrear. He cloſed his ſpeech by declaring that, even were a peace to be immediately procured, our eſtabliſhment could not poſſibly be kept up for leſs than twenty two millions annually; that the revenue would not produce more than nineteen millions and a half; that we ſhould conſequently have to raiſe additional taxes, to the amount of two millions and a half, to ſupply the deficiency in the regular revenue; and that the Houſe ought, therefore, to perform its duty to its conſtituents, by acceding to his propoſition, of going into a Committee to inveſtigate, among other things, the ſituation of the finances.

The moſt prominent part in the defence of the miniſters was taken by Mr. Jenkinſon and Mr. Steele, who were aided by Sir William Pulteney, Mr. M. Montague, and Sir Gregory Page Turner. The order of the day, on Mr. Grey's motion, was moved by Mr. Jenkinſon.

Fully agreeing with Mr. Grey, that the houſe ought to keep a watchful eye on the expenditure of the public money, and that, wherever ground for ſuſpicion appeared, it ought alſo to inſtitute an enquiry, Mr. Jenkinſon denied that, on this occaſion, a ſufficient caſe had been made out, to induce the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into the propoſed Committee. That which the honourable mover had cenſured as extravagance, he on the contrary, maintained to be the natural conſequence of unavoidable circumſtances. Every war had been more expenſive than that which preceded it. When, to private individuals, all articles coſt nearly double their former price, was it not to be expected, that they would be proportionably expenſive to Government? Beſides, the expence was greatly encreaſed, by the neceſſity of keeping pace with the ſtrenuous exertions of an adverſary who cared not what expence he incurred, and who ſacrificed all the commerce of his country, and five-ſixths of its ſpecie, to carry on the war. The compariſon which had been drawn, between the money ſpent in the preſent and in the American war, was, he ſaid, erroneous; and, in proof that it was ſo, he brought forward a calculation, by which it appeared, that the ſums borrowed, in the laſt four years of the American war, amounted to ſixty-four millions and a half, and that not more than fifty-one millions had been expended, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities with France. A contraſt with the laviſh expences of the enemy was, he declared, ſtill more favourable. He then took a review of the revenue and commerce of Great Britain, of the proſperity of which he drew a highly gratifying picture; affirming that the revenue was as great as ever, and that the commerce of the country was conſiderably increaſed. The terms on which money had been raiſed for the conteſt, he ſtated to be more advantageous, by one and a half per cent, than the terms obtained during the American war; and he ſeized this opportunity to make a warm panegyric on the wiſdom diſplayed by Mr. Pitt, in eſtabliſhing a ſinking fund, with an annual million, for the redemption of the national debt. On the queſtion

queſtion whether the exertions of the miniſters had been proportioned to the magnitude of the ſums which they had ſpent, he ſtrongly argued in the affirmative; expatiating on the vaſt increaſe of our naval and military force, and the vigorous efforts which had been made, both by ſea and land; and enumerating, in a triumphant tone, the conqueſts which we had gained, by dint of thoſe efforts. The raiſing of ſums, without the ſanction of parliament, he owned to be a proceeding of which he diſapproved in principle, but which, in this inſtance, was juſtified, by the complication of the eſtimates, and the war being carried on in ſuch different quarters. The wide ſphere occupied by the war, was the reaſon, too, which he aſſigned for the want of correctneſs in the eſtimates themſelves. With reſpect to barracks, he deemed it ſufficient to anſwer, that parliament had approved of the ſyſtem, as prudent and wiſe, and that the ſtatement of expence, on that head, had, for the laſt five years, been annually preſented to the houſe.

The reaſonings of Mr. Jenkinſon were backed by Mr. Steele, who entered more fully into ſuch points as had only been touched on by his colleague. The navy debt he eſtimated ſomewhat lower than Mr. Grey had done, and he alleged that for eleven millions and a half of it, out of thirteen millions, proviſion was already made. But the debt contracted for the military ſervice, he aſſerted to be only ſeven millions and a half, inſtead of fourteen millions. On the whole, he thought that, under the head of extraordinaries, leſs had been expended in this than in any former war. Arrears had, he owned, been due to the army; but they were now diſcharged, with the exception of an inſignificant ſum, of ſcarcely ſeventeen thouſand pounds. To the charge againſt miniſters, of having violated the appropriation act, he adverted in careleſs language, as being of trivial importance. If they had violated it, they had, he ſaid, done no more than their predeceſſors had done. The ſame diſregard of it had always been ſhewn, and it did not appear to him that this was deſerving of blame. He likewiſe affirmed, that the maxims advanced, on the oppoſite ſide, with regard to the vote of credit were erroneous, and that the miniſters had acted with propriety, in the diſpoſal of the ſums which were granted by the vote. Laſtly, he maintained, that the new taxes would be ſufficiently productive, not merely to meet the eſtimates, but alſo to cover, with an exception of about two millions, the ſums which would be wanted to diſcharge the intereſt of the unfunded debt.

The motion for a Committee was briefly ſupported by Mr. Curwen, Mr. Martin, and Mr. M. Robinſon. At length, after a reply from Mr. Grey, in which he vindicated the correctneſs of his ſtatements and arguments, the houſe divided, and the motion for paſſing to the order of the day was carried, by two hundred and ſeven ayes, againſt forty-five noes.

The rigid ſcrutiny entered into, by the party in oppoſition, was not confined to the great heads of national expenditure, but, at leaſt in one inſtance, was extended to the munificence ſhewn by the ſovereign to a private individual. On the retire-

retirement of Mr. Burke from public life, rich only in fame and the conſciouſneſs of having faithfully performed his duty to his country, his Majeſty was pleaſed to reward his ſervices, as far as money could reward ſuch ſervices, by the grant of a penſion. This grant was payable out of the four and a half per cent fund, which ariſes from duties levied in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands. We have already incidentally noticed one or two inſtances, in which this penſion was commented upon, with much vehemence, in both houſes of parliament. But, in fact, ſcarcely a debate occurred, on the ſubjects of finance and the conſtitution, in which it was not alluded to, or deſcanted on; ſometimes in decorous terms, but oftener in language which was diſgraceful to thoſe by whom it was employed. One, however, of the higheſt in rank among the cenſurers of the grant, received, from the glowing and indignant pen of Mr. Burke, a chaſtiſement which muſt have given him ample reaſon to repent the raſhneſs, and want of generous feeling, which he had diſplayed in his attack.

In order to pave the way for a parliamentary diſcuſſion of the King's bounty to Mr. Burke, the Earl of Lauderdale, at an early period of the ſeſſion, moved for certain papers, relative to grants, which had been charged on the four and a half per cent duties. The reſult of this was a deſultory converſation, carried on with ſo much heat and perſonal bitterneſs, particularly on the part of Lord Lauderdale, that Lord Sydney ſtrongly expreſſed his doubts, whether he had not got into Bedlam, inſtead of the Houſe of Peers. Here the buſineſs reſted, till after the receſs, when Lord Lauderdale again brought it forward, in a different and leſs hoſtile form. He now moved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, praying him to diſpoſe of the produce of the four and a half per cent duties, in fortifying, and otherwiſe providing for the ſafety of, the Leeward Iſlands. As the ground of his motion, he aſſumed that the duties were originally voted for the purpoſes to which he was deſirous they ſhould be applied, and, therefore, could not legally be diverted to any other; and this he endeavoured to prove, by a variety of arguments. But his arguments were confuted by Lord Grenville, who ſhewed, from authentic and irrefragable documents, that the Crown had a right to apply the duties to whatever ſervice it might deem expedient. On a diviſion, the motion of Lord Lauderdale was negatived, by forty-two non-contents, againſt only ſix contents. March 4.

CHAP. XX.

Mr. Pitt brings forward a ſecond budget. Tax on printed cottons abandoned, and replaced by the Dog Tax. New Tax upon Hats, and upon Wine. Statement of ſervices unprovided for. Meaſure propoſed by Mr. Pitt to relieve

relieve the diſtreſs occaſioned by the ſcarcity of money. Favourable terms of the loan. Mr. Pitt gives an highly advantageous account of the reſources of the country. Reply of Mr. Grey. He cenſures the miniſter with the utmoſt ſeverity, animadverts upon the enormous amount of unprovided ſervices, and predicts, at the ſame time, that the ſum now raiſed will not be ſufficient to ſupply the deficiency. He is ſupported by Mr. Fox, who cautions the houſe not to be deluded by the idea that the downfal of the French ſyſtem of finance would produce the ruin of the republic. Mode of raiſing the loan cenſured by ſome members. Reply of Mr. Pitt. The tax bills paſſed. Converſations reſpecting the Sardinian ſubſidy, and the probability of another Imperial Loan. Severe attack made, in the upper houſe, upon miniſters, by the Marquis of Lanſdowne. He moves ſeveral reſolutions, grounded upon the celebrated vote of the Houſe of Commons, reſpecting the increaſed influence of the Crown. He points out, and ſtrongly animadverts upon, various abuſes, in different departments of the ſtate. Defence of the miniſters undertaken by Lord Grenville. He is anſwered by Lord Lauderdale. Elaborate ſpeech of Lord Auckland, proving the reſources of the country to be in a highly proſperous ſtate. It is controverted by Lord Lauderdale. The reſolutions are rejected by a very large majority. Mr. Grey moves certain reſolutions, accuſing the miniſters of miſapplying the public money, and deceiving the houſe, by falſe accounts. Reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Rejoinder of Mr. Fox. The reſolutions are got rid of, by the previous queſtion. Speech of the Earl of Moira, on Finance, and conſequent converſation, in the Houſe of Peers. The Earl of Lauderdale moves various financial reſolutions. Debate upon the motion. The previous queſtion is paſſed on his reſolutions,

DAILY haraſſed as he was, by the financial animadverſions of his opponents, and knowing as he did the ſiniſter effect produced upon the public mind by every additional pecuniary burthen, it muſt have been with no ſmall reluctance that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſubmitted to the neceſſity of propoſing to the houſe, during the ſame ſeſſion of parliament, the unprecedented meaſure of a ſecond budget and a ſecond loan. Such, however, was the expenſiveneſs of the war in which the country was engaged that he had no reſource but to bring forward the meaſure.

April 18.

The miniſter did not diſſemble that he felt, on this occaſion, a conſiderable portion of anxiety and ſolicitude. But he declared that, nevertheleſs, after a deliberate, careful, and minute examination, he approached the ſubject of that night's debate with a ſincere and rooted confidence in the ability of the nation to maintain the preſent conteſt; and he added that, if he ſhould be able to do juſtice to the truth of the facts, he doubted not the houſe would allow that his confidence was well founded, and that we had the ſureſt grounds to indulge in a hope of our ultimate ſucceſs.

The three principal points to which he meant to call the attention of the houſe, he ſtated to be the ſubſtitution of new ways and means, in place of ſome which he had

had adopted in his former budget, but which he now thought it policy to relinquiſh; the ſtatement of, and means of providing for, ſuch ſervices as had not been foreſeen; and the plan which he deemed it adviſable to follow, in order to give facility to commercial credit, and remove the diſtreſs which had ariſen from the temporary demand for money.

In his former ſtatement of Ways and Means he had propoſed to raiſe the ſum of 135,000l. by a tax upon printed cottons and callicoes: that tax he now intended to relinquiſh. To make up the deficiency he would in the firſt place apply the ſurplus produce of the dog tax, which he eſtimated at 100,000l. The remainder of the defalcation he intended to cover by a change in the mode of collecting the duty upon hats. The duty was at preſent collected through the medium of a paper ſtamp, and was, in conquence, ſo eaſily evaded, that the produce had ſunk to nearly nothing. To prevent the evaſion, he deſigned that the lining of the hat ſhould, for the future, be ſtamped. By this alteration the amount of the duty would, he calculated, be raiſed to 40,000l. The two ſums would more than replace that which had been expected from the duty upon calicoes and linens.

The miniſter now entered upon the head of ſervices for which, they not having been foreſeen, it was become neceſſary to make proviſion. With this head, he ſaid, was connected the meaſure which he intended to propoſe for giving relief to the general ſtate of credit in the country, and which conſiſted in taking out of the market a great proportion of the paper conſtituting the unfunded debt, and thus relieving the bank from the advances that it had made, and enabling it to allot a larger ſum of money to commercial diſcounts. This operation would cauſe ſome encreaſe of the public burdens, as the debt, when funded, would bear a higher intereſt than it bore while in its floating ſtate.

The ſervices unprovided for he ſtated to be, army extraordinaries, ſince the 31ſt of December 535,000l.; ordnance 200,000l.; additional ſum for barracks 267,000l.; ſecret ſervice 100,000l.; and ways and means deficient in the laſt ſupply 177,000l.; making together a ſum of 1,279,000l. To this he would add, he ſaid, a further ſum of 1,221,000, which would be required to cover the whole of the army extraordinaries up to the cloſe of the year 1796. The whole amount being 2,500,000l.

He then proceeded to lay before the houſe an account of the proviſion which would be required for funding that part of the navy debt which remained unfunded, and alſo the debt which it would be requiſite to incur, ſuppoſing the war to be continued to the cloſe of the year 1796. The debt already contracted, and the probable debt, he eſtimated at 4,000,000l.

The next head of charge aroſe, he ſaid, from the neceſſity, under the preſent circumſtances, of diminiſhing the unfunded debt, by taking out of the market 3,500,000l. in exchequer bills. While this unfunded debt continued in the market it prevented the bank from giving to trade that aſſiſtance which it uſually gave. Money, therefore, muſt be borrowed for the

the payment of the bills. The intereſt of the borrowed money being one and a half per cent. more than that of the bills, and one per cent. being devoted to the ſinking fund, taxes muſt be impoſed to cover the additional yearly charge, which would amount, he ſtated, to 87,500l.

The loan which he had raiſed he ſtated at 7,500,000l. Of this ſum two millions and a half was deſtined for extraordinary ſervices; three millions and a half for the purchaſe of exchequer bills; half a million for the purchaſe of navy bills from the bank; and a million for the re-payment to the bank of advances which it had made in exchequer bills, on the ſecurity of the conſolidated fund.

The intereſt, which muſt be provided for by taxes, was 575,900l. This ſum he propoſed to raiſe by an additional duty, of twenty pounds per ton, on wine. The conſumption of wine, he informed the houſe, far from ſinking under the duty of laſt year, had very materially encreaſed; nor did he believe that the preſent addition would produce any diminution of the quantity imported. As thirty thouſand tons were annually conſumed, the produce would be 600,000l.; which would be more than ſufficient to cover the intereſt of the loan.

In order to obtain a ſum in ready caſh, to pay the bank its ſhare of the navy debt, it was his intention that the preſent tax, like the former, ſhould attach immediately upon the vender. The quantity of the ſtock on hand would, he thought, in all probability, bring from 350,000, to 360,000 pounds into the treaſury. The produce this year, towards the ſum neceſſary to be permanently borrowed, would, therefore, be from 900,000l. to a million; and as a conſiderable portion of the expenditure, particularly on extraordinaries, would not be paid in the preſent year, there would be a large ſurplus of caſh applicable to the purpoſes which he had mentioned.

Having concluded this detail, he proceeded to lay before the houſe the terms upon which he had been enabled to obtain the loan. The bonus which he had given for the loan was, he believed, the leaſt that had ever been given for any loan in this country. It was only 1l. 19s. 9d., to which muſt be added half the uſual diſcount, in conſequence of the more rapid payment of inſtalments, all of which were to be completed in the courſe of half a year. The whole bonus was but 3l. 6s. 9d. Theſe terms, highly advantageous as they were in themſelves, were alſo made ſubject to the diſcretion of the houſe, in caſe it ſhould think proper to avail itſelf of a further loan of three millions to the Emperor. Terms ſo low and ſo favourable, made too at a moment when the people were diſappointed in their hopes for peace, and the cup was daſhed from their lips by the proud unjuſtifiable, domineering pretenſions of the French Directory, were, he contended, a demonſtrative proof of the flouriſhing ſtate of our reſources, and the confidence of the monied men.

In the courſe of his ſpeech Mr. Pitt had already touched upon the ſcarcity of money. Owning that it, in part, proceeded from the great expences of the war, he denied

nied that they were its principal cauſe. On the contrary, he contended that, inſtead of being the reſult of poverty and decreaſe of trade, it mainly aroſe from the increaſed commerce of the kingdom. It was connected with our large growing reſources, and rich increaſing proſperity. Deep and acute politicians well knew that the circulating medium of a country muſt bear a certain proportion to the extent of active capital, to the extent of commercial ſpeculation. This propoſition, generally true, applied more particularly at preſent to Great Britain. The evident, the acknowledged, extent of our trade had encreaſed a demand for money, for the purpoſes of additional ſpeculations, and had called for a large quantity of medium. But, when there was a great unfunded debt, a part of that medium was ſwallowed up, and the current of commerce was chained; becauſe monied men choſe rather to lay out their ready caſh on the diſcount, then highly gainful, of the debt, than apply it, as they otherwiſe would do, to manufacturing or mercantile purpoſes.

The terms upon which the loan had been obtained were, he ſaid, a ſtrong, but not the only, proof of the magnitude of our reſources. The produce of the taxes, far from diminiſhing in conſequence of the war, had encreaſed much beyond its eſtimated amount, and the yearly value of our exports and imports abundantly ſhewed that manufactures and commerce were in a flouriſhing ſtate.

The permanent revenue of the country he eſtimated to exceed, by more than three hundred thouſand pounds annually, the ſum of ſixteen millions, which had been calculated as neceſſary for the ſupport of a peace eſtabliſhment. To this ſurplus was to be added three hundred thouſand a year from the lottery, and five hundred thouſand per annum, from the Eaſt India Company, which, though not paid during the war, would be applicable to the public ſervice in time of peace. So fully did he reckon upon this latter reſource, that he declared it ought to be conſidered as a part of the ſolid and permanent income of the country, and he paid a high compliment to Mr. Dundas, who had managed, with ſo much wiſdom and ſucceſs, the affairs of the company.

On the ſinking fund, to which, in a great degree, he attributed our ability to carry on hoſtilities, he made a ſplendid panegyric; not forgetting, at the ſame time, to hint that our anceſtors had betrayed a want of ſpirit or ſagacity, in neglecting to avail themſelves of ſuch a powerful means of ſaving their deſcendants from the burthen of taxation.

From the favourable circumſtances which he had brought forward to the houſe, Mr. Pitt conſidered himſelf authoriſed to draw the concluſion that nothing ought to diſcourage us from perſevering in a war ſo laudable in its end, and which involved our deareſt and moſt complicated intereſts. Alluding pointedly to the members on the other ſide, he declared his conviction that the enemy in keeping up their haughty port, and endeavouring to dictate terms to Great Britain, thought themſelves warranted by the abject manner in which ſome gentlemen had ſtated the reſources of this country.

Then, after ſlightly touching on the ruined ſtate of the French finances, he concluded by predicting that, if we were not wanting to ourſelves, the ultimate iſſue of the conteſt would be glorious, and that, by the bleſſing of providence, we ſhould deliver ourſelves from the worſt of dangers, and tranſmit to poſterity the valuable leſſon that a bankrupt, turbulent, and lawleſs nation can never meaſure itſelf with the ſpontaneous and well-regulated energy of a free and a loyal people.

The tone of confidence, and even of triumph, with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer addreſſed the houſe, was not ſuffered to paſs unreprobated by the members of oppoſition. Mr. Grey, in particular, animadverted upon it with his uſual ſeverity. Had the miniſter, he indignantly ſaid, inſtead of coming forward, for the third time in fourteen months, to lay freſh burthens upon the nation, come forward to ſay that he was enabled to alleviate the diſtreſs of that nation, and to relieve it from ſome of its impoſts; had he, inſtead of having blotted the annals of the country, and tarniſhed the glory of the preſent reign, had he brightened the regal diadem, and furniſhed to Britiſh hiſtory an epoch exempt from misfortune, miſery, and diſgrace; then, indeed, he might, with ſome juſtice, have aſſumed that triumphant air with which he now vainly attempted to cover his inability and miſconduct. On ſuch a day as this of humiliation, both to the houſe and the country, it would better have become him to have made a confeſſion of contrition, than to have indulged in ſarcaſtic or idle declamation. One thing, however, the ſpeech of the miniſter proved, and that was the complete fallacy of all his former aſſertions and ſtatements. He had been told that the proviſion made for the demands of the year, extravagant and enormous as it was, would, nevertheleſs, be inadequate, he had denied it, but was now compelled to come to the houſe, and acknowledge that it was ſo. Enquiry had been called for, he had reſiſted it, but had now ſhewn that it was then neceſſary, and was become more neceſſary than ever.

On the ſubject of the increaſe of commerce Mr. Grey at preſent declined a diſcuſſion. He remarked, however, that the arguments which had been urged to prove that increaſe were, in ſome parts fallacious, and, on the whole, were by no means ſo concluſive as the miniſter appeared to imagine. But, granting them to their utmoſt extent, ſtill an increaſed commerce was no excuſe for an increaſed extravagance, nor could it ſuperſede the neceſſity impoſed by their duty, upon the members of the houſe, to enquire into the amount and the fairneſs of the burthens to which their conſtituents were ſubjected.

On the propoſed taxes the honourable member made few obſervations. His principal objection was that, in both inſtances, the miniſter, had rated the produce much higher than he was warranted in doing.

The new demands for unprovided ſervices amounting to 1,279,000l. he looked upon with a jealous eye; and he reminded the houſe that the miniſter, when he brought forward his budget in December,

December, assured them that abundant provision was made for all the expences of the ensuing year. Since then no unforeseen necessities had arisen, no fresh claims had occurred, to justify the imposition of fresh burthens. The hostile disposition of the enemy, the continuance of the contest, had then been calculated upon; they were not discoveries of yesterday, and could, therefore, furnish no apology for the exorbitant demands which were now made.

Yet, exorbitant as were the present demands upon the public, Mr. Grey contended that they were not sufficient to cover the whole of the deficiency. If the minister, he said, had acted with that manliness and fairness for which he took credit, he ought to have provided interest for a sum of at least fourteen millions. In support of this assertion he, from a calculation of the expenditure of 1794 and 1795, argued that the unfunded navy debt, estimated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at only 1,640,000l., would not be less than seven millions, and that the sum of four millions would be found inadequate for the service of the current year. At the same time, the army and the civil list were in arrear, and every department of the state had suffered from the mismanagement of its conductors. If the house would go into an enquiry into the state of the finances, he pledged himself to make it appear that, notwithstanding the monstrous loan of twenty-five millions which had been voted, the minister had not provided interest for the outstanding debt. Under such circumstances, he thought Mr. Pitt, instead of assuming a high and haughty tone, ought to have come down to implore the house to grant a bill of indemnity for his errors, extravagance and misconduct.

He closed his speech by adverting to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had mentioned, with respect to the amount of a peace establishment. That establishment, Mr. Grey asserted, could not be stated at less than twenty-two millions annually; while the taxes, even supposing them, contrary to all probability, not to fall off in their produce, would not reach within two millions and a half the sum required. New taxes, therefore, must be laid on to supply the defalcation. In a committee of enquiry, for which he once more called, he would, he said, prove, in a satisfactory manner, the truth of his assertions.

Mr. Grey was seconded by Mr. Fox, who dwelt upon the same topics, with somewhat less of caustic severity, but with his usual eloquence. Some of the points he urged more strongly, some he placed in different lights, and the whole, hackneyed as they had been in the house, he rendered attractive by the force and animation of his language. On the subject of the French finances, which had not been touched by his honourable friend, he entered with great animation, and conjured the house not to be deluded with the idea that the downfal of the French paper-money would be the inevitable cause of the downfal of France. Assignats had fallen, mandats might follow them, and something else succeed them, of which

we could know nothing; but the republican government might, notwithſtanding, remain unſhaken.

The arrears which government were under to various branches of the public ſervice, Mr. Fox, likewiſe, very forcibly animadverted upon. Even the ſmalleſt penſions were, he ſaid, in arrear. Even the miſerable pittance abſolutely neceſſary for the daily ſubſiſtence of the miſerable French emigrants was in the ſame ſituation.

A few obſervations were alſo made by Mr. Alderman Newnham, Mr. Sheridan, and General Smith, the latter of whom denied that the Eaſt India Company would ever be able to pay any part of the half million for which credit had been taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The mode in which the loan had been raiſed was another ſubject of cenſure. The loan was aſſerted to be a cloſe and ſhut-up loan, raiſed in defiance of the approved ſyſtem of competition, and notwithſtanding competition had been offered by fifteen or ſixteen reſpectable houſes in the metropolis. When would the loan leviathan, it was aſked, be ſatisfied, or how long was he to have loans on his own terms?

A ſpirited and ſatisfactory reply was made, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. With reſpect to the cloſe nature of the ſecond loan, he ſtated that it aroſe from the agreement made with Meſſrs. Boyd and Benfield for the firſt loan, by which he was tied up from making an additional loan till the payments on the firſt were completed. That agreement left him no alternative but to cloſe with the preſent contractors.

The objections of Mr. Grey to his ſtatement of the probable amount of the navy debt, he anſwered at ſome length, and maintained the correctneſs of the calculation from which his own ſtatement was drawn. He contended, too, that the idea which the honourable gentleman had formed of our future peace eſtabliſhment, and the incompetency of our taxes to ſupport it, was erroneous, and that we had ſufficient means to anſwer all future demands, which could poſſibly be foreſeen.

The reſolutions were, at length, put, and agreed to, without a diviſion. In their paſſage through the houſe, the various bills, founded upon the reſolutions, gave riſe to ſome deſultory and pointed converſation, but not to any remark or diſcuſſion which has a claim to be recorded.

To the ſubject of ſubſidies the members of oppoſition more than once called the attention of the houſe. The ſituation of affairs in Italy induced them to call upon the miniſter for explanations as to the continuance of the ſubſidy to the King of Sardinia; nor did they conſider his anſwer as at all ſatisfactory. They were equally urgent to obtain information from him, as to the probability of another loan to the Emperor, and were equally diſpleaſed at his refuſal to comply fully with their demands. He would not, he told them, bind himſelf to give up an Auſtrian loan this year, he would only ſay that he ſhould not propoſe it in the courſe of this ſeſſion. This reply was ſo offenſive to Mr. Grey

Grey and Mr. Sheridan, that they declared they would move a reſolution that to apply money during the receſs, for a loan to the Emperor, was a high crime and miſdemeanour. This threat, however, they did not carry into execution.

The next attack upon miniſters was made in the upper houſe, by their ſtrenuous opponent, the Marquis of Lanſdown. His motion was grounded upon the famous reſolution, paſſed during the American war, that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed. Many of the preſent adminiſtration, he ſaid, had ſupported that reſolution, and the meaſures to which it gave riſe, among the moſt prominent of which was a commiſſion of public accounts; and he now offered them an opportunity to vindicate their characters, and ſatisfy the public opinion, by proving that they ſtill kept firm to the ſacred pledge which was then given by them. If they had kept firm, it was not proper that they ſhould be the victims of miſrepreſentation. If, on the other hand, they had, indeed, violated that pledge, deſerted the principles which they once held, and apoſtatized from the cauſe which they ſet out by eſpouſing, it was juſt and proper that the public ſhould be in poſſeſſion of documents upon which to form a correct and impartial eſtimate of their character.

May 2.

The reports formerly preſented to the houſe, by the commiſſion of public accounts, were the materials from which a conſiderable part of the reaſoning of the noble Marquis was drawn. He began by calling the attention of the peers to the ſecond report. That report recommended the conſolidation of all the different boards into one, and had received, in the year 1782, the warmeſt approbation which the Houſe of Commons could beſtow. By the plan of conſolidation, fifteen out of twenty-five places would be aboliſhed, the national expence receive a conſiderable reduction, and, which was of much higher importance, influence would be greatly diminiſhed, as each of the places might be ſuppoſed capable of gaining a member of parliament, if members could poſſibly be gained.

The ninth report, to which he next referred, related to the pay of the army, which it ſtated to be a compoſition and decompoſition of myſtery, ambiguity, and fraud. The language of his lordſhip was ſcarcely leſs forcible than that of the report. He ſeverely arraigned the exiſting intricate mode of keeping a hundred ſeparate and diſtinct accounts, inſtead of compriſing the whole under the two ſimple heads of ſubſiſtence and arrears. By this mode of proceeding it was impoſſible for any part of the army, from the ſoldier to the general, to know whether it was impoſed upon or not. It could, in reality, only be followed for the purpoſes of fraud and concealment, to ſupport idle clerks by the ſweat of a deſerving ſoldiery, and enable miniſters to apply, without detection, the public money to other uſes than thoſe for which it was voted by parliament. If this were not the caſe, why had not the clear and eaſy plan been adopted, which was ſuggeſted by the commiſſioners.

The eleventh report, relating to the unfunded debt, he ſaid, was deſigned to acquaint the people with the real extent of the burthens incurred by them during war, and to prevent the debt from increaſing more rapidly than the means of payment; but, like every other beneficial propoſition, it had been rejected by the miniſters.

On the fourteenth report, reſpecting the patent officers of the board of cuſtoms, he ſpoke at much length. The report divided the offices into four claſſes, the illegal, the uſeleſs, thoſe which were executed by deputy, and thoſe which might be conſolidated; and it recommended the abolition of all ſuch offices as were needleſs. To obtain that abolition was, the noble Marquis ſaid, one object of the reſolutions which he intended to move. The number of officers, utterly uſeleſs, in the port of London and the outports, he ſtated to be two hundred and eighteen, receiving annual ſalaries to the amount of one hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds. Nor would the ſaving of theſe ſalaries be the only benefit derived from the extinction of thoſe offices. The offices themſelves were, he aſſerted, prejudicial to trade and to the revenue, and, in ſupport of this aſſertion, he produced ſome inſtances, which had occurred, of a ſtriking and ludicrous nature. Yet even this, he ſaid, was not the worſt. An abuſe exiſted of the moſt audacious kind, and which no well regulated government would tolerate. Offices originally deſigned as checks upon each other, were all accumulated in a ſingle individual, who performed at once the different and hoſtile duties of commiſſioner, collector, and comptroller. All this was ſuffered, notwithſtanding a bill, to remedy it, had been ratified by the board of cuſtoms, ſanctioned by one of his Majeſty's law-officers, and ſupported, at one period, by all the influence of the crown. That bill, for the reform of patent offices, was yet to be found in the office of the ſecretary of ſtate, but why it had been ſuffered to ſleep there, was not eaſily to be imagined.

The mint, he ſaid, ſtood in need of reform; and, after what had been urged on the ſubject of crown lands, he ſhould have expected ſome improvement on that ſcore, or, at leaſt, not to have heard of any more grants of thoſe lands being made to individuals.

From the crown lands he turned to conſider the influence of the crown, which, he contended, had augmented to a great, enormous, and alarming degree. He reminded the houſe that no ſmaller a ſum than 1,300,000l. had been expended, without the conſent of the legiſlature, upon objects unheard of in the hiſtory of the country, upon the erection of barracks, which, in reality, were nothing leſs than armed fortreſſes. Barracks, to a certain extent, he allowed might be neceſſary and uſeful, but that admiſſion would not diſprove that, to their preſent extent, they might not ſubvert the conſtitution. In all the departments of the army might, he ſaid, be perceived the alarming increaſe of crown influence. It ſeemed the ſyſtem of this reign to pay all attention to the army. An augmentation of pay, and a variety of douceurs, were given to the ſoldiery by the king. The credit of this was to be enjoyed by the ſovereign: the expence, however, was kindly placed to the account

account of the nation. Formerly, only the younger branches of families embraced the military profeſſion; now, whole families were enliſted; and their conſtitutional knowledge was neglected, and their duty, in truth, deſerted, by thoſe elder ſons of families who, leaving to their younger brothers the ſtudy of military ſcience, ought to be the guardians of the national liberty, and the public truſt.

The uſual article of army extraordinaries, in the annual accounts called forth all the ſeverity of the noble marquis. Thoſe accounts, he ſaid, were ſo myſteriouſly drawn out that it was altogether impoſſible for a human being to make any thing of them. No accidental ambiguity, no difficulty naturally to be expected in the elucidation of a complicated ſubject, was the cauſe of myſtery in theſe accounts. Ingenuity, of no mean kind, had been required to envelop them in their ſtrange obſcurity. According to the ſyſtem now purſued, any thing might come under the head of army extraordinaries. In looking over thoſe accounts, great ſervices would, in ſome inſtances, be found performed at a nominally ſmall expence; in other inſtances, thouſands after thouſands would appear ſquandered upon inſignificant objects. There might be found ſums expended under the general title "for the public ſervice," with "ditto," frequently repeated; and, in one caſe, the noble ſpeaker, had diſcovered, he ſaid, a ſum paid, "for the public good." By this way of proceeding, miniſters, while they pompouſly minuted down the purchaſe of a two penny medicine cheſt, could diſpoſe, at their pleaſure, of thirty or forty thouſand pounds without the conſent of parliament. Yet defective, bewildering, mutilated, as theſe accounts were, they were never produced, as they ought to be, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion; they were always held back, till, at a late period of the ſittings of the legiſlature, they were abſolutely extorted from the reluctant miniſtry.

The re-eſtabliſhment of the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, by thoſe who had voted the abolition of that office; the appointment of a tranſport board; the India bill; and the bill for the Weſtminſter police; were all, in turn, touched upon, by the noble ſpeaker, with no mean eloquence, and with ſtill greater ſeverity. Time, he declared, would fail him to go through the catalogue of abuſes which had been introduced, or ſanctioned, by the preſent adminiſtration.

But what ſeemed to him the moſt ſerious evil of the whole, was the unlimited credit upon the bank, which had been voted to the miniſter in a bill, repealing that ſtatute of William and Mary, whereby the credit of the government upon the bank was placed under ſalutary reſtrictions. That repeal left the bank at liberty to ſtretch, as far as it pleaſed, its credit to the government, and placed within the reach of the miniſter an ample reſource, of which he might, upon occaſion, avail himſelf, without the conſent of parliament. The bank, on the preſent ſyſtem, might be converted into a citadel in the midſt of London, and ſtand in the place of Parliament, between the king and the nation.

Declaring that it was not his intention to enter at preſent upon the ſubject of finance, which would be

too voluminous, he closed his speech by moving a series of resolutions, stating that, as there appeared no intention, on the part of ministers, to realize the measures of reform proposed by the reports of the commission, it was the duty of the house to enquire whether, since those reports, any new offices had been created, any old salaries increased on slight pretences, granted for special purposes, or continued, though the reasons for them had ceased; whether any warrants for beneficial grants had been directed; and, on the whole, whether the public expences had exceeded the supplies which had been annually granted. The resolutions also spoke of the war, as a contest without a plan or object, bloody and expensive beyond example, ruinous to our trade, exhausting to our resources, and ultimately tending to the destruction of our finances.

The lead in reply was taken by Lord Grenville, who animadverted upon the inconsistency of the noble marquis, in declaring that he would not enter into a discussion on the finances, yet, at the same time, pointedly introducing them into the resolutions which he had moved. The motion itself was altogether the most extraordinary which had ever been made, and was so inconsonant with the introductory harangue, that it was not easy to reply to them in the same speech.

To the charge that none of the reforms pointed out by the reports had been effected, he answered by appealing to various acts of the legislature, which had been grounded on the suggestions of those reports. With respect to the army extraordinaries, for instance, he must, he said, call to the recollection of the house the bills and regulations made in the pay office, both by Mr. Burke, and Colonel Barre, which had afforded in that department much beneficial reform.

The noble lord remarked that though various reforms might, at that time, appear expedient to the commissioners, it by no means followed that they were expedient under the present circumstances. With regard to the consolidation of some of the public offices of revenue, he would say, without going into minute details, that from the large increase of the revenue, he thought the plan impracticable, and that no set of men deserved better of the public, for zeal and alacrity of duty, than the gentlemen holding those places which the noble marquis wished to see abolished.

In answer to what the noble mover had stated concerning the ascertainment of the unfunded debt, Lord Grenville replied that, in former times the unfunded debt of the navy and ordnance used to stand over, but that, since the passing of an act which forbade their so doing, they had always been ascertained, and the account laid upon the table of the House of Commons, within the course of the year.

As to the army extraordinaries, he stated that, in war, they could not always be ascertained. In the articles of provisions and stores, for example, it was impossible to form calculations, and, therefore, a speedy audit of accounts, which the commissioners had recommended, was the most essential step that could be taken. This speedy audit was the best check upon fraud, and ministers deserved the credit of attending

tending to it more ſtrictly than any that had gone before them.

The patent offices were, he ſaid, held by a legal tenure, and could not be taken away without making, to the holders, a compenſation more onerous to the public than ſuffering them to retain their places Their exiſtence gave no influence to the preſent government, by which they were not created, and, as faſt as they became vacant, they would certainly be aboliſhed. Had miniſters, indeed, renewed any that became vacant, a charge might have been brought againſt them, but this they had not done.

The attack on the ſcore of barracks, as an innovation, his lordſhip repelled by appealing to the liſt on the table, which proved that by the old ſyſtem there were barracks for twenty thouſand men in time of peace, while by the new ſyſtem there were barracks for only ſifteen thouſand.

The appointment of a third ſecretary of ſtate, the eſtabliſhment of a tranſport board, and of the Weſtminſter police, were defended by Lord Grenville, on the ground of public utility. Great advantages had accrued from them, and he had no doubt that ſtill greater would accrue. Much evil, he ſaid, had been anticipated from the circumſtance of the miniſter being enabled to procure from the bank any ſum which he wanted. The evil was merely imaginary, for the authority of the miniſter to do ſo did not exiſt, the governor and directors being in poſſeſſion of a diſcretionary power.

All the ſtatements of Lord Grenville were ſtrongly controverted by the Earl of Lauderdale, who re-ſtated and illuſtrated, with great ability, moſt of the points which had been touched upon by the Marquis of Lanſdown. Miniſters he accuſed of having, in numerous inſtances, been guilty of miſmanagement, and want of economy. The giving the leaſe of the money market to one man, and thus ſquandering two millions of the public money, which might have been ſaved, he quoted as a recent and ſtriking example of their contempt of economy. The benefit, affirmed to have ariſen from the formation of the tranſport board, he denied to have been produced; the appointment of a third ſecretary, he treated with blended cenſure and ridicule; and the account given by the noble lord of the extent of the barrack eſtabliſhment, he contended to be groſsly erroneous.

The miniſters were vindicated by Lord Kinnoul, Lord Hawkeſbury, Earl Spencer and the Lord Chancellor, between the latter of whom and the Earl of Lauderdale an altercation, tinctured with ſome aſperity, took place.

But the moſt elaborate ſpeaker on the ſide of miniſters was Lord Auckland, who, having expected the debate to turn chiefly on the financial ſituation of the country, came down to the houſe furniſhed with all the neceſſary documents to ſhow that our reſources were in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and that the war might, conſequently, be carried on without fear of a falling off in the revenue, and with every hope of an ultimate triumph. To demonſtrate the improvement of our reſources, he gave a comparative view of certain public circumſtances in the reſpective periods of 1783-4 and 1795-6. In this view nothing was omitted which could enable

enable his hearers to form an accurate judgment upon the ſubject. The price of ſtocks, the value of manufactures and of exports and imports, the quantity of ſhipping, the Eaſt India revenue, and the amount of the permanent taxes, were contraſted, for the two periods, and the reſult manifeſted to be deciſively favourable to the latter period. The ſinking fund he repreſented as acting with a vigour which promiſed a rapid extinction of the public debt, and he held forth the more than probability, on the return of peace, of an annual ſurplus of a million, beyond the ſum which would be required for a peace eſtabliſhment.

This favourable repreſentation, however, was not admitted to be correct by the peers in oppoſition. Lord Moira expreſſed a brief but deciſive diſſent, and Lord Lauderdale pledged himſelf to prove, on ſome future day, that in the event of a peace, ſo far from our having to boaſt of a ſurplus of revenue, there would certainly be found a dark and gloomy deficiency.

A few remarks upon the various arguments urged againſt his propoſition were made by the Marquis of Lanſdown. The reſolutions were then put, and negatived by a large majority; there being only twelve peers who voted for them, againſt a hundred and four who voted for their rejection.

The fertile ſubject of the diſpoſal of the public money, afforded the members in oppoſition, in the Houſe of Commons, another opportunity, before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, to call down on the miniſters the cenſure of the legiſlature. We have already ſeen that, in moving for a committee, to enquire into the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Grey accuſed the miniſters of having miſapplied the ſums which had been confided to them. Having previouſly obtained ſeveral financial documents, he now embodied his charges, in the ſhape of fifteen reſolutions; fourteen of which enumerated a ſeries of facts, and the fifteenth declared that, in the caſes recited, "his majeſty's miniſters had been guilty of preſenting falſe accounts, calculated to miſlead the houſe, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a groſs miſapplication of the public money." May 5.

The two acts, which he aſſerted to have been violated, were the Appropriation Act, and the act paſſed for regulating the office of paymaſter general of the forces. It was to conceal their infraction of the law that the miniſters had, he ſaid, preſented falſe accounts to parliament; and on theſe offences he was deſirous to call down the heavieſt cenſure of the Houſe of Commons.

In ſupport of the charge, reſpecting the act of appropriation, he brought forward ſeveral inſtances, in which monies had not been applied to the ſpecific purpoſes, for which they were voted. The violation of this act he conſidered as indefenſible, on any ſolid or even ſpecious ground. On the ſubject of extraordinaries he likewiſe entered very fully, and ſpoke in terms of deciſive reprobation. Proceeding to the next charge, he contended that, in contravention to the act for regulating the paymaſter general's office, ſums had been iſſued to the paymaſter himſelf, inſtead of being lodged in the bank; and balances, to the amount of eighty-three

three thouſand pounds, had been allowed to remain in his hands. His laſt topic was the diſpoſition paper, a document the contrivance of which originated in the reign of the ſecond Charles, and which was intended to contain, for the uſe of parliament, a real account of the manner in which the government had expended the ſupplies. This paper he arraigned, as being now a mere form, a tiſſue of falſehoods, which aſſerted ſums to have been applied to various branches of ſervice, when, in fact, no ſums had been iſſued, and thoſe ſervices were ſtill in arrear. This converting the diſpoſition paper into a falſe and fraudulent account, he held to be a crime of no ſmall magnitude; and he deſcribed it as an inſult and an impoſition on the houſe, and as equally contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and the clear letter of poſitive laws.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated himſelf, with much copiouſneſs and temper, from the charges which had been alleged by his opponent. He did not deny that the letter of the appropriation act had been violated, but he juſtified, on the plea of imperious neceſſity, the deviation from the ſtrict commands of the law, and he urged that ſuch deviations had been in a manner ſanctioned, by ancient practice, and the conſent of the houſe. To the queſtion of extraordinaries, he devoted a conſiderable portion of his ſpeech, in order to ſhew that they had always been permitted, that they could not, indeed, be avoided, and that, he had not, on this head, been guilty of greater exceſs than any of his predeceſſors. With regard to the payment ſaid to have been made to the paymaſter general, and the balance left in his hands, he gave a full and ſatisfactory explanation. The ſums alluded to had, he ſaid, been iſſued in Exchequer bills, but the bank would not take charge of any thing except caſh, and had refuſed to receive them. The paymaſter had, conſequently, been placed under the neceſſity of diſpoſing of them himſelf. An arrangement had, however, been ſince concluded, by which the bank agreed, in future, to receive bills as caſh. As to the diſpoſition paper, he pointed out ſome important errors, into which Mr. Grey had fallen, by not carefully examining it; and he maintained that, from the earlieſt period when ſuch a document was known, there never was one which was not liable to the ſame objections which had been advanced againſt thoſe of the preſent epoch. Preciſely the ſame manner and form had always been followed in drawing up this document, and, therefore, it was obvious, that the charge, of his wiſhing to deceive the houſe, muſt fall completely to the ground.

The reaſonings of the miniſter were controverted by Mr. Fox, after which, the diviſion being called for, the previous queſtion was carried, by two hundred and nine ayes, againſt thirty-eight noes.

In the Houſe of Peers, the triumphant ſtatement, which had recently been given, by Lord Auckland *, with reſpect to the proſperous

* In a work to which, in a note to Chapter XVI. we have alluded, it is ſaid that, on this occaſion "Lord Auckland laboured to maintain" the poſitions which he had advanced in the preceding debate, and that "Lord Lauderdale entered into a great variety of

ous ſtate of our finances, was called in queſtion, on the tenth of May, by the Earl of Moira. It was defended by ſeveral of the miniſterial lords, particularly by Lord Grenville, and a converſation took place, which was not remarkable for any peculiar acuteneſs of argument, or warmth of eloquence.

The final effort of the oppoſition party was tried on the thirteenth of May, when Lord Lauderdale moved a ſeries of fifteen reſolutions, reſpecting the ſtate of the finances. The ſubject appears to have grown ſo trite and irkſome, that only twenty-four peers attended the diſcuſſion. In his elaborate ſpeech, which embraced moſt of the topics of expenditure and revenue, the noble earl diſplayed great powers of ſtatement and of calculation. The picture which he delineated, of the actual and future ſtate of the country, was gloomily ſhaded. It formed, in truth, through all its parts, a perfect and ſtriking contraſt to that which Lord Auckland had recently drawn. The motion of Lord Lauderdale was oppoſed by Lords Grenville, Hawkeſbury, and Auckland, and was ſupported by the Marquis of Lanſdown and Lord Moira.* It was at length got rid of by the previous queſtion, which was carried, without a diviſion.

CHAP. XXI.

Parliamentary proceedings on Eaſt and Weſt Indian ſubjects. Mr. Wilberforce once more brings forward his Motion for the abolition of the Slave Trade. It is vehemently oppoſed by the friends of the trade. General Tarleton moves, but without effect, the order of the day. A Committee appointed to prepare the bill. Attempt to throw out the bill by ſurpriſe on the ſecond reading. It fails. General Tarleton moves that it be poſtponed for four months. His Motion is negatived. Strenuous oppoſition made to the Bill going into a Committee. Mr. Dent contends that the Bill is contrary to Magna Charta. Reply of Mr. Serjeant Adair. Third reading of the Bill. The friends of the Slave Trade ſucceed in throwing out the Bill. Mr. Francis moves for leave to bring in a Bill to improve the Condition of the Negroes. Outlines of his plan. He propoſes to give the ſlaves a legal allotment of a cottage and piece of ground. Severe cenſure paſſed by Mr. Francis upon the colonial laws. The Motion is ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and finally negatived. Slave-carrying Bill dropped, for want of a ſufficient number of Members to conſtitute a Houſe. Notice given, by General Macleod, of a Motion to enquire into the employment of the Cuba blood hounds, againſt the Jamaica maroons. Diſſatisfaction of the oppoſition with regard to the manner in which Miniſters had conducted the Weſt

* of particulars to prove the juſtneſs of his reſearches and computations." The fact is that Lord Auckland was not preſent, and that Lord Lauderdale did not enter into any particulars. In the opening of his ſpeech, Lord Moira mentioned that he had written to Lord Auckland, and had received an anſwer, aſſigning reaſons why that noble Lord could not attend the debate. So much for the care and fidelity of the *hiſtorian*.

Indian

Indian war. Mr. Sheridan makes a Motion for a variety of papers, criminatory of Miniſters. The debate twice adjourned. Severe attack made on the Miniſters by Mr. Sheridan. Vindication of their conduct by Mr. Dundas. Converſation on the ability of the Eaſt India Company to pay annually five hundred thouſand pounds to Government. Mr. Dundas aſſerts the Company to be competent to the payment, and their affairs to be in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate.

DURING the whole of this ſitting of parliament, the colonies and enterprizes of Great Britain in the weſtern hemiſphere afforded but few occaſions of vigorous and eloquent debate. The ſlave trade, and the expedition to the Weſt Indies, were the ſole objects of diſcuſſion.

Faithful to his principles, and to the cauſe of humanity, Mr. Wilberforce, previouſly to the Chriſtmas receſs, took an opportunity to remind the houſe that the firſt day of the enſuing year had been fixed, by the reſolution of 1792, as the period when the ſlave trade ſhould be aboliſhed; and he likewiſe gave notice that, ſoon after the holidays, he would once more bring forward the ſubject to the conſideration of his hearers. The intention of Mr. Wilberforce was applauded by Mr. Fox, who hinted ſome degree of blame upon the lords, for their not having yet noticed the documents relative to the trade, which had been ſent up to them from the Commons.

In the Upper Houſe, the tardineſs complained of by Mr. Fox, produced a ſimilar complaint from the Earl of Lauderdale. A converſation enſued, which, however, was dropped, without any ſatisfactory anſwer having been made to the noble Lord. Several of the peers, nevertheleſs, expreſſed their ſentiments in favour of an abolition. The Duke of Clarence alone manifeſted his hoſtility to the meaſure.

Paſt experience had ſufficiently taught the friends to the abolition of the ſlave trade that, to defeat their plans, the moſt ſtrenuous efforts would be made by prejudice and intereſt. But had they been poſſeſſed of no ſuch knowledge they would now have diſcovered how formidable and determined were the ſupporters of the traffic. It was on the eighteenth of February that Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a bill to aboliſh the trade in a limited time. He likewiſe moved that a committee ſhould be appointed to conſider the ſaid motion. In his ſpeech, which was highly animated and pathetic, the honourable mover conjured the houſe, by all the various conſiderations, of juſtice, honour, conſiſtency, and even ſafety and pride, no longer to uphold an iniquitous ſyſtem, which violated the moſt precious rights of mankind, and threw a ſtain of infamy upon the Britiſh character. They had themſelves, after full inquiry and diſcuſſion, pronounced a juſt and equitable ſentence againſt that ſyſtem, and he called upon them to give the ſentence effect, and to carry it into immediate execution. On their aſſent or diſſent depended the fate, nay the exiſtence, of millions of their fellow-creatures.

The motion was ably and eloquently ſupported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox,

Fox, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Buxton, and Sir Richard Hill.

On this occaſion the advocates of the traffic convinced their opponents that they had not loſt any of their wonted intrepidity. The lead in oppoſing the motion was taken by General Tarleton, on the ground of the inexpedience and injuſtice of the propoſed abolition. There was little or nothing worthy of remark in his ſpeech, except his ſingular mode of defending the firſt ſtage of the commerce. As far as related to Africa, there was, he ſaid, leſs of cruelty in the commerce than, perhaps, gentlemen gave themſelves time to conſider. It engaged the attention of the petty princes, and prevented their turning it to mutual wars and maſſacres. He moved, in concluſion, the order of the day.

The ſame ſide of the queſtion was adopted by Sir William Young, Mr. Barham, Mr. Dent, Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Secretary Dundas. The three latter gentlemen, however, did not pretend to vindicate the trade in the abſtract, but objected to its immediate abolition, as a meaſure which was pregnant with the moſt dangerous and ruinous conſequences.

When the diviſion took place, the motion of adjournment was negatived by a majority of only twenty-ſix; there being 67 votes for, and 93 againſt it. A Committee was then appointed to prepare the bill.

The bill was read a firſt time without any conteſt between the hoſtile parties. On the day appointed for the ſecond reading, an attempt was made to throw out the bill by ſurpriſe, in a thin houſe, and at an early period of the day, when many of its moſt powerful friends were abſent. This ſtratagem failed. Mr. Wilberforce then moved the ſecond reading, and was oppoſed by General Tarleton, who propoſed to poſtpone it for three months. After ſome keen animadverſions from Mr. Wilberforce, the houſe divided, and the friends of the abolition carried their point. The poſtponement was negatived by 64 ayes againſt 33 noes. In the courſe of the debate, a petition againſt the bill was preſented, from a body of Weſt India planters, by Mr. Luſhington.

The bill indeed was not allowed to move a ſtep onward without meeting a firm reſiſtance. Mr. Wilberforce having propoſed for the ſpeaker to leave the chair, that a committee of the houſe might be formed, to introduce ſome alterations into the act, the propoſition was combated by Mr. Addington, Mr. Barham, Mr. Dent, and General Tarleton. The latter urged, among other things, that the merchants of Liverpool had, at a great expenſe, built ſhips, of a peculiar conſtruction, for the convenience of the trade, which would be rendered uſeleſs, and for which they ought to receive an indemnification, if the bill before the houſe were paſſed into a law. He, however, declared, that in time of peace, and when the preſent fluctuation had ſubſided, he himſelf would vote for a gradual abolition. Mr. Barham ſeriouſly complained that thoſe gentlemen who exclaimed againſt the hard uſage of the ſlaves, did

March 7.

did not themſelves viſit the colonies, to be eye witneſſes of facts; and he went ſo far as to affirm his readineſs to prove, by evidence at the bar, that the ſlave trade, as it then exiſted, was a mere nonentity, a gratuitous riſk, and that, therefore, there was, at all events, nothing to be gained by the bill. Mr. Dent ſpoke of the abolition as unjuſt and impolitic, and contended, but without giving any reaſon for his opinion, that, far from ſerving the cauſe of freedom and humanity, it would encourage diſaffection and rebellion, and inſtead of being any real advantage to the ſlaves themſelves, it would prove to them a misfortune. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, it was carried, by a majority of 45, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee.

The filling up of the blanks in the bill produced another conteſt. The firſt of March 1797 was the period which Mr. Wilberforce ſuggeſted for the final abolition of the trade. Mr. Dent maintained that the time allowed was too ſhort; it being little more than eight months. This error in calculation having called forth ſome remarks from Sir William Dolben, Mr. Dent was ſo irritated by them that he branded the bill, and the whole of the proceedings, as a diſgrace to the country. Than this aſſertion nothing could be more ſtrange, except the argument which he adduced in its juſtification. The very principle of the bill, he ſaid, was hoſtile to Magna Charta. It was an immediate overthrow of the rights of property. Some degree of wonder being excited by his thus bringing forward, in defence of ſlavery, the palladium of Britiſh liberty, Mr. Dent proceeded to vindicate the truth of what he had aſſerted. The words of the Great Charter were, he ſtated, that "right ſhould neither be ſold, delayed, nor denied." But if the bill paſſed would not right be ſold, delayed, and denied? What was the Committee now doing, he aſked, but ſelling, delaying, and denying the rights of the Weſt India planters? Leſt, however, this pithy reaſoning ſhould not have its proper weight with his hearers, he added that the committee would act with indelicacy if it ſent up a bill to the upper houſe, before the Lords had come to any determination upon the former reſolutions.

Mr. Dent was ably anſwered by Mr. Serjeant Adair. He well recollected, he ſaid, the paſſage of Magna Charta which the honourable member had quoted. He thought, too, that, in one way, it was not inapplicable to the bill. Right ſhould aſſuredly not be either ſold, delayed, or denied. But, before a right was talked of, its exiſtence muſt be eſtabliſhed. He would not admit the exiſtence of our right to enſlave others; he knew no origin to the right of ſlavery in this country; he knew no power in the Britiſh legiſlature to protect the ſlave trade; and, he muſt proteſt againſt the authority, if any ſuch there was, for its protection. Yet, he would agree that, in this caſe, right was ſold, delayed, and denied. Right was ſold when the Africans were ſold; right was delayed when the abolition of the ſlave trade was delayed; right would be denied when the legiſlature of this country ſhould refuſe to put an end to a traffic,

traffic, which created misery, and promoted murder.

The clause for terminating the trade on the first of the ensuing March, was carried, as were several others, among which was a clause to punish, with transportation for fourteen years, those who should be convicted of violating the act by a continuance of the trade.

So far the bill had proceeded victoriously, though, as we have seen, not without extreme difficulty. The friends of the trade now determined to exert all their strength to prevent it from making any further progress. They made their final stand, on the fifteenth of March, when Mr. Wilberforce moved for the house to consider the report of the Committee. Sir William Young was their leader on this occasion. He spoke of the bill in terms which would have seemed abundantly severe had they been applied to some of the worst edicts of the worst of the Roman emperors. The preamble, he said, added insult to injury; the manner in which the law was to be enforced, lost sight of every principle of right and justice; and tyranny and oppression prevailed in every clause. The enactment which directed violators of the law to be brought to trial in the county of Middlesex, he considered as an intolerable hardship, and he pathetically expatiated upon the cruelty of condemning offenders to fourteen years transportation to Botany Bay. Those offenders he seemed to think would most probably be gentlemen of education, of extensive connections, of polished manners, and of rank in society. He lamented also that the bill would put an end to all spirit of adventure, all incitement to industry, all thirst of emulation. Blue-coat boys and apprentices, who went out to the West Indies, and became overseers, must, henceforth, never expect to rise, he said, in the world, as their predecessors had done, by saving part of their wages, to purchase negroes for the purpose of letting out to hire to the planters. From blue-coat boys, apprentices, and disappointed overseers, his compassion rose to the planters themselves. The bill would, he predicted, be their ruin, and would at the same time operate to our own injury. It might be called a bill of general foreclosure, and every mortgagee in England, upon West India property, would have the whole of his security withdrawn. Having indulged in a little splenetic sally against this country, which, he declared, had, by this bill, forfeited its title to the appellation of mother country, he became somewhat more moderate, and urged the claim of the colonists to a continuation of the trade, on the score of the services which they had rendered in raising 3,000 blacks, to serve as pioneers, and save the health of the army. In fine, he asserted that the measure would be productive of the most shocking bloodshed and horrors on the coast of Africa, as the slaves would be put to immediate death, if the commerce were suddenly to cease.

General Smith, General Tarleton, and Mr. Dent opposed the measure with their usual energy. Their arguments were not numerous. They principally relied upon a few simple circumstances.

Parliament

Parliament in 1709—10 had granted 103,000l. to encourage the importation of negroes and the cultivation of new lands; dry docks had been built at Liverpool, chiefly on account of the African trade; Liverpool would be ruined; the merchants would have a right to a compenſation for their loſſes; and a revenue of 3,600,000l. and upwards would, by the abolition of the ſlave traffic, be put to imminent hazard. General Tarleton, therefore, moved that the further conſideration of the bill ſhould be poſtponed for four months.

In Mr. Dundas the meaſure met with a more formidable, becauſe a more logical and leſs paſſionate, adverſary. Declaring himſelf convinced that the ſafety of the colonies required as ſpeedy an abolition as poſſible, he diſapproved both of the mode and the time which were now propoſed. The very outſet of his ſpeech, however, damped all hopes of the poſſibility of a ſpeedy, and, indeed of any, abolition; as he explicitly ſtated that he did not think England could aboliſh the traffic, unleſs other powers alſo would conſent to do the ſame. He likewiſe deemed the conſent and co-operation of the merchants and planters to be equally neceſſary. If theſe two points were not previouſly obtained, the traffic would continue, as it was not practicable, by any number of cruizers, to prevent an importation of ſlaves from the neighbouring iſlands. Arguing on the ground that the ſcheme now brought forward would, perhaps, produce the disjunction of the colonies from the parent ſtate, he dwelt very ſtrongly upon the loſs which, in ſuch a caſe, our riches, revenues, and navigation, would ſuſtain. Scarcely any of the topics, which had been ſo repeatedly urged in favour of the longer continuance of the trade, were left untouched upon by Mr. Dundas; and it is but juſtice to acknowledge that if ſuch a cauſe had been ſuſceptible of a good defence, it would not have ſtood in need of a more able defender.

The bill was vindicated by the united and ſtrenuouſly-exerted powers of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, Mr. Serjeant Adair, and Mr. M. Montague. The two great political rivals, in particular, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſplendid eloquence and weighty argument. To every objection which had been ſtarted they replied with their wonted acuteneſs, and placed the advantage, and even neceſſity, of an abolition, in the cleareſt points of view. The Secretary at War, Mr. Windham, likewiſe voted for the bill, though he expreſſed himſelf doubtful, as to the wiſdom of the preſent plan, and thought that a ſyſtem long ſince framed by the capacious mind of Mr. Burke, was much better calculated to accompliſh the purpoſe.

On a diviſion, the friends of the trade were triumphant. The bill was thrown out by a majority of four; there being 74 ayes for General Tarleton's amendment, againſt only 70 diſſentient voices. Thus, in open contempt of its own ſolemn and recorded reſolutions, did the Houſe of Commons once more protract the miſeries of the Africans, by giving its ſanction to a trade conſecrated to infamy, and ſcarcely leſs hoſtile to ſound policy than to every noble feeling, and to every principle of religion and morality.

But though the friends of the abolition were defeated in their grand effort to put a period to the wrongs of Africa, ſome of them indulged a hope that they might meet with better ſucceſs in an attempt of leſs magnitude; that they might, at leaſt, blunt if they could not break the weapon of oppreſſion, and make the heavy hand of tyranny fall with a little leſs weight upon its unfortunate victims. Animated by this hope, Mr. Francis, on the eleventh of April, moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the condition of negroes, and other ſlaves, in the Britiſh colonies. The ſpeech which he delivered on this occaſion was ſpirited, forcible, and diſtinguiſhed, at once, by ſtrong ſenſe, and feeling. His plan, he ſaid, would, he flattered himſelf, meet with the approbation of all parties; as even the friends of the ſlave trade could not but vote with him, if they were really ſincere in the deſire which they had expreſſed, to improve the ſituation of the negroes. At the ſame time, he warned them not to be too vain of their late triumph, nor to believe that the queſtion of aboliſhing the trade was for ever put to reſt. It was not at reſt, it never had been, and it never ſhould be while he had a ſeat in the Houſe. He would ſtand up for it, were he to ſtand ſingle, and were it to die, he would revive it. The inconſiſtency of the Houſe, in its various votes, he ſarcaſtically touched upon, and he more than hinted doubts of the miniſter's ſincerity in the cauſe of the injured Africans.

It might be aſked, he ſaid, whether, by his preſent motion, he yielded to the trade and to ſlavery? His reply would be, that he did not; that he only yielded to neceſſity. Since he could not at this moment obtain the greateſt degree of good, he choſe rather to obtain ſome good than none at all.

It was not his deſign to emancipate the negroes; nor to give them equal rights, which in truth, would be equivalent to giving them emancipation. Nor did he mean to confer on them the benefits of law, government, marriage, morals or religion. They were not in a ſtate capable of receiving them. A capacity muſt firſt be created in the negroes to receive thoſe benefits, the enjoyment of which was compatible only with a certain degree of mental improvement, and political civilization. Neceſſary as religion itſelf undoubtedly was to the very exiſtence of ſociety, it was equally true that ſome degree of mental improvement was neceſſary to the exiſtence of religious principles. Mankind could not be inſtructed in the knowledge of religion as long as they remained in a ſtate of ſavage barbarity. "When an attempt," ſaid Mr. Francis, alluding to what had formerly been ſaid on the ſubject of giving inſtruction to the blacks, "when an attempt is made to teach an uninformed negro to pray, it ſhould be remembered that deſpair and abandoned guilt never pray. In the parable of the phariſee and the publican, the publican hid his face. If you would have negroes pray, you muſt firſt teach them to hope, or they will never do it. You baptize them, when you might

as well baptize your dogs and your horſes; for what can they ſee in the Ruler of the univerſe, but a being whoſe benefits are intercepted from them; who has laviſhed all his good things upon white men, and who has dealt out nothing but ſlavery and oppreſſion to the blacks? Such a being, a negro, uninſtructed as he is, would be more ready to conceive a demon than a ſpirit of love. The baptiſm of negroes, therefore, is the laſt act of human impiety." In ſupport of this doctrine he quoted that part of the parable of the ſower and the ſeed, which ſays, "the only ſeed which brought forth fruit was that which fell upon good ground." The meaning of this was, that the mind muſt be capable of inſtruction; it muſt be prepared.

His object was to give the ſlaves every benefit which was conſiſtent with a rational and profitable demand upon their ſervice. He did not mean to aboliſh ſervice; for to do that, man muſt be aboliſhed; but to improve their minds, and, by ſo doing, improve thoſe of their maſters alſo. He deſired to make them good ſervants, inſtead of bad ſlaves.

The leading principle of his meaſure was, to give the ſlaves a legal allotment of a cottage and a piece of land, to be held for life, with time and implements to cultivate it, and ſecurity for the produce. Property, he remarked, was the foundation of ſociety. It originated in cultivation, and, out of that ſingle act, all the reſt would gradually proceed, or might be engrafted on it. In ſociety, or in contact with ſociety, property was infinitely more neceſſary to the ſlave than to the freeman, as without it the former was incapable of receiving any ſocial benefit, or modern improvement, while the latter might do without it, becauſe he was free. The idea, he ſaid, which he held forth, was not new even to the planters; for they contended that their ſlaves poſſeſſed a certain portion of property. He referred alſo to the Helots of Sparta, and Zemindars of India, as caſes in point.

The ſubordinate parts of his plan were next ſlightly traced out by Mr. Francis. He propoſed to reſtrain planters from keeping more ſlaves than their eſtates would feed, to take the whip out of the hands of the overſeer, and to ſuffer no perſon to act as an overſeer, who was not married, and of a certain age. The wife of the overſeer, ought, he ſaid, to be entruſted with the care of the female ſlaves. Offences committed by a negro, he would have tried by a negro jury, one of the members of which ſhould inflict the puniſhment. The overſeer might be allowed to mitigate the ſentence, but not to paſs nor execute it. There was no fear that a negro jury would be too lenient. Experience, in caſes very ſimilar, had taught that there was more reaſon to fear a too great ſeverity. That the idea was practicable he proved by the example of the Sepoys, and by a ſtill ſtronger example from the Weſt Indies. The ſlaves of Sir Philip Gibbs, he ſaid, were furniſhed with land and ſtock, were encouraged to marry, and were alſo tried and puniſhed by a jury of their comrades; and the conſe-

quence of their maſter's wiſdom was that they did double work. He likewiſe ſuggeſted, that it would be proper to appoint magiſtrates of the market, on the coaſt of Africa, to diminiſh, in ſome ſmall degree, the ſufferings of the negroes, by preventing the ſeparation of the huſband from his wife, and of the mother from her child.

In conſidering the queſtion, through what medium the plan ſhould be executed, he declared that he would not leave the execution to the colonial legiſlatures, which he conſidered as diſqualified by the ſpirit and tendency of their laws, even if it were probable, which it was not, that the aſſemblies of ſo many iſlands could be brought to act in conjunction. The general ſpirit of their laws was to enforce not to protect ſlavery. For wickedneſs their laws were like the laws of Pandemonium, and, for ignorance and folly, like the laws of Bedlam. If the eye of a ſlave were beaten out, or his arm broken, thoſe laws directed compenſation to be made, not to the ſlave, but to the maſter, who was held to be the aggrieved perſon, becauſe he had been injured in his property. Anticipating the objection that, with the inſtance of America before our eyes, we ought not to hazard the conſequence of legiſlating for the colonies, he replied by pointing out the wide difference between the two caſes. In the one caſe we had not juſtice on our ſide; in the other we ſhould have it. To legiſlate for the good of an object, and to legiſlate for the purpoſe of taking money from it, were things eſſentially different. America in the courſe of time, muſt, from the increaſe of her numbers and the extent of her coaſt, have become independent; but the iſlands were incapable of making any extenſive progreſs. Their limits were fixed by the ſea, and their power was circumſcribed by the nature of their population. They did not poſſeſs the means, even had they the inclination, to ſecede from, and reſiſt, the mother country. That we ought not to legiſlate capriciouſly for them he admitted, but he maintained that, on all important and adjudged points, we had an indiſputable right to exerciſe over them our legiſlative authority.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Wirdham, and Mr. Robinſon. In oppoſition to it, the friends of the trade contended that the plan was flagrantly unjuſt, as it robbed the planters of their property; and they threw out very clear hints, that the colonies would renounce their allegiance, if it were carried into effect. It was, likewiſe, ſaid to be unneceſſary; the negroes being in general happier and more comfortable than the poor people of this country. Throughout the iſlands there were religious congregations of negroes, and itinerant preachers in abundance, and the negroes were allowed portions of ground, which they cultivated as their own property. Among the foremoſt opponents of the motion was Mr. Dundas, who indulged himſelf in a ſtrain of criminatory language not, perhaps, quite conſiſtent with parliamentary decorum, and certainly devoid of candour. He did not ſcruple to affirm that the bill was brought

forward

forward for no other purpoſe than to produce an immediate and dangerous quarrel between this country and her colonies. The cenſure, too, which Mr. Francis and others had paſſed upon the colonial laws, excited his indignation. While they were abuſing colonial legiſlation, they ought, he ſaid, to have remembered that they were abuſing the king and council, as thoſe laws had all been aſſented to in England. Mr. Robinſon, in reply, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at hearing the right honourable gentleman confeſs that, as a Britiſh privy councellor, he had given his aſſent to laws ſo ſanguinary and oppreſſive that it was difficult to credit their exiſtence in a civilized ſtate. It was a miſerable defence for a man high in office to confeſs that he had neglected the duties of his ſituation; yet, unfortunately, it was the only defence which Mr. Dundas could make, as the circumſtance of his giving his ſanction to thoſe laws would admit of no excuſe, if he were not ignorant of their nature.

The friends of the ſlave trade were, however, not the only opponents of the motion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Serjeant Adair, were hoſtile to it. The former was of opinion that the meaſure was, in reality, a meaſure taxing the colonies, and, therefore, dangerous. The latter, agreeing fully in the opinion of Mr. Pitt, deemed the plan, though wiſe in parts, an experiment not likely to ſucceed, and declared that nothing ſhort of a total abolition of the traffic would be productive of beneficial effects.

The queſtion, after a brief reply from Mr. Francis, was put, and negatived without a diviſion.

So little, indeed, did the parliament, at this period, ſeem diſpoſed to pay any attention to the ſubject, that the annual ſlave carrying bill, to regulate the conveyance of the negroes from Africa to the Weſt Indies, though introduced this ſeaſon as early as the latter end of February, was, after numerous delays, finally dropped, for want of the attendance of a ſufficient number of members to conſtitute a Houſe.

It has, in our laſt volume, been ſeen that the inhabitants of Jamaica, finding it impoſſible by any military means to reach the Maroons in their impenetrable faſtneſſes, came to a reſolution to ſend to Cuba, for the purpoſe of obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh blood-hounds and Chaſſeurs. This ſtep was not ſuffered to paſs without being animadverted upon in the Britiſh ſenate. Notice of a motion, for an enquiry into it, was given by General Macleod, who reprobated the employment of the Cuba hounds, as a circumſtance calculated to freeze the blood, and make the mind of every man ſhudder with indignation and horror. This notice, however, was given at ſo late a period of the ſitting of parliament, that the ſeſſion cloſed before the honourable member could obtain an inveſtigation of the ſubject. General Macleod having, in the courſe of his ſpeech, been compelled to mention the Earl of Balcarras, Governor of Jamaica, his Lordſhip, though not mentioned with any diſreſpect, felt ſo much irritated, that, in a letter, addreſſed to Mr. Yorke, and publiſhed in the royal Jamaica

Gazette, he alluded to the general with conſiderable aſperity, and warmly defended the mode which had been adopted to bring the Maroon war to a ſucceſsful termination. An angry correſpondence, in the public papers, between the general and Mr. Yorke, was the conſequence of this letter.

The diſaſters which had been ſuſtained, in the Weſt Indies, during the year 1795, were regarded with very indignant feelings, by the gentlemen in oppoſition, and were aſcribed by them wholly to the negligence and incapacity of their political rivals. At length, on the thirteenth of April, after numerous menaces and reproaches had been thrown out in the courſe of the ſeſſion, the ſubject was regularly brought before the Houſe by Mr. Sheridan, who moved for an immenſe variety of papers; expreſſing, at the ſame time, his ſurpriſe in having found, ſince he came to the Houſe, that the miniſters intended to oppoſe his motion. In reply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made ſome ſevere remarks on Mr. Sheridan, whom he accuſed of having acted, on this occaſion, with his uſual want of candour. The honourable member, Mr. Pitt ſaid, had given ſeveral months general, and ſome weeks ſpecific, notice of his motion; on the very day before it was to come on, he came down to move for papers; and, when aſked concerning the nature of the papers which he required, he gave a ſtatement, not containing one tenth part of the papers which he wanted. In conſequence of theſe remarks, Mr. Sheridan agreed to poſtpone the debate for a week.

When, on the twenty firſt, the debate was reſumed, Mr. Sheridan amply revenged himſelf, for the recent attack made on him, by Mr. Pitt. Reviewing the whole conduct of the miniſters, with reſpect to the war in the Weſt Indies, he found nothing but deciſive proofs of the moſt culpable careleſsneſs, and deplorable imbecility. He contended that the comfort and health of the ſoldiers had been diſregarded, both abroad and on board the tranſports; that opportunities of ſending reinforcements had been ſuffered to paſs by; that the ſafety of the colonies had been left to chance; and that forces, which ought to have been diſpatched to the Weſt Indies, had been employed in ridiculous and impracticable projects. His ſentiments were eſpouſed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Francis, and General Tarleton. Some converſation took place, which ended in the adjournment of the debate for another week.

On the debate being renewed, the defence of the miniſters was undertaken by Mr. Dundas, who reſiſted, on the ſcore of impolicy, the production of ſome of the papers, but acceded to the granting of others. His vindication of himſelf and his colleagues was copious and forcible. By a reference to dates, and the number of troops employed at various periods, and by a clear ſtatement of thoſe circumſtances which had rendered it impoſſible to make greater or more rapid exertions, he repelled the charges of criminal neglect, which Mr. Sheridan had brought forward. He likewiſe ſhewed, that nothing had been omitted, which could contribute to the comfort and health of the troops.

troops. Relative to our recent conqueſt of the Cape of Good Hope, which towards the cloſe of his ſpeech, he incidentally mentioned, he uſed language which, among the party in oppoſition, excited ſome exclamations of ſurpriſe. He hoped, he ſaid, that we ſhould always keep it, and that no miniſter would ever dare to give it up.

The buſineſs terminated by the granting of many of the papers, and the refuſal of others. Mr. Sheridan ſubſequently gave notice of a motion, grounded on theſe documents; but the parliament being ſhortly after diſſolved, the motion was never made.

The preſent ſeſſion paſſed over without the occurrence of any debate upon the affairs of our oriental poſſeſſions. Even the India budget, though announced, was not brought forward. A ſingle ſhort converſation took place, between General Smith and Mr. Dundas, upon the ability of the company to pay the annual half million to government. By the General it was ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, that the company would be incapable of paying the ſtipulated ſum. It was, on the other hand, ſtill more peremptorily aſſerted by Mr. Dundas, that the ſum ought to be conſidered as ſecure to the ſtate as any part of its internal reſources and revenues. The whole of the participation money had, he ſaid, been paid in 1794 and 1795, by the company, and four hundred thouſand pounds had been paid for the current year. Every hour, he declared, realized to him that ſituation of the company's affairs which he anticipated in 1792; and he was warranted in affirming that there was enough of ſurplus for the yearly dividend of 500,000 pounds, after a proviſion had been made for defraying all expences, eſtabliſhments, and circumſtances whatever.

CHAP. XXII.

Domeſtic buſineſs of the Seſſion. Proceedings on the Scarcity. Act to prohibit the Exportation of Corn. Various Bills brought in, and a ſelect Committee moved for, by Mr. Pitt. Debates on the Scarcity. Report of the ſelect Committee. Bounty given for the Importation of Corn. Engagement to eat mixed bread, framed by the Houſe of Commons, and ſent to the Houſe of Peers for its concurrence. It is treated with deriſion by ſeveral noble Lords. Miller's Regulation Bill. Several Motions made by Mr. Lechmere. The Board of Agriculture paſſes Reſolutions in favour of a general incloſure of waſte Lands. Bill brought in by Sir John Sinclair, but abandoned. Mr. Whitbread brings in a Bill for the relief of Labourers in Huſbandry. Speech of Mr. Pitt, on the Poor Laws. He pledges himſelf to bring forward ſome meaſure upon the ſubject. Mr. Whitbread's Bill is rejected. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, but not proceeded on. Act to relieve the Poor at their own Houſes. Act to alter the Shooting Seaſon. It brings on a diſcuſſion upon the Game Laws. Mr.

Curwen introduces a Bill for a thorough reform of thoſe Laws. He ſtates them to be in the higheſt degree abſurd and tyrannical. Bill dropped, and a Committee appointed to conſider the Laws. A ſtrong oppoſition to any change is made by ſeveral Members. Mr. Curwen finding that he cannot ſucceed in the Committee, again brings forward his Bill. It is rejected. An attempt to obtain a repeal of only a part of the Game Laws, is equally unſucceſsful. A Bill brought in by Mr. Serjeant Adair, for the relief of Quakers in caſes of Tythe. It paſſes the Lower Houſe, but is thrown out in the Lords. Act for the further ſupport of Curates. Grant to the Veterinary College. Committee appointed to conſider the propriety of purchaſing Dr. John Hunter's Muſeum. Mr. Joddrel moves for leave to bring in a Bill to give to the Surgeons, for diſſection, the bodies of Highwaymen and Houſebreakers. The Motion meets with great oppoſition, and is relinquiſhed by the mover. Spirited Debate on the renewal of the Weſtminiſter Police Bill. Attempt made by Lord Moira, to obtain a reform of the Debtor Laws. The meaſure vehemently oppoſed by the Lord Chancellor, and the Lords Thurlow and Kenyon. The Bill is negatived. Cloſe of the Seſſion, by a Speech from the Throne, announcing the intention of his Majeſty to call a new Parliament.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, given an account of the debates which took place, and the meaſures which, during the courſe of the ſeſſion, were adopted, relative to the political, financial, and colonial affairs of the country, it now remains for us to cloſe the parliamentary hiſtory of the year by a ſuccinct ſtatement of thoſe diſcuſſions and laws, many of them of no mean conſequence, which had their riſe from intereſts and objects of a nature wholly domeſtic.

The ſcarcity of grain was among the firſt things to which the attention of parliament was turned. On the very day of its meeting, the Lower Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the high price of corn. An act, continuing an act of laſt ſeſſion, to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, flour, and potatoes, and to permit, duty free, the importation of corn and proviſions, was immediately brought in, and paſſed through all its ſtages with the utmoſt expedition. The propriety of allowing a bounty was, upon this occaſion, ſuggeſted, but the plan was conſidered, by Mr. Pitt, as imprudent and impolitic.

On the third of November further ſteps were taken. Mr. Pitt moved four bills, to alter the exiſting laws relative to the aſſize of bread, to forbid the manufacture of ſtarch from wheat and other articles of proviſion, to continue an act for prohibiting the diſtillation of ſpirits from all kinds of grain, and to prevent the obſtruction of the free paſſage of grain within the kingdom. He alſo obtained the appointment of a ſelect committee to enquire into the cauſes of the high price of corn. The act for altering the laws of aſſize, he ſtated to be in a great meaſure propoſed with a view to the introduction of the uſe of a mixed bread, which, when brought into general conſumption, would be found to be

be a valuable reſource againſt the evil which was now the ſubject of complaint.

Some converſation, but no debate, occurred on theſe propoſitions. The monopoly of farms, and the practice of jobbing in corn, were conſidered by Mr. Lechmere, as the cauſes of the ſcarcity; and he warmly recommended the erection of public granaries for the ſupply of the poor, and the compelling the farmers to bring to market not leſs than a buſhel of corn as a ſample. Theſe ideas, partly erroneous, and partly impracticable, were left unnoticed by the Houſe.

With reſpect to the mixed bread, Mr. Fox, agreeing with the miniſter that it might probably be as palatable and wholeſome as other bread, pointed out the abſolute neceſſity of providing that it ſhould not be deficient in the article of nutriment, as bread was the chief ſuſtenance of the poorer claſſes.

The bills for ſtopping the diſtilleries, preventing the making of ſtarch from corn, and promoting the free circulation of grain, paſſed through the two Houſes without any debate.

The ſelect committee, meanwhile, was indefatigable in hearing evidence, and collecting information, upon the ſubject which it was appointed to inveſtigate. Its firſt report ſtated that, except in the article of wheat, the crops had been ſo abundant that, by a proper uſe and mixture of them, a great alleviation of the ſcarcity might be obtained. With reſpect to the ſupply by importation, it recommended to leave the trade perfectly open, and to grant ſuch a bounty as would ſtimulate the merchants to exertion. At the ſame time, however, it remarked that the ſupply from foreign markets muſt not be relied upon, and that there was an abſolute neceſſity to enforce the ſtricteſt economy in the conſumption of wheat, and to adopt the wiſeſt precautions and experiments to leſſen that conſumption, by the ſubſtitution of other articles.

The ſuggeſtions of the Committee were approved of by the Houſe, and a law was ſpeedily enacted, offering a liberal bounty upon the importation of corn.

The Committee next ſent up to the Houſe, to be ſigned by the members, a form of an engagement, to reduce by at leaſt one third of the uſual quantity, the conſumption of wheat in the families of the perſons ſubſcribing. This engagement, which it was hoped would ſet an example to the people, was to continue in force till fourteen days after the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, unleſs wheat ſhould before that period be reduced to a ſpecified price. The purpoſe of reduction was to be effected either by limiting the quantity of fine wheaten bread uſed by each individual, or by conſuming only mixed bread, or bread made of wheat from which not more than five pounds of the bran had been excluded. Paſtry was likewiſe prohibited.

The engagement excited but few remarks in the lower Houſe, and generally acceded to. When, however, it was ſent up to the Peers for their concurrence, it was treated by ſeveral noble lords as a ridiculous and nugatory meaſure, and a paltry attempt to catch at popular favour. Lord Thurlow was one of its moſt ſevere cenſurers. He

He declared it to be ſilly, futile, and even ludicrous; equally novel and irregular. It was little more than a reſolution of the members of the Houſe of Commons not to eat tarts. The exigency of the occaſion demanded, he ſaid, the adoption of ſomething more efficacious than this contemptible engagement. The Marquis of Lanſdown, and the Duke of Bedford followed him, in the ſame ſtrain of reprobation and ridicule, and the former pointed out to the Houſe a ſtrange blunder in the paper before them. The paper, he remarked, began with the words "We the underſigned," but had no ſignatures, and, therefore, did not come before their Lordſhips as an act of the Houſe of Commons, either collectively or individually.

The engagement was, at length adopted by the Lords; not, however, without another debate, much animadverſion and ſarcaſm, and ſome unavailing attempts to introduce amendments. Many lords refuſed to join in it, and repeated their predictions that it would ſoon be diſcovered to be unproductive of any benefit to the public.

In order to furniſh the means of carrying this engagement into effect, an act was paſſed to permit the bakers to make mixed bread, provided two thirds of it conſiſted of wheat. Some doubts were, in the courſe of the diſcuſſion, expreſſed, whether the mixed bread would be ſufficiently nutritious, and whether it would ever be brought into general uſe. Of theſe doubts the latter, at leaſt, was abundantly juſtified by the event of the experiment.

Two other reports were preſented by the Committee. Among other things they recommended that corn ſhould thenceforth be ſold by weight, and that regulations ſhould be made to prevent the frauds of millers. An act for the latter purpoſe was paſſed; but an act to order corn to be weighed inſtead of meaſured, met with ſome oppoſition, and was, in conſequence, relinquiſhed.

During the diſcuſſions which aroſe out of this ſubject, Mr. Lechmere diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his activity and his benevolence of intention. The ſuggeſtions, however, which he ſtarted on various occaſions, did not meet with the approbation of the Houſe. His attempts to bring in bills to regulate the leaſing of farms, and prevent the conſolidation of ſmall farms into larger ones, to prohibit the exportation of corn, and the ſelling of corn by ſample, to enforce the bringing of corn to public markets, and to prevent the exhibiting of adulterated flour for ſale, were all of them ſtrenuouſly combated, and negatived without a diviſion.

A board of agriculture having been eſtabliſhed, in the year 1794, it naturally turned its attention, at this criſis, towards the means of preventing the recurrence of ſuch a ſcarcity as that under which the kingdom now laboured. The reſult of its inveſtigation was a ſeries of reſolutions, ſtating that a conſiderable portion of the united kingdom ſtill remained waſte and unproductive, though capable of great improvement; that it would be highly expedient for the legiſlature to paſs a general bill of incloſure; and that the Houſe of Commons ſhould be requeſted to appoint a Committee, to delibe-

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rate upon the ſubject. The Committee was moved for by Sir John Sinclair, the preſident of the board, and the motion was agreed to, without any objection.

A report on the ſtate of the waſte lands having been made by the Committee, Sir John Sinclair brought in a bill, to facilitate the dividing and encloſing of certain waſte lands and commons, and for removing legal diſabilities towards effecting that object, by making arrangements with perſons concerned. The meaſure he deſcribed as pregnant with incalculable advantages. He truſted that the happy reſult of it would be that the country would, in future, be ſaved the expence, diſtreſs, and danger of ſcarcity, by not only having plenty at all times, but likewiſe a ſtock in hand to meet the exigency of unproductive years.

In favour of this plan ſeveral petitions were preſented to the Houſe of Commons. The bill, at firſt, proceeded ſmoothly, but ſome difficulties having ariſen in adjuſting its proviſions, the meaſure being far advanced before it could be rendered perfect, and ſome members objecting to its being puſhed forward till the opinion of the country could be collected upon it, the honourable mover was induced to lay it aſide for the preſent; declaring, however, his intention to bring it under the diſcuſſion of the Houſe at a future period.

The hardſhips which were felt by all the lower orders of ſociety, were felt by no claſs with more ſeverity than by that claſs whoſe buſineſs it is to raiſe from the ſoil the ſubſiſtence of the whole community. Convinced of this, Mr. Whitbread, junior, introduced into the Houſe of Commons, a bill for the relief of labourers in huſbandry. The bill was grounded upon the ſtatute of the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, which authoriſes magiſtrates to fix the *maximum*, but not the *minimum*, of the price of labour. The plan of Mr. Whitbread propoſed to give them the latter power, as well as the former, and it alſo contained other regulations, favourable to the body of men in whoſe behalf it was framed. The honourable member ſtated that, feeling as much as any man how greatly it was to be deſired that legiſlative interference in matters of this nature ſhould be avoided, and the value of labour, like every other commodity, left to find its own level, he, nevertheleſs, found himſelf compelled, by the imperious neceſſity of the caſe, to bring the ſubject before parliament. Experience had demonſtrated that, in this inſtance, mere theory was deceitful. The wages of the labourer were inadequate to his ſupport; not merely in times of extraordinary preſſure, but even in ordinary times. In proof of this, Mr. Whitbread urged, on the authority of Dr. Price, that, from the beginning of the ſixteenth to the eighteenth century, bread had riſen ſeven fold in price, and other articles fifteen fold, while the price of labour had only encreaſed in a five-fold proportion. A heavy addition to the poor's rates was the conſequence of this diſparity. At the beginning of the preſent century thoſe rates did not exceed ſix hundred thouſand pounds, and at this moment they were more than four times that ſum.

The under value of labour was alſo, Mr. Whitbread ſaid, the cauſe

cauſe of a worſe evil than the riſe of rates. It depreſſed and kept down population. Marriage was now diſcouraged among the poor, and the birth of a child, inſtead of being hailed as a bleſſing, was conſidered as a curſe. The object of his bill was to take the labourer out of that ſtate of abject and ſaviſh dependence to which he was conſigned, to enable him to enjoy a ſhare of the plenty which he created, to make the married man look upon a family as a bleſſing, not as a curſe, and to prevent the youthful part of our agricultural claſs from flying into the army or navy, or ſeeking in large towns that ſubſiſtence which was denied them in the country.

Anticipating the dread and the charge of innovation, Mr. Whitbread contended that in the meaſure which he propoſed there was no departure from eſtabliſhed precedents, no introduction of unknown principles. In ſupport of this argument he quoted ſtatutes of Elizabeth, James, and the preſent ſovereign, all of which were enacted to regulate the price of labour. To thoſe ſtatutes he owned he was not friendly, as he thought they had been a clog upon induſtry, but their exiſtence ſufficiently proved that the idea upon which he acted was by no means a novel one. The magiſtrates now held a power which might be exerciſed oppreſſively; and all that his bill deſired to do was to give them an additional power, of which they were to make uſe to redreſs the grievances, and promote the comforts, of the labouring claſſes.

The bill was ſupported by Mr. Honeywood, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Noel Edwards, Mr. Martin, Mr. Huſſey, and Mr. Fox.

A few deſultory remarks, in diſapprobation of the meaſure, were made by Mr. Buxton, Mr. Vanſittart, and Mr. Burdon. But the moſt formidable, the moſt eloquent, and the beſt reaſoned oppoſition to it came from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who entered at great length into the ſubject of the poor laws.

To the honourable mover of the bill he gave the utmoſt credit for the rectitude of his intentions, and the benevolence of his heart, though he differed from him entirely as to the propriety of his plan. After controverting the ſtatement of Dr. Price, and the argument in favour of the bill, which Mr. Whitbread had drawn from the ſtatutes, he proceeded to conſider, in an enlarged point of view, the queſtion of the poor.

That the preſent ſituation of the labouring poor was not ſuch as could be wiſhed, upon any ground, either of humanity or policy, he admitted in the fulleſt manner. But he was not of opinion that a remedy for the evil would be provided by the plan of the honourable mover, which violated the fundamental principle, that labour, like other commodities, ſhould be ſuffered to find its own level. Even if the remedy ſucceeded, according to the moſt ſanguine expectations, it only eſtabliſhed what would have been better effected upon principle; while, if it failed, it might, on the one hand, produce the ſevereſt oppreſſion, and, on the other, encourage the moſt profligate extravagance and idleneſs. Would it not, then, be wiſer for the houſe

to

to conſider the operation of general principles, and rely upon their unconfined exerciſe? Would it not be wiſer to reflect what remedy could be adopted, at once more general in its principle, and more comprehenſive in its object, leſs exceptionable in its example, leſs dangerous in its application? Was it not adviſable to look to the inſtances where interference had ſhackled induſtry, and where the beſt intentions, had produced the moſt pernicious effects?

The poor laws, wiſe as they were in their original inſtitution, had, he ſaid, contributed to fetter the circulation of labour, and to ſubſtitute a complicated ſyſtem of abuſes in the room of thoſe evils which they meant to redreſs; and by engrafting defective remedies on a defective plan, had produced nothing but confuſion and diſorder. In proportion as the wiſe regulations made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had been ſuperſeded by ſubſequent enactments, the utility of the inſtitution had been impaired, and the benevolence of the ſyſtem rendered fruitleſs.

The laws of ſettlement prevented the workman from going to that market where he could diſpoſe of his induſtry to the greateſt advantage, and the capitaliſt from employing the perſon moſt qualified to procure him the beſt returns for his advances. They had at once aggravated the burthens of the poor, and taken from the collective reſources of the ſtate, to ſupply wants cauſed by their own operation, and to alleviate a poverty which they tended to perpetuate.

To promote the free circulation of labour, and to remove the obſtacles which prohibited induſtry from availing itſelf of its powers, would, he declared, go far to remove the evils complained of, and diminiſh the neceſſity of applying for pariſh relief. He wiſhed, therefore, that an opportunity might be afforded of reſtoring the priſtine purity of the poor laws, and removing thoſe corruptions by which they had been obſcured.

Even this, however, would not be enough. The great complaint was, that the labourer was unable to ſupply, by his wages, his own neceſſities, and thoſe of his children, when his family was numerous. It was, too, a grand defect of the poor laws that they did not diſtinguiſh the caſes where the perſon was diſabled by misfortunes from ſupporting his family, or where poverty was the conſequence of diſſipation. By this means, the aſſiſtance which they gave, often became the premium of idleneſs, and reward of ſloth. To prevent this abuſe, to remove the degradation annexed to receiving charity from the poor's rates, and thus to maintain that independence of ſentiment which ought always to characterize a Britiſh ſubject, he thought the aid beſtowed ſhould be rendered an honourable diſtinction, and a matter of right, which a perſon might claim, when he was really unable to provide for all his children. It ſhould be conſidered as a reward, which he had merited from his country, by the ſervices which he had performed in the increaſe of its wealth and population. At the ſame time ſomething ought to be done to diſcourage unneceſſary applications for relief. It would alſo be deſirable to ſupply, by giving the aid in labour, or finding

finding employment, the neceſſities of thoſe who required aid, as this mode would not only afford a temporary ſuccour, but would induce habits of induſtry and frugality.

The law which forbade giving relief where any viſible property remained ought, he declared, to be aboliſhed. So degrading a condition muſt be withdrawn. No temporary preſſure ought to force a Britiſh ſubject to part with the laſt ſhilling of his little capital, and compel him to deſcend to a ſtate of wretchedneſs from which he could never recover, merely that he might be entitled to a caſual ſuccour.

To prevent removals at the caprice of pariſh officers, to patronize and extend the eſtabliſhment of friendly ſocieties, to grant relief according to the number of children, to turn the induſtry of children to the profit of their parents, by employing them early in manufactures, and to advance to the laborious poor, ſmall capitals, which might be repaid in two or three years, were the means which the Chancellor of the Exchequer deemed the moſt proper to amend the condition of the lower orders of the people. But no plan, he juſtly obſerved, however deeply matured, or ſkilfully arranged, could be of any ſervice, if it were not honeſtly and correctly carried into execution, by thoſe who were appointed for that purpoſe. To excite emulation among thoſe who were ſo appointed, and to make the management of the poor a regular yearly ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, he conſidered as the moſt likely way to ſecure a perfect execution of an amended ſyſtem. He concluded by giving an indirect kind of pledge to bring forward ſome plan of reform for the conſideration of the Houſe.

Mr. Whitbread ſpoke briefly, in reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and announced his intention, if the bill were negatived, of moving to repeal the ſtatute of the fifth of Elizabeth, and then for a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the poor laws. The queſtion was now put, and the bill was rejected.

Finding, however, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had a ſerious intention to take up the buſineſs, Mr. Whitbread reſigned it into his hands. Mr. Pitt accordingly, on the firſt of March, obtained permiſſion to bring in a bill, to amend and enforce the exiſting laws, for the more effectual relief and employment of the poor. But here unfortunately terminated, for the preſent, all diſcuſſion of this queſtion. The preſſure of public buſineſs was, during the remainder of the ſeſſion, too great to allow the Houſe time to enter on an affair of ſuch magnitude, and likely to give riſe to ſo much difference of opinion, as the projected reformation.

The poor laws, nevertheleſs, received in ſome points, a ſlight modification by two acts; the principal of which was introduced by Sir William Young, for the benevolent purpoſe of enabling overſeers to extend relief to the poor at their own houſes, and thus prevent the breaking up of indigent families.

Among the meaſures of precaution to which the ſcarcity gave riſe was an act to alter the ſhooting ſeaſon; which was, thenceforth to commence on the fourteenth inſtead

ſtead of the firſt of September, and to cloſe on the 12th inſtead of the 1ſt of February. The object of this bill was the preſervation of the ſtanding corn. It occaſioned ſome debate, and two diviſions, in the Upper Houſe, but finally paſſed.

This bill led the way to a diſcuſſion upon the whole of the Game Laws, and to an attempt to obtain in them a complete reform. The taſk of introducing the reformation was undertaken by Mr. Curwen.

The laws of which he urged the repeal were the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third of Charles the Second, the firſt of James the Firſt, the fourth and fifth of William and Mary, the fifth and ninth of Ann, and the twenty-eighth of George the Second. In the place of theſe laws he propoſed to ſubſtitute other proviſions for the better ſecurity and protection of the game.

In the opening of his ſpeech he ſeverely animadverted upon thoſe laws, and, grounding himſelf on the authority of Sir William Blackſtone, repreſented them as being repugnant to every principle of juſtice. Had laws ſo contradictory to the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution been executed, he ſaid, in their full extent, it would have been impoſſible for them to have exiſted till this time. But they had only been put in force ſufficiently to keep alive the reſentment of the country, and not to ſtimulate the nation to call, with one united voice, for their repeal. If, however, the laws could not, and ought not to, be enforced, it did not become the legiſlature to ſuffer them to remain upon the ſtatute books. It was the boaſt of Engliſhmen that they held their liberty as a right, and not as a boon; and, therefore, they ought not to reſt upon forbearance alone their ſecurity from the oppreſſive action of theſe univerſally execrated laws; laws which, for more than ſeven hundred years, had been to the kingdom a conſtant ſource of grievance and complaint.

Tracing the obnoxious ſtatutes from their origin, in the reign of William the Conqueror, down to the preſent period, he forcibly pointed out their tyranny and abſurdity; but among them he more particularly marked two of them with reprobation. By the firſt of theſe even a game-keeper was authorized to ſeize any dog or net, and to enter any houſe he might ſuſpect, thus deſtroying the proud boaſt of an Engliſhman, that his houſe was his caſtle; by the ſecond, the proſecutor who ſued for the penalty upon killing game, had his choice whether he would appeal to the magiſtrate, or the courts of Weſtminſter. In the latter caſe the penalty became, perhaps, to the offender, an impriſonment for life; as the coſts would ſwell to a ſum of between ſixty and ſeventy pounds.

In the courſe of his argument he controverted the doctrine advanced by Sir William Blackſtone, and others, of the right of the crown to the ſole property of the game, either as lord of the ſoil, or in virtue of the royal title to all things which have no owner.

The impolicy of the laws he ſhowed to be equal to their iniquity. They, in reality, tended to the deſtruction, not to the preſervation, of the game. So general was the diſguſt and abhorrence

which

which they excited, that no means were left unemployed to deſtroy the game by a very large proportion of the landholders and farmers.

The remedy which he would propoſe, had in it, he ſaid, nothing of novelty or innovation. It was merely to reſtore the property of the game to the landholders at large; a property which they poſſeſſed, till they were robbed of it by the tyranny and uſurpation of William the Conqueror. Every proprietor would thus have an intereſt in its protection, and poaching would, in conſequence, be nearly aboliſhed, as the riſk would be incalculably increaſed by the increaſe of the number of perſons who would watch over the game. Yet, as individuals would always be found who would give high prices for game, poachers would ſtill exiſt, though in ſmaller numbers. To put an end to them entirely, he thought the beſt mode would be to ſuffer game to be brought openly to market. The reduction in price, which this would occaſion, would, he was convinced, entirely remove the temptation to poaching. After ſtating the proviſions which he deemed neceſſary to protect the proprietors from treſpaſſers, he concluded by moving the repeal of the ſtatutes which we have already enumerated.

Mr. Curwen was ſupported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Buxton, and others; and a debate of ſome length took place. No attempt was made to defend the game laws themſelves, but thoſe who were adverſe to the motion chiefly grounded their hoſtility on the dread of innovation, and the neceſſity of deliberating fully, before the Houſe agreed to aboliſh a long-eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. Some members, who were friendly to the meaſure, appeared, nevertheleſs, to wiſh that the laws in queſtion might be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe, previouſly to any other ſtep being taken upon them. With this wiſh Mr. Curwen reſolved to comply, and accordingly moved for a Committee, which was granted without oppoſition.

When, however, a few days ſubſequently, Mr. Curwen moved that the Speaker ſhould leave the chair for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee, ſome of the friends of the game laws came forward in their behalf. Mr. Wallace, Mr. Cocks, and Sir John Rous, declared themſelves decidedly hoſtile to a repeal. They contended that if, after the example of France, any feudal privilege tranſmitted by our anceſtors were reſigned, there would be no point at which conceſſion ought to ſtop. The abolition of the game laws would be the forerunner of a diſſolution of all property. The hardſhips which had been talked of were, they ſaid, merely theoretical; the laws having been adminiſtered with the utmoſt mildneſs. As to the idea of making game the property of the landowners, they treated it as nugatory; it not being the quality of game to fix upon one man's land more than upon another's. The motion for the Speaker leaving the chair was carried by a majority of only nine.

Mr. Curwen then moved a reſolution, that it was the opinion of the Committee that the exiſting game

game laws were oppreſſive in their operation and inadequate to the effect for which they were intended.

The reſolution was immediately objected to, as inducing the Committee to adopt, without neceſſity, an abſtract propoſition. Mr. Fox, therefore, ſeeing that the reſolution would moſt probably not be carried, adviſed the honourable mover to abandon it, and revert to his original plan, of proceeding by bill. At the ſame time he ſeverely cenſured the unfairneſs with which his friend had been treated, by the opponents of the meaſure. The advice given by Mr. Fox was followed by Mr. Curwen.

On the ſecond reading of the bill it met with a determined oppoſition. It was treated as abſurd, founded on falſe principles, and opening a door to perpetual quarrels between landholders. The laſt charge was drawn from a clauſe which allowed a perſon to follow game which he had ſtarted upon his own eſtate. The enemies of the bill denied, too, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that game was naturally the property of the perſon on whoſe lands it was found. Property, they ſaid, was the creature of law; and the law had not given any right over game to landholders in general. They urged, and with more ſemblance of reaſon, that it was found policy to preſerve the game, in order to induce gentlemen to reſide in the country; but if the meaſure now before the Houſe were adopted, the game would undoubtedly be exterminated. Nor was the argument drawn from the example of France forgotten upon this occaſion. Mr. Cocks even went further than before, and thought proper ſeriouſly to treat the propoſition as an attempt to introduce a change in our whole ſyſtem of laws and government. On theſe grounds, a motion was made that the reading of the bill ſhould be poſtponed till that day three months.

The futility of the objections was fully expoſed, both from facts and reaſonings, by the advocates of the bill. The adverſaries of the meaſure were, nevertheleſs, ſucceſsful. On a diviſion the bill was thrown out by a very conſiderable majority.

Though foiled in his endeavours to obtain a thorough reform of the game laws, Mr. Curwen ſtill flattered himſelf that he might obtain a partial amendment of them. He accordingly moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſome obnoxious parts of the ſtatutes of the eighth of George the Firſt, the twenty-ſixth of George the Second, and the ſecond of George the Third. He was, however, not more fortunate on this than on the former occaſion, the queſtion for leave being negatived by the Houſe.

The law of tithes having been found to bear hard upon the Quakers, a bill for their relief was framed by Mr. Serjeant Adair. By an exiſting act, juſtices of the peace were authorized, when the ſum did not exceed ten pounds, to make an order for the ſale of a quaker's goods, in order to pay the tythes demanded from him; but in caſes where the claim was to a larger amount, the claimant poſſeſſed the power of impriſoning the defendant. Mr. Adair propoſed to extend the action of the exiſt-

exifting law to fums above ten pounds, and to take from the plaintiff the right of feizing the perfon of the defendant, whenever the latter had property fufficient to pay the demand. It was alfo a part of his plan to admit quakers to be examined, upon their affirmation, as well in criminal as in civil cafes. His motion for bringing in the bill was feconded by Mr. Wilberforce, fupported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and met with general approbation from the Houfe.

The bill, the operation of which, on the fuggeftion of Sir William Scott, was limited to five years, paffed through the Commons with little or no oppofition. It was not fo fortunate in the Houfe of Lords. The Archbifhop of Canterbury, and the Bifhop of Rochefter, oppofed it, principally on the ground of its having been hurried through the Lower Houfe with an unufual and improper precipitancy. They pleaded that, in juftice to the clergy, whofe intereffs it ferioufly affected, a fufficient time ought to be allowed for its confideration. The power which clergymen exercifed, of feizing, in a cafe of tythe, the perfon inftead of the property of the defendant, appeared to them abfolutely neceffary for the enforcement of the claim. By the bifhop of Rochefter the religious fcruples of the quakers, on the fubject of tythe, were treated as a pretence, or, at leaft, as an abfurdity. It was, therefore, moved by the Archbifhop of Canterbury that the bill fhould be read a fecond time on that day three months.

The bill was defended by the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Chancellor; the latter of whom fully replied to the objections of the reverend prelates. It had, he faid, been amply difcuffed in the other Houfe, and conducted in the faireft manner by thofe who brought it forward. Nor did it injure the intereffs of the clergy. Yet, convinced as he was of its equity, and its benevolent effects, he would not refift the motion of the right reverend prelate, as he was certain that when his grace had thoroughly examined the bill, and weighed the probable operation of its claufes, he would find that it contained nothing in the leaft exceptionable. The queftion was then put, and the motion of poftponement was carried.

The attention of parliament was this year directed to increafe the comforts of a moft important and meritorious body of men, the inferior order of the clergy. A bill was introduced for the further fupport and maintenance of curates. It originated in the Houfe of Lords, through which it paffed, without any animadverfion. In the Commons houfe it met with a flight oppofition, under the idea that, being a money bill, it ought not to have been propofed by the Lords. This objection was, however, fatisfactorily removed, and the bill was agreed to.

Something was likewife done for the benefit of fcience. A fum of fifteen hundred pounds was voted, in aid of the Veterinary college, and, on the petition of Dr. John Hunter's executors, a felect committee was appointed to make a report, as to the propriety of purchafing, for the nation, his valuable mufeum.

With a view to put a ftop to the practice

practice of ſtealing dead bodies from church-yards, Mr. Joddrell made an effort to obtain a bill to increaſe the puniſhment inflicted on the offences of burglary and high-way robbery. He propoſed that the bodies of highwaymen and houſebreakers ſhould, like thoſe of murderers, be delivered over to the ſurgeons for diſſection. But this propoſition was very generally diſ-approved. Its antagoniſts forcibly urged that it was both impolitic and unjuſt. It might, perhaps, though that was by no means certain, leſſen the number of burglaries and highway robberies, but would, on the other hand, almoſt certainly increaſe the number of murders. To confound puniſhments naturally led to the confounding of crimes, becauſe all diſtinction in guilt was taken away. The criminal code, they ſaid, was even now too ſevere. It too liberally diſpenſed the puniſhment of death to crimes not of the higheſt degree of atrocity. What then would it be when it ſubjected thoſe offences to the ſole additional penalty with which we could viſit the crime of the vileſt murderer.

Finding that the ſenſe of the Houſe was deciſively againſt him, Mr. Joddrell withdrew his motion. In the debate which took place upon this ſubject, a reviſion and amendment of the criminal code was warmly recommended by Mr. Fox.

The only domeſtic occaſion which produced a debate carried on with any thing of a party ſpirit was the bringing in of an act to render permanent the Weſtminſter police bill, which was now about to expire. That act, on its firſt introduction in 1792, was ſeverely cenſured by the members of oppoſition, as an endeavour to increaſe, by indirect means, the power of the crown. The preſent motion to perpetuate it was not received with more favour by the adverſaries of the bill. The old objection, that the meaſure would extend the influence of the crown, was again urged, and with additional vigour. The plan was alſo ſaid to be unproductive of any good, to be ſhamefully expenſive, to encourage perjury, and to confer on the magiſtrates an authority unknown to the Conſtitution. That it ſanctioned the moſt corrupt eſtabliſhment that could be inſtituted, was, its opponents ſaid, the only merit by which it was recommended to the miniſters.

The partiſans of the bill contended that the charges brought againſt it were wholly groundleſs, the mere creatures of the imagination; and that, after a fair trial, it had been found productive of the moſt beneficial effects. It had diſcouraged litigation, and diminiſhed the number of robberies. In proof of this they appealed to the records of the different offices. The trading juſtices, they ſaid, had, previouſly to the paſſing of the act in 1792, received every complaint, and encouraged every croſs complaint by way of retaliation, and had thereby ſwelled the iſſue of warrants and taking of recogniſances to ſuch an enormous amount, that, by this means alone, they drained from the pockets of the pooreſt and moſt miſerable wretches in ſociety a ſum, which was now ſaved, of not leſs than ſix thouſand pounds a-year. Before the inſtitution of the new police there had been nearly twenty-two

thouſand recogniſances in two years, while, in two years of its operation, they were reduced to one third of that number. Formerly, likewiſe, two thouſand perſons had been annually diſcharged, for want of proſecution or evidence, whereas there were not more than two hundred diſcharged under the preſent ſyſtem. The gangs of pickpockets, once ſo daring and formidable, had, alſo, been completely broken up, by the unremitted vigilance of the magiſtrates and officers.

The act was paſſed; but, inſtead of being made perpetual, its duration was limited to five years. The limitation was ſuggeſted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

An effort was this ſeſſion made, by the Earl of Moira, to procure ſome alteration in the barbarous and abſurd code of debtor and creditor laws. The meaſure which he propoſed he ſtated as merely a meaſure of experiment, to be tried for one or two years as the Houſe thought proper, at the end of which time it might be dropped, continued, or modified, according to the experience of its effects. Its leading principle was the compulſory ceſſion of the debtor's property, to ſatisfy his creditors, and exonerate his own perſon from the penalty of impriſonment.

On the ſecond reading of the bill it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Lord Chancellor, who treated the meaſure as a dangerous innovation upon a ſyſtem under which the country had flouriſhed. This ſyſtem he is repreſented, perhaps erroneouſly, to have deſcribed as having exiſted, in its preſent ſtate, from the remoteſt period of which we have any accurate legal hiſtory. He likewiſe thought it almoſt, if not quite, impracticable to carry into execution that part of the bill which directed the ſurrender of the debtor's property; and appeared to conſider as certain that, even if it were executed, debtors "would yield up little or nothing, and in a ſhort time would appear in affluence while their creditors were ſtarving." Having uttered this liberal ſentiment, made a panegyric upon the liberality of creditors, and confeſſed that the circumſtance of meſne proceſs might be improved, his Lordſhip concluded by declaring that he deſpaired of an effectual reform of the debtor laws, and that any alteration in them would be hurtful to the debtors themſelves, inaſmuch as it would render credit more difficult to be obtained.

In his oppoſition to the bill the Lord Chancellor was joined by Lords Kenyon and Thurlow. Like him, the former argued that the projected law would be highly detrimental to the mercantile part of the community; and he urged, as an additional cauſe of his diſlike to it, that it would enable arreſted gamblers and ſeducers to eſcape the puniſhment due to their crimes. His lordſhip ſeems not to have been aware that, in thus reaſoning, he was reaſoning from the exception inſtead of the rule. Even in criminal caſes, it is a benevolent principle of Engliſh juſtice, that it is better many guilty perſons ſhould eſcape than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer. But his Lordſhip appears to have thought it more equitable that the great maſs of debtors, guilty only of being unfortunate, ſhould be ſubject to all the puniſhment of atrocious criminality, than that a few gamblers

blers and ſeducers ſhould remain unchaſtiſed. It muſt be owned, however, that Lord Moira himſelf, by repreſenting as fraudulent nineteen debtors out of twenty, afforded the noble lord a pretext for extending his cenſure to the whole of the debtors.

The ſeverity of Lord Thurlow was carried to a far greater length. He ſuggeſted the propriety of making impriſonment penal, and confining the debtor to jail allowance. It is difficult to believe that ſuch an idea could gain admittance into any humane and noble mind. The propoſing ſo rigorous a mode of acting, certainly affords great countenance to the general opinion, that the practice of the laws has a ſtrong tendency to harden the heart. For creditors, indeed, his Lordſhip diſplayed much feeling, and conſidered it as a harſh meaſure to deprive them of that ſecurity which the legiſlature itſelf had led them to believe was their right, and on the faith of which they had been induced to give credit. With reſpect to the latter aſſertion we ſhall only obſerve, that to the authority of Lord Thurlow may be oppoſed the higher authority of Mr. Burke, who has fully refuted the argument, if argument it can be called, that the creditor gives credit becauſe he poſſeſſes a ſecurity in the body of the debtor.

The bill was ably defended by Lord Moira. In anſwer to the objection that it was a bold and hazardous innovation, he replied that the bill of 1794 had, in reality, innovated as much as the preſent intended to do. That the law, as it now ſtood, had exiſted for centuries, he conſidered as no argument againſt his propoſition. Perfection was not concentrated in our anceſtors, and, therefore, thoſe who lived in a more enlightened age, and had the benefit of experience, might make beneficial changes in ancient laws. Nor was the bill injurious to creditors. On the contrary, it inſured to them from the innocent, an indemnity, as far as indemnity could poſſibly be procured; while, on the other hand, fraudulent debtors were expreſsly excluded from the benefit of its proviſions. That it would check the giving of credit he conſidered as a circumſtance ſtrongly in its favour. To obtain ſuch a check upon giving credit was an object which he deſired to effect. When perſons of ſmall incomes found it impracticable to procure credit, they would moderate their habits, and learn to live within the bounds of their incomes. In aid of his opinion reſpecting the debtor laws, his Lordſhip brought forward the weighty authority of Dr. Johnſon, and the ſtubborn evidence of facts, particularly of one fact among ſeveral, which had come within his own knowledge. A reform, he contended, was abſolutely neceſſary, and ſo convinced was he of its neceſſity, that he pledged himſelf never to diſcontinue his efforts till, in one ſhape or other, he had ſucceeded in rendering it palatable to his noble colleagues.

On a diviſion the bill was rejected by a majority of ſeven. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that only eleven peers attended the diſcuſſion of a ſubject ſo important to the happineſs, and even to the exiſtence, of no inconſiderable portion of the Britiſh people.

The whole of the national buſi-

neſs in the two Houſes being brought to a concluſion, the Seſſion was cloſed, on the nineteenth of May, by the cuſtomary ſpeech from the throne. The ſpeech contained nothing of importance, except the annunciation of his Majeſty's deſign to ſummon a new parliament.

CHAP. XXIII.

Naval and Colonial operations. Succeſs obtained by ſeveral Britiſh Naval Officers. Sir Sydney Smith. Sir John Borlaſe Warren. Sir Edward Pellew. Captains Martin and Williams. Captain Trollope. Captain Bowen. Activity of the republican Privateers. Sir Sidney Smith made Priſoner in the Mouth of the Seine. Admiral Richery eſcapes from Cadiz with his Squadron, and ravages the Newfoundland and Labrador coaſts. Britiſh conjunct naval and military operations. Porto Ferrajo taken poſſeſſion of by a diviſion of troops from Baſtia. Corſica. Turbulent diſpoſition of the inhabitants of that iſland. Their reſiſtance to the Britiſh authority. The iſland is evacuated by the Britiſh. Events in the Weſt Indies. Expedition prepared for the recovery of the iſlands loſt in the preceding year. The fleet ſuffers ſeverely from dreadful ſtorms, and is driven back. It again ſails. Arrival in the Weſt Indies. Commencement of military operations. Surrender of the colonies of Demerary and Berbice. Landing effected on the iſland of St. Lucia. Failure of attacks on ſome of the enemy's batteries. The republicans are at length compelled to capitulate. A diviſion ſails to recover St. Vincent's, and another to recover Grenada. Succeſſes of the French in thoſe iſlands at an early period of the year. Reduction of St. Vincent's by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Maſſacre of the white priſoners in Grenada by the Mulatto leader. Grenada reconquered. Affairs in St. Domingo. Failure of the Britiſh attempt upon Leogane. Arrival and wretched ſituation of a reinforcement. Bombarde taken poſſeſſion of, and then abandoned. Activity of the enemy. Defeat of the enemy at Poſt Raimond. They raiſe the ſiege of Irois. Port au Prince is blockaded by them. Removal of the remains of Columbus to the Havannah. Affairs in Jamaica. Termination of the Maroon war. Tranſportation of the Maroons to Nova Scotia. Operations in the Eaſtern Hemiſphere. The Batavian government ſends a ſquadron with troops to recover the Cape. This force is compelled to ſurrender to Admiral Elphinſtone. Conqueſt of Ceylon completed by the ſurrender of Columbo. Surrender of Amboyna and Banda to Admiral Rainier.

WITH the ſole exception of the expedition againſt Ireland, which was not ſent to ſea till the cloſe of the year, and the reſult of which we ſhall ſtate when, in a future volume, we take a comprehenſive view of Iriſh affairs, the enemy did not, in the courſe of 1796,

1796, make any of thoſe vaſt maritime exertions which are almoſt neceſſarily productive of ſplendid and deciſive encounters. His utmoſt efforts were limited to carrying on a gainful but inglorious war upon the commerce of this country, and it was ſeldom that he ventured to truſt from the protection of his ports any equipment of more conſequence than a ſmall ſquadron of frigates. Even, however, in the confined ſphere of action to which the naval officers of Great Britain were thus reduced, they gave ſeveral remarkable inſtances of their talents, activity and courage.

Among the moſt remarkable of theſe inſtances, the firſt in order of time was a gallant attack which was made by Sir Sidney Smith, in the Diamond, aſſiſted by Lieutenants Mac Kinley and Goſſet, in two luggers, upon a republican flo-

March 17. tilla, conſiſting of a corvette, two luggers, four brigs, and two ſloops, which had been chaſed into the harbour of Herqui, in the bay of St. Brieuc, where they lay under the protection of a body of regular troops, and of three batteries, erected on commanding rocky promontories, at the entrance of the port. As it was not practicable to approach the enemy's veſſels before the batteries were ſilenced, the marines and boarders, under Lieutenant Pine, were landed, in ſpite of a warm fire of muſketry from the republican troops, a precipice was ſcaled, the batteries were carried, and the guns rendered unſerviceable. From the falling of the tide, only two of the ſhips could be deſtroyed; but, as ſoon as it again roſe, the attack was renewed, and the remainder of them were burnt, except one armed lugger, which had the good fortune to eſcape.

In leſs than a week the republicans received another proof of their naval inferiority. Sir John Borlaſe Warren, with the Pomona, Artois, Galatea and Anſon frigates, diſcovered, off the Saints, an enemy s ſquadron, of much ſuperior force, eſcorting a convoy. A ſhort action enſued, which terminated in their taking flight, leaving in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh a frigate of thirty guns, and four of the merchant veſſels. Nothing but their proximity to the ſhore ſaved the whole of the fugitives from being captured by their conquerors. March 20.

Sir Edward Pellew met with an antagoniſt in every reſpect more worthy of him. While cruizing with his ſquadron off the Lizard point, he deſcried a frigate, which he purſued with the Indefatigable, the Amazon, and La Concorde. The hoſtile ſhip was La Virginie, of 44 guns, one of the fineſt and faſteſt ſailing veſſels in the French ſervice, and commanded by Captain Bergeret. It was not till midnight, after a chace of fifteen hours, and a hundred and ſixty-eight miles, that the Indefatigable came up with the enemy, and brought him to action. The conteſt was continued, under a preſs of ſail, for nearly two hours. Every reſource which gallantry and conſummate naval ſkill could afford him was exhauſted by the republican captain. Though his veſſel was much crippled, had four feet water in her hold, and had almoſt fifty men killed or diſabled, he refuſed to yield, till the coming up of La Concorde made it obvious that all further reſiſtance muſt be an act of April 20.

hopeleſs temerity. He then hauled down his lights, as a ſignal of ſurrender. Fortunately, not an officer or man was ſlain or wounded on the ſide of the Britiſh, in this ſharp engagement.

In the north ſea, the frigates forming a part of Admiral Duncan's fleet, captured the Dutch frigate the Argo, of thirty-ſix guns, the Mercury, of ſixteen guns, and drove the Echo, of eighteen guns, and De Gier, of fourteen guns, aſhore, about ten leagues from the Texel. The Argo did not ſtrike till ſhe had loſt thirty-four of her crew, in an engagement with the Phœnix, commanded by Captain Halſted.

May 12.

A ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting of three frigates, and a corvette of twenty-two guns, which ſailed from Breſt, early in June, under the orders of Commodore Moultſon, an American, was ſtill more unlucky than its predeceſſors. Two of the frigates, and the corvette, were fallen in with, to the weſtward of Scilly, by Captains Martin and Williams, in the Santa Margaritta and Unicorn. Notwithſtanding the enemy were much ſuperior in force, the Britiſh officers did not heſitate to give battle. The enemy, however, were not equally ready to receive it. They endeavoured to eſcape, and a long chaſe enſued. The Santa Margaritta at length overtook La Tamiſe, of thirty-ſix guns, and compelled her to ſtrike, after a conflict of twenty minutes, in which more than fifty of her crew were killed or wounded; while the loſs of the Engliſh was only two ſlain, and as many hurt. The conqueſt of the largeſt ſhip, which was La Tribune, of forty-four guns, under Commodore Moultſon himſelf, was accompliſhed with more difficulty. Moultſon manœuvred in ſuch a maſterly manner, and his veſſel was ſo well conſtructed for ſailing, that he protracted the chaſe for ten hours longer. But, after a purſuit of two hundred and ten miles, the Unicorn ſhot alongſide her adverſary, and brought her to cloſe combat. The French commander now ſhowed as much bravery as he had before ſhown ſkill. His exertions, nevertheleſs, were fruitleſs. In thirty-five minutes his ſhip was diſabled, and he was obliged to ſubmit. His loſs was fifty-two men; of the Engliſh not a man was hurt. The third frigate, La Proſerpine, of forty-two guns, had ſeparated from the ſquadron, during a fog, on the preceding day; but ſhe ſhared the fate of her companions, being captured, on the thirteenth, by Lord Amelius Beauclerck, in the Dryad, after having made a vigorous reſiſtance of three quarters of an hour, and had thirty killed and forty-five wounded. The corvette, La Legere, was alſo captured, on the twenty-ſecond, by the Doris and the Apollo.

June 7.

But in no inſtance was the inferiority of the enemy's marine, and the daring valour of Britiſh officers, more deciſively ſhown than in a conteſt which Captain Trollope, in the Glatton of fifty-ſix guns, maintained, off Helvoetſluys, with a French ſquadron of ſix frigates, a brig, and a cutter. The largeſt of theſe frigates mounted nearly fifty guns; the two next in ſize thirty-ſix guns, and the three ſmalleſt about twenty guns each. Notwithſtanding this immenſe diſparity of numbers and ſtrength, Captain Trollope bore down into the midſt of

of them, and commenced so close an engagement, that the yard arms of the hostile vessels touched each other. In less than twenty minutes the republicans were thrown into confusion, and deemed it prudent to sheer off. Captain Trollope endeavoured to follow, and bring them once more to action, but his masts and rigging had suffered to such a degree that he could not accomplish his purpose, and he had, in consequence, the mortification to see the flying foe reach the harbour of Flushing, without his being able to prevent them. In this combat, where every man distinguished himself, Captain Strangeways, of the marines, was among those who were most conspicuous for their bravery. After having received a shot through the thigh, he returned to the deck, with the tourniquet on, and persisted in remaining at his post, and encouraging his men, till Captain Trollope seeing him grow faint with the loss of blood, ordered him to be again carried below.

July 16.

In the beginning of August, Sir John Warren chased into Douarnenez Bay a convoy of ten sail, consisting of a transport of six hundred tons, five brigs of two hundred and fifty tons each, a dogger of a hundred tons, two chasse marées of ninety tons, and a schooner of eighty tons, which were under the protection of a thirty gun frigate and a brig of eighteen guns. The whole of these, with the exception of the frigate, were destroyed; part by being driven on shore and bilged, the remainder by the enemy, who set them on fire, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British. Towards the end of the month he likewise drove on shore and burnt, near Arcasson, a very fine frigate of forty-eight guns, named the Andromache, and captured or consumed ten sail of merchantmen, at the mouth of the Garonne.

August 7 and 22.

The last naval encounters which claim our attention, in the annals of this year, took place off the Spanish coast. Two of them occurred in the Mediterranean, and were fought between the British and their newly-declared enemies the Spaniards. The first of these, in particular, was marked by circumstances which reflect honour on both parties. While cruizing off Carthagena, on the watch for the Spanish fleet, Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore, perceived a large vessel bearing down upon him, and making ready for battle. As he had left thirty men sick in the hospital, and had on board more than that number either dangerously ill or extremely weak, and as he was so near to the Spanish coast, and probably to the fleet, as to make it very doubtful whether he should be able to bring off his prize if victorious, or save his own ship if worsted, he did not tempt an engagement, but continued standing on, without altering his course. At half-past nine the enemy came within hale, and proved to be the Mahonesa, of thirty-four twelve pounders, beside brass cohorns and swivels, commanded by Don Thomas Ayalde. The force of the English ship, was much inferior; consisting of only thirty-two six and twelve pounders. A desperate engagement commenced, which lasted an hour and forty minutes. By the

Oct. 13.

end

end of that time, the waſte guns of the Spaniſh ſhip were rendered unſerviceable, her rigging was greatly damaged, her maſts were every inſtant in danger of going by the board, and a terrible ſlaughter was made among her crew. Yet, even in this ſituation, and though he could rally round him but a few of his men, Don Thomas Ayalde was with much difficulty prevailed on to put an end to the carnage, by ſtriking his colours. In the public diſpatch of Captain Bowen to his admiral, Sir John Jervis, the courage, conduct and zeal, of the gallant Spaniard were deſervedly mentioned in terms of the warmeſt admiration. It was not more ſtrange than fortunate, that a victory over ſuch a determined enemy ſhould be achieved without the loſs of a ſingle man; the number of the wounded was only four perſons.

On a ſubſequent occaſion, equal bravery and ſkill were diſplayed, againſt a French enemy, by Captain Bowen, though untoward circumſtances deprived him of the fruits of his victory. Cruizing off Cadiz, he fell in with La Veſtale, of 36 guns, and, after a purſuit of twenty-four hours, ſucceeded in bringing her to action. The conteſt continued for an hour and a quarter, when the republicans hauled down their colours; having ſuſtained the loſs of their captain and forty men killed, and one hundred wounded; a number nearly equal to the crew of Captain Bowen's veſſel. In the courſe of the night, however, a tempeſt aroſe, by which the prize was driven on the Spaniſh ſhore, where ſhe was taken poſſeſſion of, and towed into Cadiz, by the Spaniſh boats.

Dec. 13.

In the Mediterranean, the Minerva and the Blanche, commanded by Captains Cockburne and Preſton, under the orders of Commodore Nelſon, captured the Sabina, of forty guns, and another Spaniſh frigate; but were ſubſequently compelled to abandon them, by the coming up of a Spaniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſail of the line and two frigates. In this engagement, the captain of the Sabina, Don Jacobo Stuart, did not ſurrender, till, after a reſiſtance of two hours, his maſts were gone by the board, and nearly two hundred of his crew were wounded or ſlain.

Dec. 19.

The republicans, on their ſide, were more ſucceſsful in procuring a compenſation for their loſſes, than in winning trophies to remove, or leſſen, the diſgrace of their numerous defeats. Their privateers committed great depredations on the Britiſh commerce, which, ſwelled as it was to an extent beyond all former example, and covering the ſeas in every quarter of the globe, could not poſſibly receive entire protection againſt the attacks of an active and vigilant enemy.

In one inſtance the revengeful and malignant feelings of the republicans were unexpectedly and highly gratified, by the capture of an Engliſh officer, whoſe general zeal, intrepidity, and ſpirit of enterprize, but particularly his diſplay of thoſe qualities at Toulon, had rendered him an object of terror and deteſtation. This officer was Sir Sidney Smith. Having gone, with a detachment from his crew, on board a veſſel, which he had compelled to ſtrike in the mouth of the Seine, the retiring of the tide prevented him from getting out to ſea,

April 19.

ſea, and afforded time to the enemy to ſend againſt him, from Havre, an overpowering force, to which he was obliged to ſurrender, after a gallant reſiſtance. He was immediately ſent to Paris, thrown into the temple, threatened with death as an incendiary, and treated with a degree of rigour and inſolence, which at once atteſted his merit, and the baſeneſs and cruelty of the Directorial government.

One ſolitary achievement, if indeed it may be called by that name, was all that the French navy could boaſt of during the year; and for this it was indebted to good fortune, and the utter want of defenſive means at the points which were the objects of attack. The ſquadron of Admiral Richery, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line, had, together with the prizes made by it the preceding year in the Mediterranean, been for ſeveral months cloſely ſhut up in the harbour of Cadiz by the Britiſh fleet. At length, under the protection of two Spaniſh ſquadrons, and while the Britiſh fleet was abſent, it ventured to quit the friendly place of refuge which had ſaved it from a compulſory viſit to an Engliſh port. When it ſeparated from its eſcort, it made ſail for America, and reached Newfoundland on the firſt of September. There it captured a conſiderable number of veſſels, ravaged thoſe fiſhing eſtabliſhments which were not guarded by a military force, and deſtroyed warehouſes, merchandize, and other property, to a large amount. Two men of war and a frigate detached from it, likewiſe did ſome miſchief on the Labrador coaſt. After this exploit it ſteered for France, without attempting any thing further, and was fortunate enough to arrive in ſafety at Rochfort, on the fifth of November.

July 27.

We muſt now take a view of thoſe proceedings in which the military as well as the naval force of Great Britain had a ſhare, and, in doing this, our attention will be firſt turned to thoſe events which occurred in the Mediterranean ſea. In that quarter the ſcale had, unfortunately, an indiſputable preponderance on the ſide of the republicans.

As ſoon as the viceroy of Corſica was apprized of the ſeizure of Leghorn by the French, he determined to anticipate them in the plan, which he had reaſon to believe they had formed, of obtaining poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Porto Ferrajo, in the iſland of Elba. A body of troops, under the command of Major Duncan, convoyed by a ſquadron under Commodore Nelſon, was accordingly diſpatched from Baſtia. On the arrival of this force before the place, the two Britiſh officers ſummoned the governor to deliver the town and forts into their power, to be held till the concluſion of a peace, or till all apprehenſions of danger were at an end from the French. At the ſame time they prepared to ſtorm the town by ſea and land, in caſe of a negative reply being given. The governor, however, accepted the terms without heſitation, and the town and forts were, in conſequence, peaceably occupied by the Engliſh troops.

July 10.

Corſica itſelf did not long remain under the Britiſh dominion. The Corſicans, inconſtant and turbulent in their diſpoſitions, and impatient of controul, ſoon became anxious to throw off that allegiance which they had

had lately ſworn. Their diſaffection was carefully fomented by French emiſſaries, who, in ſpite of the vigilance of the government, found means to enter the iſland. The brilliant ſucceſſes of General Buonaparté, their countryman, contributed alſo, in no ſmall degree, to inflame their pride, and to induce a portion of them to be deſirous of breaking off their connection with England, and placing themſelves under the ſway of republican France. Independence, however, was moſt probably at this epoch the general wiſh.

From the evidence afforded by an addreſs of General Paoli to his countrymen, it ſeems, indeed, that ſome ground for complaint had been given to the Corſicans, by the enactment of laws and regulations unſuited to their manners and circumſtances, and, ſtill more, by the miſconduct of individuals, who were employed in ſubordinate ſtations under the Britiſh government. As the poſſeſſion of power generally converts men of weak minds into tyrants, it is probable that theſe individuals acted in the exerciſe of their functions with a haughtineſs and rigour which could ill be borne by people, like the Corſicans, little accuſtomed to yield implicit obedience to ſuperior authority.

Nothing official has been publiſhed with reſpect to thoſe events which took place in Corſica; nor has the communicativeneſs of private perſons made up for the ſilence of the government. It appears, however, that at leaſt as early as the middle of 1795, a rebellious ſpirit was manifeſted by the Corſicans, who, in many places, had already gone to ſuch lengths, that, not ſatisfied with refuſing to pay the taxes, which their parliament had voted, they burned the public magazines, and menaced the lives and properties of their loyal fellow-citizens, if they refuſed to join in acts of outrage and violence. On this occaſion the viceroy iſſued a mild and conciliatory proclamation, in the hope of inducing the malecontents to return to their duty. Auguſt, 1795.

At this period, notwithſtanding his ſervices, and his character, General Paoli himſelf was regarded by the government with a ſuſpicious eye. Calumny, for calumny it undoubtedly was, did not ſcruple to charge him with being one of the principal authors of the ſeditious proceedings which had occurred. This charge was, perhaps, grounded on the ſtrong affection which was manifeſted for him by even many of the diſaffected Corſicans. So deeply had the prejudice againſt him taken root in the breaſts of the ruling powers, that he deemed it neceſſary to publiſh that addreſs, which we have juſt mentioned, to vindicate his own conduct, and exhort his fellow-citizens to reſpect the laws, and to preſerve their fidelity to the ſovereign whom they had freely choſen. This addreſs was written with a ſpirit of loyalty, candour and moderation, which was honourable to its author. Whether he received an intimation that his abſence would be conducive to the public tranquillity, or whether, as he naturally might be, he was deſirous to quit the ſcene of diſcord, we know not, but he ſhortly after bade a final adieu to his native iſland. He retired firſt to Leghorn, and thence to England, in which latter country Oct. 1795.

he paſſed the remainder of his days.

If his departure were required by the viceroy, it certainly did not anſwer its intended purpoſe. Diſaffection ſpread conſtantly wider, and acquired additional boldneſs. The cloſing months of 1795, and the greateſt part of the ſucceeding year, ſeem to have been ſpent in conſtant hoſtilities between the troops and the revolted Corſicans. A committee of rebel fugitives from the iſland, ſat at Leghorn, after the capture of that city by the French, and kept up an inceſſant correſpondence with their countrymen in arms; to whom they promiſed the ſpeedy arrival of effectual ſuccours. The Britiſh miniſtry at length grew weary of a poſſeſſion which occaſioned infinite expence and trouble, and was conſidered as productive of little advantage. An order was ſent to the viceroy, to evacuate the iſland. This order was carried into execution about the middle of October, and, if the accounts publiſhed by the enemy may be credited, was executed with a blind haſte, and with a want of caution, which were exceedingly diſgraceful to all the perſons concerned. It is ſaid that a large part of the troops in garriſon at Baſtia and other places were made priſoners, and that ſeveral magazines and pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Corſicans, and of a ſmall republican diviſion which had landed from Leghorn. No obvious reaſon appears to have exiſted for this precipitate and ſhameful flight before an undiſciplined enemy. It may be doubted, too, whether the government diſplayed an enlightened policy in its final meaſures, and whether

Oct. 1796.

ſome arrangement might not have been made, which, leaving the Corſicans independent, would have ſecured to Great Britain nearly all the benefits ariſing from ſovereignty, while at the ſame time it exonerated her from all the concomitant burthens and duties which are impoſed upon ſtates, by the poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority.

In the weſtern hemiſphere the loſſes of the preceding year were in ſome meaſure compenſated for, by the conqueſts of the preſent. Anxious to retrieve the reputation of the Britiſh arms in that quarter, the miniſters, in the ſummer of 1795, reſolved to ſend to the Weſt Indies an expedition, formidable enough to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt the republican colonies. For this ſervice, twenty-ſeven thouſand men, to be divided into two bodies, the one fifteen the other twelve thouſand ſtrong, were originally deſtined. This number was, however, very greatly diminiſhed, by ſubſequent events. A part of the force was intended to ſail from England, and the remainder from Ireland. The command in chief was conferred on Sir Ralph Abercrombie, from whoſe known talents the happieſt reſult was expected.

The ſummer, and nearly the whole of the autumn, paſſed away, in the neceſſary preparations for an enterprize of ſuch magnitude. On the fifteenth of November, Admiral Chriſtian departed from Spithead, with a convoy of tranſport and other veſſels, conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail. He had, however, proceeded but a ſmall diſtance, down the channel, when he was aſſailed by a dreadful tempeſt, which ſcattered the ſhips, and drove ſeveral of them on the Dorſetſhire

ſetſhire coaſt, which preſented a horrible ſpectacle; it being, for a great extent, covered with wrecks and mangled corpſes. The whole of the convoy was under the neceſſity of returning to Spithead. Early in December, it once more got under weigh; but its misfortunes were not yet at an end. Heavy gales a ſecond time aroſe, much damage was ſuſtained, and many of the tranſports were compelled to take ſhelter in the neareſt port. Admiral Chriſtian, nevertheleſs, perſiſted in keeping the ſea, and, by dint of patience and ſeamanſhip, had made ſome progreſs, when another ſtorm came on, and compelled him to ſteer for England, after having for above fifty days contended with the hoſtile elements. The convoy from Cork was not more happy. It alſo was driven back to the port from which it had ſailed. Fortunately, a few of the tranſports, belonging to Admiral Chriſtian's convoy, weathered the fury of the hurricane, and made good their paſſage to the Weſt Indies, with a welcome reinforcement of eighteen hundred or two thouſand men. At length, in the latter end of February, and the beginning of March, the fleet, in three ſeparate diviſions, finally quitted the Britiſh and Iriſh ſhores, and arrived at its deſtination, early in April, without having ſuſtained any further diſaſters, either from the rage of the elements, or the cruizers of the republicans.

Previouſly to his commencing operations againſt the Weſt India iſlands, General Abercrombie diſpatched a body of troops to reduce the Dutch colonies of Demerary and Berbice. This force conſiſted of twelve hundred men, under the command of Major General Whyte, eſcorted by four frigates. The Dutch governors having no adequate means of defence, they immediately accepted the very favourable terms which were offered them, and Demerary was accordingly taken poſſeſſion of, on the twenty-ſecond of April, and Berbice on the ſecond of May.

The recovery of Saint Lucia was the firſt object to which the Britiſh commander in chief directed his attention in the Weſt India iſlands. The reconqueſt of that iſland was not accompliſhed without great difficulty, and no inconſiderable loſs. The troops ſailed from Maria Bay, in Martinico, on the afternoon of the twenty-ſixth of April, and reached the place of their deſtination on the ſame evening. It was the intention of the general that the troops ſhould effect a landing, at the ſame time, in three diviſions, in Longueville Bay, Choc Bay, and Ance la Raye, for the purpoſe of completely inveſting the lofty hill of Morne Fortune, which the republicans, by numerous works, had placed in a formidable ſtate of defence.

The firſt diviſion, conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred men, led by Major General Campbell, was immediately diſembarked in Longueville Bay. On the enſuing morning, the ſecond diviſion was landed in Choc Bay, where it was joined by the firſt. As the Britiſh troops moved onward, about five hundred of the enemy retired from Angier's plantation to Morne Chabot, one of the ſtrongeſt poſts in the vicinity of Morne Fortune, and without the poſſeſſion of which the latter could not be blockaded on the ſide of the north. To keep up a ſtrict blockade was of the utmoſt importance,

portance, in order to prevent the escape of the republicans into the woods and fastnesses of the interior, where they might have protracted the war, and rendered it harassing and bloody to their assailants. For the reduction, therefore, of this important post, two columns, under Brigadier Generals Moore and Hope, were dispatched at midnight, by different roads. The purpose of this combined movement was to cut off the retreat of the enemy, to Morne Fortune, by attacking them on opposite quarters. As far, however, as related to the capture of the enemy, the plan was frustrated by a miscalculation of time, arising from erroneous information given by the guides. Through this miscalculation, the column led by Brigadier General Moore fell in with the republican piquet an hour and a half sooner than it was expected to do. The narrowness of the path, along which the troops were obliged to proceed in single files, made it impossible to halt them; and the brigadier, therefore, as his approach was discovered, determined to risk an attack, without waiting for the co-operation of the other column. This spirited determination of their leader was effectually seconded by the valour of his soldiers. After a hard contest, the defenders of the Morne were driven from it, with considerable loss. Morne Duchassaux, in the rear of Morne Fortune, was likewise occupied by the British, on the following day.

April 27.

In consequence of the ships falling to leeward, the third division could not for some days complete its disembarkation at Ance la Raye. As soon, however, as it was put on shore, it took up a position to complete the investment of Morne Fortune, by securing the passes to it on the southern side.

To open the bay of the Grand Cul de Sac for the ships of war, and thus facilitate the landing of artillery and other necessaries, the general resolved to drive the enemy from the batteries which they had erected on the base of the mountain of Morne Fortune, for the purpose of commanding the harbour. Major General Morshead having been taken ill, the carrying of this service into execution devolved upon Brigadier General Perryn. The division under his orders was to cross the river of the Grand Cul de Sac in two columns; the right at Cools, and the left at the point where the river discharges itself into the bay. To second this force, Brigadier General Hope was to move, on the night of the second of May, from the side of Morne Chabot, with three hundred and fifty men of the 42d regiment, the light company of the 57th, and a part of Malcolm's corps; the whole supported by the 55th regiment, which was posted at Ferrand's. A part of the squadron was likewise to co-operate by a cannonade upon the enemy's works.

The attack was begun at dawn of day. The battery Seche, within a short distance of the entrenchments of the Morne, was carried, with a loss trifling in numbers, but rendered heavy by the fall of the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm. At the same time, Colonel Riddel, who led the column on the left, made himself master of the battery of Chapuis. So far every thing

May 3.

was

was propitious. From ſome unexpected difficulty, however, the column on the right did not perform its part, by croſſing the river at Cools, and the other diviſions were in conſequence left inſulated, and expoſed to imminent danger. The victorious troops were, therefore, under the hard neceſſity of relinquiſhing thoſe advantages which they had gained, and retiring to their former ſtations. This check coſt the Britiſh one hundred and five men; a very ſmall portion of whom were reckoned among the ſlain.

To ſhorten the line of attack, and cover the right flank of the army, the general deemed it expedient to obtain poſſeſſion of the Vigie; where the enemy had apparently but a ſlender force. On the night of the ſeventeenth, therefore, the 31ſt regiment was diſpatched to perform this ſervice. The firſt battery, of three eighteen pounders, was carried with little oppoſition from the republicans, and the guns were ſpiked and thrown over the precipice. A large gun and a field piece ſtill continued their fire from the ſummit of the hill. Againſt theſe the Britiſh troops advanced; but at this moment their guide was wounded, and they were conſequently unable to diſcover the proper path to the ſpot where the guns were poſted. In this ſituation of the troops, the grape ſhot from the enemy's pieces made ſuch a ſlaughter among them, that Lieutenant Colonel Hay was compelled to order a retreat; which, however, was not accompliſhed without the loſs of nearly two hundred men.

May 17.

Theſe checks, nevertheleſs, vexatious as they were, did not retard the principal operations againſt the enemy's main poſition on the Morne Fortune. In ſpite of the difficulties ariſing from the ruggedneſs of the country, the utter want of carriages and the ſcarcity of horſes, the neceſſity of opening roads, and the length of the line of inveſtment, which extended ten miles, the works againſt the Morne were carried on with unabating vigour. The chief attack was directed, by the ridge of Duchaſſeaux, againſt the north ſide of the enemy's entrenchments. On the ſixteenth, the firſt parallel was completed, and a fire was opened from eighteen pieces of ordnance. In a week's time every thing was ready to attempt making a lodgment for the third parallel. Led by Brigadier General Moore, the twenty-ſeventh regiment attacked the republican advanced poſts, on the morning of the twenty-fourth, and lodged itſelf on two points; the neareſt of which to the fort was not diſtant from it more than five hundred yards. The enemy made a vigorous effort to recover his ground, but was twice repulſed, with conſiderable loſs; and, before night, the troops were completely covered, the communications were eſtabliſhed, and two batteries, each for eight pieces of artillery, were begun.

There being nothing to hope, and much to fear, from a further reſiſtance, the governor, on the ſame evening, deſired a ſuſpenſion of arms. A capitulation, for the whole iſland, was the reſult of the conferences. The garriſon, to the number of two thouſand men, became priſoners of war; and a large quantity of ammunition and artillery, with ten veſſels of various ſizes, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

May 26.

The

The conqueſt of St. Lucia being thus achieved, Sir Ralph Abercrombie committed the government of the colony to Brigadier General Moore, and prepared for the recovery of St. Vincents and Grenada. Some days were occupied in embarking the troops and artillery. The whole, however, was ready by the third of June. The diviſion which was deſigned for St. Vincents was directed to rendezvous in Kingſton Bay, and that for Grenada was ordered to do the ſame at Cariacou, one of the Grenadines; and, in the mean time, Major General Nicholls met the commander in chief, at Cariacou, to arrange the plan of operations for Grenada.

The republicans had, at an early period of the year, gained ſome advantages in both of thoſe iſlands. In St. Vincents, they attacked before break of day, on the eighth of January, the camp commanded by Brigadier General Stewart, and compelled the Britiſh to retire, with the ſerious loſs of three hundred and ſixty-three men, killed, wounded and miſſing. This was followed up by an aſſault, which laſted from morning till night, on the poſt at Millar's ridge. In this, however, they were repulſed, though not without our troops having conſiderably ſuffered in the conteſt.

In Grenada, they obliged Major Wright to abandon, on the twenty-ninth of February, the poſition of Pilot Hill, and retreat to Sauteur. But their progreſs in that colony was quickly ſtopped by the bravery of a ſmall reinforcement, which Sir Ralph Abercrombie diſpatched, immediately on his arrival in the Weſt Indies. This reinforcement, led by Brigadier General Nicholls, carried by aſſault, after a long and arduous conflict, the formidable poſition held at Port Royal by a part of the enemy, and cut to pieces nearly the whole of the troops by which it was defended. The evacuation of Pilot Hill by the republicans was the immediate conſequence of this ſpirited action. Such was the ſituation of affairs in Grenada and St. Vincents, when the ſurrender of St. Lucia left the Britiſh general at liberty to turn his attention to thoſe quarters. March 25.

The fate of the two iſlands was now ſpeedily decided. The troops, which were commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie in perſon, diſembarked in St. Vincents, on the evening of the eighth, and, on the evening of the enſuing day, they arrived in front of their reſpective points of attack. On the following morning they ſucceeded in turning the flank of the enemy, againſt whoſe works they opened, within ſix hundred yards, a battery of ſix pieces of cannon. In ſpite, however, of a formidable fire, the enemy maintained themſelves, for ſeveral hours, in their poſt of the Old Vigie. The general at length ordered an aſſault to be made on the whole of their works. It was executed with ſuch bravery, by a part of the 42d regiment, the Buffs, and the York Rangers, that the republicans were driven from three redoubts, and forced to fall back on the New Vigie, which was their principal poſt. As their retreat was completely cut off, they deſired to capitulate, and accordingly, to the number of ſeven hundred men, laid down their arms, as priſoners of war. June 11.

The deliverance of Grenada from the ravages of the enemy was effected with nearly equal promptitude. On the landing of the diviſion under Major General Nicholls, Captain Joſſey, who headed the republican troops, being convinced that it would be madneſs to reſiſt, immediately ſurrendered, with that part of the force which he commanded. Fedon, the mulatto chief, whoſe barbarous conduct had deprived him of all hope of mercy, determined ſtill to hold out. With about three hundred men, he retired to the almoſt inacceſſible poſts of Morne Quaquo and Aches Camp, in the mountains above Goyave, where he flattered himſelf that he ſhould at leaſt be able to keep the Britiſh at bay. In this he was diſappointed. General Nicholls made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of his troops, and was ſo well ſeconded by their courage, that, on the morning of the nineteenth, he gained poſſeſſion of the whole of the enemy's poſts. A part of the blacks were ſlaughtered, and the remainder driven into the woods, where they were afterwards hunted down by military detachments. At the moment when the ferocious Mulatto leader found that the Britiſh were on the point of forcing his poſition, he ordered all his white priſoners to be murdered. Theſe unfortunate victims were accordingly ſtripped, had their hands tied behind them, and were then put to death. Fedon himſelf is ſaid to have eſcaped into the woods, at the cloſe of the conteſt; and we are left entirely in the dark as to his ſubſequent fate. It is moſt probable, however, that he periſhed, either by famine, or by the ſword of ſome of his numerous purſuers.

June 19.

The colony of St. Domingo offered, during this year, nothing to the ſight of a Britiſh obſerver, which could be conſidered as affording even a feeble compenſation for the great expence of blood and treaſure which its precarious retention occaſioned. Without the hope of gaining by ſplendid exploits any of thoſe laurels, the hope of which animates the ſoldier in common wars, our troops had to encounter not only the ſword of a haraſſing though degraded enemy, but likewiſe a climate far more deſtructive than the ſword. At the commencement of the year, the Britiſh and colonial forces were much too weak to make head againſt the numbers oppoſed to them. Major General Forbes, however, the ſucceſſor of General Williamſon, did every thing which lay in his power to fruſtrate the plans of the enemy, and maintain his ground till the arrival of effectual ſuccours. He ſtrengthened the frontier line from Cul de Sac to St. Marc, eſtabliſhed poſts at Mirabalais and Banica, to keep open the communication with the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, and took eight or nine hundred of the Spaniards into Engliſh pay.

The firſt operation undertaken againſt the enemy was unſucceſsful. It was directed againſt Leogane, of which the republicans, after our abandoning it in the preceding year, had taken poſſeſſion. They had encloſed the town with a deep paliſaded ditch, and ſome works; and had likewiſe ſtrengthened the fort at the entrance of the harbour. To reduce this place a body of Britiſh

tiſh and colonial troops was em-
March 21. barked at Port au Prince, on board the ſquadron of Admiral Parker, and was landed, on the twenty-firſt, in two diviſions, to the eaſtward and weſtward of the town. It being the intention of the general to carry the place by aſſault, the expedition was not accompanied by any heavy cannon. The aſſailants ſoon found that they had miſcalculated the ſtrength of their antagoniſts. The former having erected a battery, of a few pieces of light artillery, intended to cover the troops, who were to be employed in filling the ditch preparatory to the aſſault, the republicans brought their heavy artillery to bear upon it in flank with ſuch effect, that the Britiſh were compelled to abandon it, with the loſs of two ſix-pounders, and ſeveral men. A ſpirited fire was kept up from the ſquadron, but without being of any utility. Finding that by his ſcanty numbers no impreſſion could be made upon the place, the general relinquiſhed the enterpriſe, and returned to Port au Prince.

In May, about ſeven thouſand troops, under the command of Brigadier General Howe, arrived at Mole St. Nicholas. This reinforcement, formidable in appearance, was formidable in appearance only. Had the troops been healthy and fit for action, they would, perhaps, have been ſufficiently numerous to complete the conqueſt of the colony. But they were far otherwiſe. Nearly ſix months had elapſed ſince they were firſt embarked. They were now diſeaſed and worn down, by the length of time which they had been cooped up in tranſports, and the ſufferings and diſaſted which they had encounterers. The period, too, was inauſpicious for their commencing active ſervice; as the proper ſeaſon for a campaign in St. Domingo is from November to April inclusive; and May and June are conſidered as the moſt unhealthy months for military operations. Nor was the place at which they arrived, at all calculated to repair their ſhattered ſtrength. As if, however, all this were not enough to accompliſh their deſtruction, they were detained, for ſeveral weeks, on board the tranſports, in the harbour of the Mole. The natural conſequence was a mortality, ſo dreadful and ſo rapid, that it left but little to be done by the ſword of the enemy.

The reduction of the pariſh of Bombarde was the firſt enterpriſe undertaken by the Britiſh General, after the arrival of the reinforcements. This ſettlement, which was begun about the year 1763 by ſome German coloniſts, is ſituated fifteen miles from the Mole, and on the other ſide of the rocky and barren mountains which ſurround that place. The air of it is remarkably wholeſome, and it abounds in vegetables and freſh proviſions, the want of which was ſeverely felt by the Britiſh, who could obtain them only from Jamaica, and that at prices which few perſons could afford to give. To obtain poſſeſſion of Bombarde being, therefore, of great importance, a conſiderable force, commanded by General Forbes himſelf, was put in motion from the Mole. The troops were aſſembled at three in the morning, but, through ſome unaccountable blunder or neglect, they did not begin their march till eleven, when June 8.

the heat of the ſun was become nearly inſupportable. Every obſtacle had likewiſe been thrown in their way by the enemy. The only road fit for cannon was broken up in ſome places, and filled with abbatis, or cloſed by ſtone walls having been built acroſs it, in others. To crown the whole not a drop of water could be procured. Many of the ſoldiers periſhed, of thirſt and fatigue, during this dreadful march. At length the troops reached the fort of Bombarde, the garriſon of which immediately ſurrendered, on condition of being allowed to retire to the neareſt republican poſt. His purpoſe being effected, General Forbes left in the fort the number of men requiſite for its protection, and returned with the remainder of his army to the Mole. This conqueſt, from which great benefit had been expected, was, nevertheleſs, ſoon after abandoned; though the reaſon for which it was abandoned has never been made known, and would probably not be eaſy to diſcover.

From this time till the cloſe of the year, the Britiſh, far from extending their conqueſts, found ſufficent employment in defending thoſe which they had already made. Every day ſeems to have encreaſed the audacity, if not the numbers, of the enemy. In the peninſula which forms the ſouthern diviſion of French St. Domingo, Rigaud, and his white and negro troops, carried on offenſive operations, with much activity, though with little ſkill, and ſtill leſs ſucceſs. On the eleventh of Auguſt, they attacked, in great force, the poſts both at the eaſtern and weſtern extremity of the peninſula. On Poſt Raimond they made ſeveral aſſaults, and notwithſtanding they were repulſed with loſs in each, they continued to inveſt the fort, till the garriſon, under Lieutenant Gilman, ſallied forth, and completely routed and drove them into the woods, with conſiderable ſlaughter. At Irois, of which on the ſame day they formed the ſiege, they were equally unfortunate. After having lain eighteen days before the place, and repulſed a force which, under Major General Bowyer, was ſent from Jeremie to relieve it, they perceived the fruitleſſneſs of their efforts, and therefore thought proper to retire.

Port au Prince itſelf, the chief, and unfortunately the favourite, poſt of the Britiſh, was ſeriouſly threatened, and in a manner blockaded, by the enemy. Shortly after the failure of our attempt upon Leogane, the republicans appear to have determined upon ſtraitening Port au Prince, and opening a communication with the north ſide of the iſland, through the plains of the Cul de Sac. To fruſtrate this deſign General Forbes was under the neceſſity of fortifying the ſtrong and lofty mountain called Morne Grenier, which lies about ſix miles from the town, and of occupying alſo Fournier and other heights, at a ſhorter diſtance. The enemy, nevertheleſs, did not relinquiſh their deſign. On one ſide they advanced along the ſea ſhore, and poſted themſelves within four miles of the place; and, on the other, they prepared to lay ſiege to Morne Grenier. To facilitate the reduction of this Morne, they ſeized, in its immediate vicinity, an al-

moſt

moſt inſulated and inacceſſible mountain, on which, by the conſtant labour of ſeveral months, they erected batteries. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of this mountain, they entrenched two ſtrong poſts on its flanks, at La Boutelliere and St. Laurent. It does not appear that, while they were carrying on theſe menacing operations, they were at all moleſted by the garriſon of Port au Prince. This, towards the cloſe of 1796, was the melancholy ſtate of affairs in the French portion of the colony of St. Domingo.

In the Spaniſh part of the iſland an event occurred, which is not unworthy the notice of the hiſtorian. The cathedral of the city of San Domingo had long contained the aſhes of the illuſtrious Columbus, which, together with the chains that he wore on his paſſage to Spain as a priſoner, and which were buried with him, had been originally transferred there, from the Carthuſian convent of Seville. When, by the diſgraceful treaty of Baſle, the colony was ceded to the French, his deſcendants would not leave his remains in ſtranger hands, and they, in conſequence, ordered the braſs coffin, which contained the whole, to be conveyed to the Havannah. The ceremony of removal took place, with due ſolemnity, on the nineteenth of January. Under a ſalute of artillery from the forts, the coffin was carried down to the harbour in proceſſion, and put on board the veſſel which was waiting there, to remove it to the capital of Cuba.

Jan. 19.

In our laſt volume, it has been ſeen, that the Maroon war, in Jamaica, was terminated by a treaty, wherein General Walpole promiſed that the revolt of the Maroons ſhould not be puniſhed by their baniſhment from the iſland. This treaty was happily concluded, in a critical moment; the principal Maroon chief having in caſe his offers of ſubmiſſion had been rejected, deſigned to penetrate acroſs the mountains, into the diſtrict of Clarendon, whence the Maroons originally came, and where, a degree of family connection being ſtill acknowledged, he hoped to find in the ſlaves a diſpoſition of mind favourable to his plans. On the concluſion of the treaty, the firſt of January was fixed, for the coming in of the revolters, and the delivering up of the runaway negroes. That day, however, paſſed over, without the ſurrender of the whole of the Maroons having taken place. It, nevertheleſs, does not appear that this backwardneſs in ſurrendering is to be attributed to any deſire of prolonging the conteſt, but rather to their dread that the terms of the treaty would not be fairly performed; a dread which was probably heightened, if not inſpired, by the circumſtance of their having, from the hills, ſeen diviſions of their ſurrendered comrades marched down to Montego Bay, under an eſcort of troops. Conſiderable parties continued to lay down their arms, but it was not till the latter end of March, and after the Cuba dogs had again been put in motion, that the laſt of the revolters, to the number of forty, ſubmitted to their fate. This delay gave the Houſe of Aſſembly an opportunity, which ſeems to have been eagerly ſeized, to rid the colony for ever of its formidable

formidable enemies. On the ground that the Maroons, not having complied with the terms of the treaty, were not entitled to the benefit of General Walpole's promiſe, the Aſſembly paſſed a vote, for tranſporting them from Jamaica. It was in vain that General Walpole remonſtrated againſt this deciſion, and pleaded that his honour was pledged, and that the tardineſs of the Maroons had not ariſen from any perfidious motive. Finding that his remonſtrances were diſregarded, he reſigned his command; and when the colonial legiſlature voted five hundred guineas to purchaſe a ſword for him, he declined the gift, and gave his reaſons in a letter, which, though temperate, irritated the Aſſembly ſo much, that they voted it to be diſreſpectful and derogatory to their dignity, and ordered it to be expunged from the minutes of the Houſe.

The vote of the Aſſembly was carried into effect in the month of June; and the Maroons, conſiſting of upwards of five hundred of both ſexes, were embarked, in three veſſels. They were accompanied by a commiſſioner, Colonel Quarrel, an active and intelligent planter, who was entruſted with a ſum of money, for the expences of ſettling them, and was directed to land them in any part or parts of North America, and to purchaſe land for their ſupport, and tools and implements, for its cultivation. Upper Canada was the country firſt ſuggeſted for their reſidence; but this ſuggeſtion, though generally approved, was not finally adopted by the colonial aſſembly. They were landed at Halifax, in the latter end of June, where they were intended to remain only till diſpatches reſpecting them could arrive from England. In Nova Scotia, however, it was thought expedient by the Government that they ſhould be finally ſettled. At the outſet, it being then the middle of ſummer, they ſeemed well pleaſed with this reſolution. But the ſeverity of the climate, in winter, ſoon diſguſted them, and made them clamorous for a removal, to obtain which, they frequently refuſed to make any exertions for their own maintenance. In this ſituation, the burthen of providing for them was heavily felt, and produced a controverſy between the Houſe of Aſſembly in Jamaica, and the Governor of Nova Scotia; the latter claiming the charges of their ſubſiſtence, and the former contending that a ſum more than ſufficient had been already voted, and declaring that no further aid ſhould be granted for an object with which the colony of Jamaica had now ceaſed to have any connection. At length, after four years of diſpute between the governments of the two colonies, and of alternate idleneſs and induſtry, on the part of the languiſhing and diſcontented exiles, the Maroons were, in 1800, removed to Africa, and placed under the ſuperintendence of the governor and council of the ſettlement of Sierra Leone.

From the Weſtern Hemiſphere we muſt now follow to the Eaſtern the movements of hoſtile fleets and armies. In the latter quarter the Britiſh arms were attended with complete ſucceſs.

The loſs of their old and valuable colony, the cape of Good Hope, was ſeverely felt by the Dutch, and

and excited numerous murmurs and complaints, which were ſoon increaſed, by the fall of Trincomalé, and their poſts on the continent of India. To recover the Cape, the new Batavian government diſpatched, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lucas, a ſquadron, conſiſting of two ſixty-ſix gun ſhips, one fifty-four gun ſhip, four frigates, a corvette and a ſtore ſhip, with a body of troops on board. This force was utterly inadequate to the purpoſe for which it was intended. The Britiſh miniſtry had ſtrongly reinforced the troops at the Cape, and had ſtationed in that quarter a formidable ſquadron, under Sir George Keith Elphinſtone. Full information of the ſailing, the deſigns, and the number of the enemy, had likewiſe been ſent from home to the Engliſh Admiral. Of all theſe circumſtances, however, the Batavian Government was evidently in a ſtate of perfect ignorance.

The Dutch ſquadron appeared off Saldanha Bay, on the ſecond of Auguſt, but did not come to an anchor in the bay till the ſixth, at noon. Admiral Elphinſtone was at that time lying in Simon's Bay, and was informed of the approach of the enemy, as ſoon as they were diſcovered from the ſhore. Anxious as he was to proceed againſt them, the tempeſtuous weather rendered it impoſſible for him to quit Simon's Bay till the ſixth, when he put to ſea, and cruized in ſearch of them for ſix days, notwithſtanding a continuance of ſuch ſtorms as damaged many of the ſhips, and ſeriouſly endangered a part of the fleet. Not having been able to obtain a ſight of the enemy, he returned to Simon's Bay, and there he learned that they had anchored in the Bay of Saldanha, where they ſtill remained. He again made the ſignal to put to ſea, but the tempeſt blew ſo violently that the Creſcent got aſhore, the Tremendous parted two cables, and was near being loſt, and, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Britiſh, three days elapſed before the ſquadron could finally get under ſail.

In the mean time, the neceſſary defenſive precautions were taken by Major General Craig, who commanded at the Cape. Though the enemy's force was too ſcanty to excite any fears for the ſafety of the colony, it was, nevertheleſs, ſufficient to ſpread confuſion, and give conſiderable trouble, if allowed to land, and penetrate into the interior. The general, therefore, leaving four thouſand men, for the protection of Cape Town, marched with two thouſand five hundred men to Saldanha Bay. As he deſcended from the heights, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Britiſh ſquadron, of ſeven ſail of the line, one fifty gun ſhip, two frigates, and ſome ſmaller veſſels, rapidly advancing, under a preſs of ſail, towards the entrance of the harbour. As the troops marched onward to the ſhore, a Dutch frigate opened her fire upon them, but without any effect. Auguſt 16.

It was night before the ſquadron could enter the bay, and form in order of battle. Perceiving how much inferior the enemy was in point of ſtrength, Admiral Elphinſtone anchored within ſhot of the Dutch ſhips, and ſent a flag of truce, to requeſt Admiral Lucas to prevent

prevent an effuſion of blood, which it would be criminal in him to cauſe, as it evidently would be uſeleſs. A correſpondence was kept up till the following morning, when the Dutch Admiral, finding that his ſituation was deſperate, delivered up his ſhips, on condition that himſelf and his officers ſhould be ſuffered to return to Europe on their parole.

It is not probable that, under any circumſtances, the Dutch commander would have thought himſelf juſtified in hazarding a battle with an adverſary ſo greatly ſuperior in force. Had he, however, been diſpoſed to reſiſt, he would have been without the means of reſiſtance. In his diſpatch to the States he informed them, that, on the entrance of the Engliſh ſquadron into the Bay, his men mounted the orange-cockade, broke into loud cries of long live the Prince of Orange, and threatened to maſſacre their officers, if they dared to make any oppoſition to the ſurrender of the veſſels.

In the Eaſt Indies, the conqueſt of the major part of the enemy's ſettlements was accompliſhed at an early period of the year. Of the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Ceylon, Colombo was the only one of any importance which, at the commencement of 1796, they ſtill retained. In the beginning of February, a Britiſh force under Colonel Stuart, was diſpatched againſt that place. It effected its landing, near Negombo, on the evening of the ſixth, and, after driving the enemy from a ſtrong poſt, on the ſouth bank of the Matual river, appeared before the walls of Colombo. A ſhort parley enſued, which terminated by the governor ſurrendering the town, on favourable conditions. The town of Gale, and the fort of Caliture were included in the capitulation. The reduction of Colombo and its dependencies completed the conqueſt of the iſland of Ceylon. Feb. 14.

In the Eaſtern Archipelago, Amboyna, and its ſubordinate poſts, were given up without reſiſtance, to Rear Admiral Rainier, on the ſixteenth of February; and, on the eighth of March, this example was followed by Banda and its dependencies. A rich booty, conſiſting of a large ſum of money, and an immenſe quantity of cloves, nutmegs and mace, beſides merchandiſe and ſtores of various kinds, was the reward of the captors.

CHRONICLE.

1796.

JANUARY.

ſt. THIS morning about three o'clock, an alarming fire roke out in Bow-ſtreet. It raged ith the utmoſt violence, and, notithſtanding the arrival and utmoſt xertions of the many engines, could ot be ſubdued ſooner than ſix. It urnt with a degree of fury almoſt ncredible, and, after deſtroying ſeeral houſes in the main ſtreet, exnded its deſtructive effects as far ack as Croſs-lane, where it conmed ſome houſes. The damage is ot yet aſcertained, but it is thought be very conſiderable. The fire egan in the warehouſe appendant the houſe of an upholder, who ved next door to the Garrick's-ead tavern, to which it communited itſelf. The houſe where it nmenced was entirely burnt wn, ſo that ſcarcely a veſtige of e very walls remained. Three her houſes immediately adjoining ere reduced to the ſame deplorable ate of ruin. Mr. Spencer, landrd of the Garrick's-head, and his mily, had retired to bed previouſly this unhappy affair taking place. is extenſive premiſes received very eat damage, particularly in the ar of the building, which commucates with Duke's-court. A party all, which fortunately ſeparated r. Spencer's from the houſe where the fire began, was the means of ſaving his houſe from total deſtruction.

On Wedneſday laſt, Mrs. Mary Reed, widow of William Reed, eſq. who died at Berkeley in April 1794, was fully committed to Glouceſter gaol, on ſuſpicion of having poiſoned her huſband.

It appeared, on the examination, that, about two years ago, a ſuſpicion aroſe that captain Reed had poiſon given to him in ſome broth; that, finding himſelf indiſpoſed, he went to lie down on the bed; that while he was there, ſhe went up to ſee him; that her brother followed with a broomſtick, and ſtruck him three violent blows over his head; that ſhe immediately called out murder, and her brother eſcaped. A medical gentleman being ſent for, came, and dreſſed his head, and left him about ſix in the evening, obſerving that there was no danger of death from the wounds; but, at nine o'clock, captain Reed expired. Mrs. Reed applied the ſame evening for a coffin to be made, and wiſhed to have him buried the next day, ſaying, that as he died ſuddenly he would not keep; which circumſtance giving riſe to a ſuſpicion, he was opened by a ſurgeon, and a ſomething which was found in his ſtomach, being given to a dog,

proved his immediate death. On this evidence, the coroner's jury ſat on the body of captain Reed, and gave a verdict of—wilful murder.

The brother of Mrs. Reed abovementioned, was found dead about four days after the deceaſe of captain Reed, and is ſuppoſed to have ſhot himſelf with a blunderbuſs found lying by him, his head being blown to pieces.

At the time this ſhocking affair took place, Mrs. Reed was examined before the coroner's jury, and diſcharged for want of evidence. In a late trial of an action brought by Mrs. Reed againſt the Royal Exchange aſſurance office, for the recovery of £. 2,000, the amount of a policy of aſſurance on the life of captain Reed (who died within a week after the execution of the policy) ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances aroſe, which induced Mr. Mingay, her counſel, to ſubmit to be non-ſuited, rather than urge the trial further, and occaſioned Mrs. Reed to be apprehended a ſecond time.

Barbadoes, Nov. 26.—"We were, in the beginning of this month, very much alarmed by an unuſual and extraordinary fall of water, greater than any known in this iſland within the memory of man, and far exceeding that at the time of the hurricane in 1780. On the 8th inſtant we had heavy ſhowers and thunder and lightning in the afternoon, which continued all that night; ſo that the Gully ran with great violence. About ſeven next morning, it ſeemed as if the heavens had burſt, and were pouring down their waters to overwhelm us; it fell in one continued torrent till ſeven the next morning, being twenty-four hours; and all that time, both day and night, there were not two ſeconds intermiſſion between the moſt vivid flaſhes of lightning, and moſt tremendous peals of thunder I ever heard. The Gully ran higher than ever was known, and, meeting with a flow and ſpring tide, the water, after breaking down both our bridges, flowed over into the town, and was in many ſtreets and houſes five feet high. The inhabitants eſcaped to other parts of the town; ſome wading through the water, ſome ſwimming, and others on horſeback, the horſes too being obliged to ſwim. All that part, and, indeed, I believe the whole town would have been waſhed away, if the Gully had not overflowed its banks on one particular part, taken a new courſe over the fields, and emptied itſelf into the ſea, after having waſhed away the greateſt part of two houſes, and made a gulph in the road which leads into the town at leaſt forty feet wide and ten or twelve deep, too large to be filled up; unleſs a bridge is built there, the road muſt continue to be impaſſable. It has broken up all the roads in the country, and done much damage to ſeveral plantations. Some, for miles together lie under water; the negro houſes and other ſmall ones, were entirely covered, and, I believe, are to this day uninhabitable. On the Monday it hailed two or three times and ſeveral ſmall pieces of ice were picked up in different places. It is ſuppoſed the bridges cannot be rebuilt in leſs than a twelvemonth, as there are no materials in the iſland at preſent for that purpoſe."

Cowes.—There have been various examinations of the maſter, and ſome of the ſurvivors of the unfortunat

unfortunate paſſengers on board the John and Elizabeth, lately arrived from Guernſey. It appears, that, on December 24, one hundred and twenty perſons, diſcharged from two fencible regiments, were put on board the above veſſel by an officer of the army, whoſe name the maſter does not recollect. The veſſel is only thirty-five tons, and the officer ſaw her, and paid the maſter five ſhillings a head to land theſe ſoldiers in England. On the 26th ſhe ſailed from Jerſey, and about four in the afternoon put into Guernſey, to give the people an opportunity of ſupplying themſelves with proviſions, and to lay in a ſtock of water. They ſailed from Guernſey next morning about ten, the wind W.S.W. At ſix it began to blow, and, continuing to increaſe, they took three reefs in of the main ſail, and ſet the ſtorm jib. At three in the morning of the 29th, it blew ſo very hard, and was ſo thick, that the maſter could not make the land diſtinctly, and about four laid her to. At eight bore away to make the land; made the land about ten, but, the weather being very hazy, could not diſtinguiſh what land it was. About noon ſet the try-ſail, and laid to. No hatches were then on, but the veſſel ſhipped immenſe quantities of water, from the ſea running very high, and more than the pumps could diſcharge. At eight P. M. the maſter called to the people, then below, and told them it was impoſſible to keep the hatches open any longer, as the veſſel muſt inevitably ſounder, and that as many as choſe might run the hazard of coming upon deck; that the hatches muſt be battened down, in order to ſave the veſſel and their lives. About ſeven came on deck; but one periſhed by the ſeverity of the weather. The hatches were then laid on, and the tarpaulins nailed over. About twelve, it blowing ſtill with great violence, the maſter was alarmed with the cry of fire; upon which he ran to the fore hatchway, and tore the hatch off, and alſo the tarpaulins and hatches of the main hatchway; on which a moſt offenſive ſmell iſſued from the hold. The pumps in the mean time were kept at work, but could ſcarce free the veſſel. On the morning of December 30, the wind ſhifted to N.W. by N. about two. At day-light, on examining the hold, forty-ſeven men were found dead, and three women, all of whom were thrown overboard. One man died after the arrival of the veſſel in Cowes road. One of the ſoldiers died on Thurſday night from the effects of the ſuffocation; and another was ſo ill on Friday, that it was thought impoſſible he could ſurvive many hours longer; making the whole number of lives loſt, fifty-four.

This night, the houſe of Caleb Harman, eſq. in the county of Longford, Ireland, was attacked by a numerous party of defenders, who demanded a ſurrender of all the arms in the houſe; but, on Mr. Harman's refuſing to comply with this demand, they determined to carry their purpoſe by aſſault, and with ſome difficulty forced open the doors. Mr. Harman, at the head of his domeſtics, endeavouring to repel the aſſailants, was fired upon, and received the contents of a blunderbuſs loaded with ſlugs in his abdomen. Several of the domeſtics were alſo ſeverely wounded; and the defenders, having effectually ſucceeded in obtaining all the arms in the houſe, retreated in triumph. Eleven out

of the twelve ruffians who aſſaſſinated Mr. Harman have been taken, and are in Longford gaol; in the number is the perſon who was wounded by Mr. Harman's piſtol. Mr. Harman is ſince dead of his wounds.

4th. In conſequence of a diſpute which took place on Saturday evening laſt, in the gallery of the Opera-houſe, between major Sweetman, of one of the independent companies, and captain Watſon, of the 90th, or prince Edward's regiment, they met on Monday morning, near Cobham, in Surrey. The diſtance fixed on was ſeven paces. They both fired at the ſame inſtant with ſuch a fatal aim, that major Sweetman was ſhot through the head, and fell dead on the ſpot; and captain Watſon was dangerouſly wounded in the hip.

6th. About two o'clock P. M. his royal highneſs Monſieur comte d'Artois, with his ſuite, landed at Leith, from on board his majeſty's frigate Jaſon, C. Stirling, eſq. commander. On the frigate's coming to anchor in the roads, his royal highneſs was ſaluted with twenty-one guns from Leith battery, and with the like number on his landing at Leith, where he was received from the boat by lord Adam Gordon and a part of his ſuite, and conducted in his lordſhip's carriage to an apartment in his majeſty's palace of Holyrood-houſe, fitted in haſte for his reception; and, as he entered the palace, his royal highneſs was ſaluted with twenty-one guns from Edinburgh caſtle. The Windſor foreſters and Hopetoun fencibles were in readineſs to line the approach to the palace, but his royal highneſs chuſing to land in a private manner, and with as little ceremony as poſſible, that was diſpenſed with. The crowd of people at the quay, and all the way from it to the palace, was extraordinary; beſides, every window was filled; and the joy expreſſed on his royal highneſs's ſafe arrival in Scotland ſeemed to be very general. The noblemen in his royal highneſs's ſuite followed in carriages provided for that purpoſe, and were conducted from the outer gate of the palace, by the commander in chief, to their apartments. His royal highneſs and ſuite, conſiſting of a number of French noblemen and gentlemen, dined with lord Adam Gordon, and ſeveral others of the firſt rank. His royal highneſs is for ſome time to have apartments in lord Adam Gordon's lodgings, until others are fitted up for his reception.

Carlton-houſe.—This morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the princeſs of Wales was happily delivered of a princeſs. His royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the lord preſident of his majeſty's council, his grace the duke of Leeds, his grace the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Cholmondeley, lord chamberlain, and the earl of Jerſey, maſter of the horſe to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, the right honourable lord Thurlow, and the ladies of her royal highneſs's bedchamber, were preſent. 7th.

As a proof of the great mildneſs of the preſent ſeaſon, there is in an orchard belonging to Mr. Hodge, of the pariſh of Aſhford, near Barnſtaple, an apple-tree which bloſſoms in full perfection; and another tree with the apples ſet. 9th.

About

About a quarter before three o'clock this morning, a fire
14th. broke out at the extenſive mills at Lea Bridge, Middleſex, the property of Charles Hamerton, eſq. (lately one of the ſheriffs of London) which, after burning with amazing rapidity for two hours, entirely conſumed the ſame, with an immenſe quantity of wheat and flour. The works which ſupply Clapton with water were alſo deſtroyed; and a conſiderable pin or needle manufactory, with much timber on the wharf, and about three thouſand quarters of wheat and flour, the property of government. The fire is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the meal-weigher's leaving a lighted candle between two ſacks in an upper room. The dwelling-houſe adjoining eſcaped. Mrs. Killick, who lived in it, and had lately lain in, ſuſtained no injury, though greatly alarmed and removed in the night. The fire was ſo extremely rapid, that the premiſes were entirely conſumed in an hour and half. The light of the flame was diſtinctly ſeen at Enfield one way, and at Mary-le-bonne the other; and reflections in the air as far as Hatfield.

6th. *Vienna.*—The princeſs royal of France, Maria Thereſa, arrived here on the 9th, a little after ſix o'clock in the evening, midſt the loudeſt acclamations of crowds of people, who accompanied her carriage as far as the Burg, where his imperial majeſty had cauſed a reſidence to be prepared for her. Count Colloredo, cabinet miniſter to the emperor, accompanied her to the place of her reſidence from Burkerſdorff, whither he went to welcome her, in the name of his imperial majeſty, as ſoon as information of her arrival was received. Prince Stahremberg, the principal lord of the bedchamber, on the 10th, went to the reſidence of the princeſs, and preſented to prince Gavre all the future houſehold ſervants, &c. deſtined for her uſe. The firſt who received the French princeſs royal of France in this capital, were the archdukes and archducheſſes. The emperor and empreſs honoured her with a viſit ſoon after her arrival, and received her with open arms. In her own place of reſidence the princeſs wept bitterly. She has ſince paid a viſit to the archducheſs Chriſtine, who is indiſpoſed. A grand and brilliant court-day is expected to-morrow, which will be the firſt day on which her imperial majeſty will make her public appearance after her lying-in. It is expected alſo that the French princeſs royal will be introduced, with proper ceremony, to the higher claſs of the nobility and foreign ambaſſadors. Field-marſhal count Clairfait will be publicly inveſted with the grand order of Maria Thereſa, which has remained vacant ſince the death of general Laudon. Counteſs Chanclos, formerly governeſs to the archducheſs Elizabeth, firſt conſort of the emperor, has been appointed to the ſame dignity with the French princeſs royal. Prince Gavre is appointed governor to her royal highneſs. The only article preſerved by the French princeſs, from the effects which were put into her carriage at Paris, is ſaid to be a ſmall parcel, which, beſides a ſmall quantity of linen, contained three miniature pictures, and ſome hair of her father, mother, and the princeſs Elizabeth her aunt; alſo a pair of garters, knit by her late unfortunate

mother, out of the threads of an old piece of tapeſtry which ſhe found in her priſon.

18th. When the royal ſtandard was flying at the Tower on the queen's birth-day, a tri-coloured ſilk flag, three yards wide, and of length in proportion, was hoiſted over the ramparts on a ſtaff of ſeven feet long, and continued flying for three hours before it was diſcovered in the garriſon. On the diſcovery, the major of the Tower, colonel Smith, went himſelf to ſtrike it; when, making into a wrong part, it diſappeared before he reached the ſpot, but was traced into the deputy chaplain's houſe, and found ſtripped from the ſtaff under his ſon's bed, a young man of fifteen, then a pupil of merchant taylors' ſchool. His name is Groſe, who, with his confederate, one Hayward, were expelled the ſchool. On the 5th of February, on application of Hayward the elder to a full court of the merchant taylors' company, for the purpoſe of getting his ſon reſeated in their ſchool, he, together with his companion Groſe, who hoiſted the tri-coloured flag in the Tower, were unanimouſly expelled from it, as young men of dangerous principles.

20th. *Portſmouth.*—This morning, about eight o'clock, arrived admiral Chriſtian, with the ſquadron under his command, conſiſting of the Glory, of 98 guns, the Impregnable, Coloſſus, Irreſiſtible, and Trident, of 74 guns each; the Lion, of 64; Alcmene, of 32; la Prompte, of 28; and Veſuvius bomb; together with about forty-five ſail of merchant ſhips, of which the following Eaſt India ſhips form a part, viz. Sir Edward Hughes, Britannia, Roſe, King George, Sullivan, Raymond, Ganges, Contractor, Houghton, and General Elliot; the reſt are Weſt Indiamen and tranſports. The Charon and Expedition were ſeparated from the fleet in a gale of wind. This is the remnant, with the few ſtragglers which have, at different times, put back into Plymouth, Falmouth, Milford, and this port, that are arrived of a fleet conſiſting of about two hundred ſail which left St. Helen's about the 8th of December laſt; ſince which they have been continually beating againſt contrary and tremendous gales of wind and heavy ſeas, in which they have received ſo much damage, that almoſt all the men of war will be obliged to go into dock. Twenty more ſhips, heavy ſailers were left in the channel; and, as the wind is from the ſouth-weſt they may be expected in the courſe of the morrow.

23d *Edinburgh.*—On the 21ſt inſt. his royal highneſs the duke d'Angouleme, eldeſt ſon to Monſieur, arrived at the abbey of Holyrood-houſe. We underſtand his royal highneſs is to be accommodated in the apartments of the earl of Breadalbane there, until ſuch time as the royal apartments can be put in proper repair to receive their royal highneſſes; and that his royal highneſs the duke d'Angouleme propoſes to ſee company for the preſent in the apartments of Monſieur on Mondays and Thurſdays at noon.

24th Between eight and nine o'clock this day, the powder mills belonging to Mr. Hill, at Hounſlow, owing to the wheels of the mill not being properly ſupplied with oil, took fire, and blew up with a dreadful exploſion, which not only terrified the inhabitants of

the place, but alarmed the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and the houſes of the people ſeveral miles round the metropolis experienced the effects of its powerful concuſſion. Three men who were at work in the manufactory have loſt their lives; and the flames from the mill communicating to a punt in the mill river, in which were thirty barrels of gunpowder, ſet fire to the whole, and blew up with a terrible exploſion; the man who had the care of the veſſel being ſhattered to pieces, and the boat being blown out of the water. Not a veſtige of the mill is left ſtanding, and Hounſlow-heath is covered with bricks and tiles, and the mangled limbs of the unfortunate ſufferers. The houſes in Hounſlow, Iſleworth, and even Brentford, have ſuffered conſiderably; the Crown inn at Hounſlow, and the King's-head at Brentford, have not a whole pane of glaſs in the windows; and the inhabitants were ſo terrified near the ſpot, that they not only forſook their dwellings, but a number of women, with their children, through fear, appeared half naked in the ſtreets, expecting every moment that their houſes would fall and bury them in the ruins. The ſcattered limbs of the unfortunate victims, who for the moſt part have left large families to lament their loſs by this unforeſeen event, were, by order of the magiſtrates, collected together, and depoſited in the church-yard. The ſhock was felt as far north of London as the extremities of Enfield pariſh, and ſouth beyond Croydon. A ſimilar diſaſter happened to the ſame concern about twenty years ago.

25th. *Edinburgh.*—The weather, for three days paſt, has been very tempeſtuous. On Saturday afternoon it blew a perfect hurricane from the S.W. In the new town, and other expoſed ſituations, many perſons were carried off their feet, and thrown down; ſeveral carriages were overturned; and, in ſome houſes, the windows were broken and forced in. The ſtreets were ſtrewed with chimney pans, by the falling of which ſeveral perſons were hurt. On Sunday morning the ſtorm was equally violent. The gale was from a quarter that is ſeldom dangerous on this coaſt; but, if it was equally violent on the weſt coaſt, the conſequences are to be feared.

26th. *Glaſgow.*—By a ſudden inundation yeſterday at Greenock and Port Glaſgow, the tobacco-cellars at the latter place were laid under water from ſix to nine inches on the floors, by which means a good deal of tobacco is injured. The loſs on ſugar at Greenock will be very great, probably not leſs than 30,000l. In ſome of the cellars on the Weſt Quay, the water was up from eighteen to twenty inches on the lower tier of ſugar. The ſtorm was alſo ſeverely felt here; a ſtack of chimnies was blown down in the High-ſtreet, and ſeveral trees in the neighbourhood have been torn up by the roots.

The late high winds, in many places, were attended with ſevere ſtorms of thunder and lightning, by which much damage has been done, particularly in the counties of York, Cumberland, and Northumberland.

At Liverpool, the ſtorms have done conſiderable damage to the piers.

Great havock was made among the ſhipping in Southampton river. The beautiful beach, a promenade in ſummer for the viſiting gentry, is

totally deſtroyed, being inundated, and laid flat. At Northam, the quay is demoliſhed, and Blackman's houſe, on the wharf, thrown down.

The thunder-ſtorm was very violent there; but more ſo at Biſhop's Waltham, where it ſhook the ſteeple to ſuch a degree that the bells actually rang. The whole village was in the utmoſt alarm, every houſe was agitated as if by an earthquake.

Portſmouth.—In conſequence of a dreadful gale of wind, a great number of ſhips at Spithead have this day been obliged to cut their cables, and run for the harbour, ſeveral of which have got foul of each other. The tide was many feet higher this day than has been known for upwards of thirty years; ſeveral houſes on the Point have been waſhed down, and a number of people are removing their goods up into the town; for, unleſs the wind abates, the tide will be full as high as in the morning, and many more houſes will conſequently be damaged.

Plymouth.—About five o'clock this morning, a deadful gale of wind came on at S.W.—About ten o'clock, the Dutton Eaſt India ſhip, which arrived here yeſterday from admiral Chriſtian's fleet, drove to leeward; and about twelve o'clock ſtruck on the S. W. part of Mount Batten, and immediately after parted her cables. She then veered round with her head to the N. W. and ſtretched acroſs the harbour under her fore-top-ſail; but her rudder being beat off, by ſtriking on the batten, ſhe became unmanageable, and was driven aſhore under the citadel about half paſt twelve o'clock, when her maſts were all cut away; and, after beating for ſeveral hours, her back was entirely broken, and ſhe is now a mere wreck. When the ſhip ſtruck, the number of perſons on board, including ſoldiers, ſeamen, women, and children, amounted to above five hundred; and notwithſtanding the violence of the ſea, which was tremendous almoſt beyond deſcription, yet not more than four or five perſons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed, and thoſe were carried away by the main maſt, and got entangled in the rigging. Such was the anxiety of the ſoldiers and ſeamen to get to land, that many of them jumped overboard, and had nearly loſt their lives by the violence of the ſea daſhing them on the rocks; on which account, ſir Edward Pellew, with a bravery that does him infinite honour, got himſelf conveyed on board the Dutton by means of a rope extended from the ſhip to the ſhore, and by his able conduct prevented the confuſion that exiſted, by aſſuring the troops that he would be the laſt man to quit the ſhip; owing to which, the utmoſt ſerenity inſtantly prevailed; and the men were, by four this afternoon, got out of the ſhip, ſome by means of boats, and others by ropes faſtened to the ſhore, and fortunately without any more lives being loſt.

Whitehaven.—On Saturday laſt we had one of the moſt dreadful ſtorms of wind and rain that ever was known in this part. It continued the whole day and night. The tide, from ten to eleven at night, roſe to a height never experienced ſince the year 1771, being not leſs than twenty-two feet at the end of the Old Quay; and the waves, from the great violence of the wind, were toſſed with incredible fury over all the works of the harbour, and ſeemed to threaten them with entire demolition. It appeared for ſome time impoſſible for any battlements

to

to reſiſt the force of the ſea. The damage ſuſtained was, however, comparatively ſmall. On Sunday the weather was more moderate, and it continued fair throughout the day; but another dreadful tempeſt came on at night. We have not had an opportunity to learn the particulars. The tempeſtuous night of Sunday was ſucceeded by a ſtormy morning. Between four and ſix, there was a great deal of thunder and lightning; by half paſt ten, the tide had again riſen to an enormous height, covering all parts adjacent to the quays and market place. About that time a veſſel (apparently a ſtranger) which had been lying to, in the expectation of getting into this harbour, was forced paſt it to the northward. The tide of yeſterday morning was higher than the former, more awful than any phænomenon of the kind that has occurred for a century paſt, and, we fear, more deſtructive. That great damage has been done, is certain; but of its extent no perfect account can yet be given. The bulwark has ſuffered conſiderably; the New Quay is ſaid to be entirely deſtoyed, and the parapet-wall between the ſea and Mr. Rumney's houſe at the foot of Duke-ſtreet is waſhed down; the family was taken out of the windows into boats. Boats plied in the market-place, to take the inhabitants out of ſeveral of the houſes. That part was inundated for four hours, and at one time the tide flowed ſixty yards up King-ſtreet, where no perſon living ever ſaw it before. During all this time, the guſts of wind were tremendous, and with little intermiſſion, from S. S. W. The conſternation was general, and the ſcene altogether horrible and alarming beyond deſcription.

A telegraph was this day erected over the admiralty, 28th. which is to be the point of communication with all the different ſea-ports in the kingdon. A trial of it has been made by tranſmitting an order to admiral Peyton, in the Downs. The Engliſh telegraph is an improvement upon the French. Inſtead of the upright pole, with arms horizontally elevated on each ſide, we have adopted the following plan: upon a ſquare frame, like the Venetian blinds to our windows, a number of ſhutters are either opened or ſhut, to denote particular things. The number of the combinations is near ſeventy, of which the firſt twenty-four are the letters of the alphabet—the others ſtand for notices—ſuch, for inſtance, as a fog between the ſtations—a fleet going out or coming in—and ſo on, as is ſettled in the table. The ſignal given for their beginning to write is—all the ſhutters cloſed; and there are four perſons at every ſtation, who are provided with proper glaſſes for obſervation. The experiments that, for amuſement, have hitherto been made, anſwer admirably. Intelligence is conveyed ſeventy-four miles in the ſhort ſpace of ſix and an half minutes.

Yeſterday, a court of common council was held at 29th. Guildhall, when a letter from lord Cholmondeley to the city remembrancer was read, wherein his lordſhip intimates, that the prince of Wales declined receiving an addreſs of the corporation at Carlton-houſe, and ſtating that the prince had commanded him to ſay, 'That, being under the neceſſity of reducing his eſtabliſhment, he was precluded from receiving the addreſſes in a manner ſuitable to his ſituation;' and his lordſhip

lordſhip requeſted to have copies of the addreſs, &c.

Mr. deputy Birch moved, that the ſaid letter be entered on the journals of the court; which was agreed to.

The deputy then moved, 'That his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, having ſtated that the inadequacy of his eſtabliſhment precluded him from receiving the compliments of congratulation voted to be preſented to their royal highneſſes, in a manner ſuitable to his ſituation, this court are of opinion, that they cannot, conſiſtently with their own dignity, ſuffer the ſaid compliments to be preſented in any other way than the cuſtomary form.' After ſome converſation, the motion was agreed to, and the remembrancer was ordered to convey a copy thereof to his royal highneſs.

30th. Yeſterday, Thurſday, came on the trial of William Stone, coal merchant, on a charge of high treaſon. For an account of the trial, ſee the Appendix to the Chronicle.

DIED.—20th. At Lancaſter, in an advanced period of life, Mr. Alexander Stevens, architect; who, in the courſe of the laſt forty years, erected more ſtone bridges, and other buildings in water, than any man in theſe kingdoms. Among the many excellent works of that kind may be mentioned the bridge over the Liffey at Dublin, and the locks and docks on the grand canal of Ireland. The North of England and Scotland exhibits numberleſs works of his execution. The aqueduct over the river Lune, at Lancaſter, is one of the greateſt undertakings he was ever concerned in; and, had he lived a few months longer, he would have had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing it completed. Society has ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of this valuable man, who not only poſſeſſed conſummate knowledge in his profeſſion, but had the moſt pleaſing and engaging manners, which endeared him to all who knew him.

In his eightieth year, Mr. John Fyſield, of Stanbridge, near Romſey, a man of a moſt eccentric turn of mind and great ſingularity of conduct. The manor of Stanbridge he inherited from his anceſtors, and it had been many generations in his family. He was of a penurious diſpoſition, yet would ſcarcely ever ſuffer any of the timber on his eſtate to be felled, though it abounded with the fineſt in the country, a great deal of which was yearly periſhing. The price of fifty guineas had indeed once tempted him to part with his far famed oak-tree, but he repented of his bargain, and was happy to re-purchaſe it, almoſt immediately after, at a higher price. All repairs of his manſion were prohibited, as an uſeleſs extravagance, that would bring him to poverty; and whilſt ſuch a ſuperfluity of materials as would amply have repaid the expences, and rendered his habitation comfortable, were rotting at his door, he choſe rather to reſide in it with the roof open in many places to the heavens, with hardly an apartment that afforded ſhelter from the weather, and with the joiſts and floors rotting with the wet that entered. The out-buildings were in a ſimilar ſtate of decay, and their repair was alike prohibited. He was totally blind for many of the latter years of his life, when his chief enjoyment was a ſingle pint of ſtrong beer, which he uſually quaffed twice or thrice a week, at the Duke's Head, at Great Bridge, about a mile from his own houſe, whither

whither he was led by a boy that conſtantly attended him. For a long ſeries of time he had a ſtrong antipathy to the making of a will, conſidering it as a prelude to a ſpeedy death; but the arguments of his late wife, whoſe amiable demeanour, and conſequent influence, repreſſed or turned into a harmleſs channel many of his ſingularities, and her repreſentations of the unprovided ſtate of his younger children at length prevailed over his prejudices, and induced him to leave them handſome legacies. With all his oddities, he had a heart open to friendſhip, and has frequently given ſubſtantial proofs of his regard for thoſe who could indulge him in them. His landed eſtates, which are pretty conſiderable, go to his eldeſt ſon, and are ſuppoſed to have ſufficient timber on them, in want of felling, to pay the legacies.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. This night after eleven o'clock, as the royal family were returning from the theatre to Buckingham-houſe, about half-way up Pall-Mall, a ſtone was flung at the coach, in which were their majeſties and the lady in waiting, which, after breaking the window-glaſs, and entering the carriage, ſtruck the queen on the cheek, and fell down into lady Harrington's lap. The king afterwards carried it with him to the queen's-houſe. An inveſtigation reſpecting this act of violence, took place the next day at the ſecretary of ſtate's office, Whitehall, before the duke of Portland and the magiſtrates from Bow-ſtreet, but without diſcovery.

2d. Several cellars belonging to the houſes in the ſtreets which lead from the Strand to the Thames were this day under water. The town of Maidenhead was in a dreadful ſtate from the ſame cauſe.

7th. The prince of Wales received in private the congratulatory compliments of both houſes of parliament, preſented by committees, in conſequence of his royal highneſs, from having reduced his eſtabliſhment, being unable to receive them with the proper dignities of his rank.

8th. In the court of king's bench, Ben Lara, who had been convicted for defrauding John Spicer of lottery tickets of the value of about 2,000l. by giving him a check upon ſir Robert Ladbroke and co. who, he pretended, were his bankers, but with whom he kept no caſh, was brought up, to hear the opinion of the court on the motion in arreſt of judgment. Lord Kenyon ſaid, that the defendant was a very bad man, and had the conviction affected him in the moſt ſerious manner, he ſhould not have been ſorry for it; but infamous as he was, the court muſt diſpoſe of him according to law, and he was bound to ſay, that the judgment in this caſe ought to be arreſted. The other judges agreed, and judgment was therefore arreſted, and the priſoner diſcharged.

14th. This evening (Sunday) a young woman, genteely dreſſed, found means to get into the queen's houſe, and was making for the queen's apartments, when ſhe was diſcovered by a ſervant, who inſiſted on her telling her where ſhe was going to, when ſhe replied, ſhe was going to her "Mother, Mrs. Guelph, the queen," who had got ſome writings belonging to her; and

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if her mother did not give them up, ſhe would find means to commit ſome horrid act. Upon which ſome of the ſervants ſecured her, and ſhe was given into the cuſtody of the patrole; and on Monday morning, at nine o'clock, ſhe was brought to Bow-ſtreet, and underwent an examination before William Addington, eſq. during which ſhe appeared very much compoſed. She ſaid her name is Charlotte Georgina Mary Ann Guelph. She perſiſted in the ſtory ſhe told at the queen's houſe, the night before, of the queen being her mother, &c. She farther ſaid, that the late duke of York was her father, that ſhe was born at Rome, and that ſhe was ſold to a gentleman in Spain, &c. She was ordered to be confined as a lunatic.

16th. *Carlton-houſe.* — On the evening of Thurſday laſt, between eight and nine o'clock, her royal highneſs the infant princeſs, was chriſtened in the great drawing-room, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury: her royal highneſs was named Charlotte Auguſta: the ſponſors were their majeſties in perſon, and her royal highneſs the ducheſs of Brunſwick, repreſented by her royal highneſs the princeſs royal.

18th. This day came on in the court of king's bench, the cauſe of Jeffreys *verſus* Mr. Walker and others, commiſſioners appointed for liquidating the prince of Wales's debts, for the ſum of 54,685l. for jewels furniſhed by the plaintiff for his royal highneſs. Meſſrs. Sharp, Elias, Levi, and Dugden, eminent diamond-merchants, were called on the part of the plaintiff, who proved the value of the articles to be, unſet, 50,997l. 10s.; while Meſſrs. Criſp, Duval, and Francillon, on the part of the defendants, give it as their opinion, that, having examined the jewels, they were not worth more than 43,700l. excluſive of the ſetting of a minature picture of her highneſs. The jury, after a quarter of an hour's conſideration, found a verdict for the plaintiff, 50,997l. 10s.

19th. Richard England was put to the bar at the Old Bailey, charged with the wilful murder of Mr. Rowlls, brewer, of Kingſton, in a duel at Cranford-bridge, June 18, 1784. Lord Derby, the firſt witneſs, gave in evidence, that he was preſent at Aſcot races; when in the ſtand upon the race-courſe he heard Mr. England cautioning the gentlemen preſent not to bet with the deceaſed, as he neither paid what he loſt or what he borrowed; on which Mr. Rowlls went up to him, called him raſcal or ſcoundrel, and offered to ſtrike him; when England bid him ſtand off, or he ſhould be obliged to knock him down, ſaying, at the ſame time, "We have interrupted the company ſufficiently here, and if you have any thing further to ſay to me, you know where I am to be found." A further altercation enſued; but his lordſhip, being at the other end of the ſtand, did not diſtinctly hear it, and then the parties retired. Lord Dartry now lord Cremorne, and his lady, with a gentleman, were at the inn at the time the duel was fought: they went into the garden, and endeavoured to prevent the duel; there were ſeveral other perſons collected in the garden. Mr. Rowlls deſired his lordſhip and others not to interfere; and on a ſecond attempt of his lordſhip to make peace, Mr. Rowlls ſaid, if they did not retire, he muſt, though reluctantly, call them impertinent.

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Mr. England, at the ſame time, ſtepped forward, and took off his hat: he ſaid, "Gentlemen, I have "been cruelly treated, I have been "injured in my honour and charac- "ter; let there be reparation made, "and I am ready to have done this "moment." Lord Dartry retired, his lordſhip ſtood in the bower of the garden, until he ſaw Mr. Rowlls fall. One or two witneſſes were called, who proved nothing material.

A paper, containing the priſoner's defence, being read, the earl of Derby, marquis of Hertford, Mr. Whitebread, jun. colonel Biſhopp, and another gentleman, were called to his character. They all ſpoke of him as a man of decent gentlemanly deportment, who, inſtead of ſeeking quarrels, was ſtudious to avoid them. He had been friendly to Engliſhmen whilſt abroad, and had rendered ſome ſervices to the military at the ſiege of Nieuport. Mr. juſtice Rooke ſummed up the evidence, entered on all the legal caſes in point, as laid down by Coke, Hale, Holt, Raymond, &c.; after which the jury retired for about three quarters of an hour, when they returned a verdict—Guilty of manſlaughter. The priſoner having fled from the laws of his country for twelve years, the court was diſpoſed to ſhew no lenity. He was therefore ſentenced to pay a fine of one ſhilling, and to be impriſoned in Newgate twelve months.

20th. This day came on the trial of Kid Wake for hiſſing and hooting his majeſty. See Appendix to the Chronicle.

21ſt. *Hull.*—After the family were gone to bed, a very alarming fire broke out in the inhabitable part of Wreſle caſtle, which increaſed with ſuch rapidity, that, before the engines could be brought from Howden, a diſtance of four miles, the whole building was on fire, by which the whole was entirely conſumed, except one chamber, with the outer and ſome parts of the inner walls.

Laſt week, at the Old Bailey, Mrs. Phipoe, who had been convicted at a former ſeſſions for forcibly robbing Mr. Courtoy of a promiſſory note, of the value of two thouſand pounds, but whoſe caſe had been referred to the judges, was put to the bar, when Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt informed the court, that the judges were unanimouſly of opinion, that the offence of which ſhe had been convicted did not come under the ſtatute of the 2d of Geo. II. chap. 25; nor was any ſuch caſe in the mind of the legiſlature at the time they paſſed that law; for the paper, which ſhe had been convicted of extorting, could not be ſaid to be of any value after he had obtained his liberty. Beſides, it was neceſſary, to conſtitute the robbery, that the party ſhould have been in peaceable and quiet poſſeſſion of the property; which, ſuppoſing the paper of value, the proſecutor here never had had; for even the paper on which the note was drawn was not his. The judgment therefore muſt be reſcinded. On her application to be diſcharged, her counſel informed her, that ſhe muſt be ſent back for the preſent; but if her ſolicitor came to him, he would inſtruct him how to proceed. 23d.

As the ferry-boat was croſſing the river from Common-ſtaithe quay to Old Lynn, at ſeven in the evening, with about thirty perſons on board, it run foul 24th.

of the cable of a barge, and was unfortunately overſet, by which accident it is feared that upwards of twenty perſons have loſt their lives; four more muſt inevitably have ſhared the ſame fate, but for the vigorous and active exertions of one of the paſſengers, John Price, a ſailor, who, at the imminent hazard of life, reſcued them from death; he had ſeized a fifth, a woman, but the rapidity of the tide tore her from him, and he himſelf had nearly periſhed in attempting to ſave her. It is juſt one hundred and ſixty-ſix years ſince a ſimilar accident happened at the ſame ferry, when eighteen perſons were unfortunately drowned.

DIED.—Dr. Samuel Pegge, F.S.A. He was born at Cheſterfield the 5th of November 1704, N.S. being deſcended from a branch of the family which formerly reſided at Oſmuſton, near Aſhborne, in Derbyſhire, where he was poſſeſſed of a patrimonial eſtate. He was educated in the free ſchool at Cheſterfield, whence he removed to St. John's college in Cambridge. Here he took the degree of A.M. in 1729. He had the honorary degree of L.L.D. conferred upon him at Oxford in 1791. His firſt preferment was the living of Godmerſham in Kent, where he reſided twenty years. In 1751 he became rector of Whittington, and afterwards vicar of Heath, both in Derbyſhire. He held a prebend in the church of Lichfield, and another in the church of Lincoln. Dr. Pegge died at Whittington on the 14th of February 1796, after a reſidence of forty-four years, and in the ninety-ſecond year of his age. His writings are numerous, and chiefly to be found in the Archæologia, and the Gentleman's Magazine. His attention having been principally directed to reſearches into antiquity, in this literary purſuit the doctor acquired conſiderable eminence; and the various tracts which he has given to the public will hand down his name with great reputation. Dr. Pegge was poſſeſſed of a happy equanimity and natural chearfulneſs of temper, which neither his ſequeſtered ſituation, nor the gradual approach of age, could greatly diminiſh. He could mix in ſociety with the utmoſt eaſe, and enjoy both the private converſation of his friends and larger circles with great vivacity, almoſt as long as he was able to attend them. Ever acceſſible, he received his viſitors with all the eaſy manners of one who has paſſed his life in a much more public ſituation. His domeſtics found him a kind maſter, and he was held in much reſpect by all his pariſhioners. Sincerity of profeſſion and the beſt intentions procured Dr. Pegge a large degree of eſteem from many whoſe ſentiments differed from his on the ſubjects both of religion and government. His happy chearfulneſs of temper he retained to the laſt, which rendered the concluding ſcene of his life very eaſy to himſelf; and after enjoying a long ſeries of health, and an almoſt uninterrupted flow of ſpirits, and ſuffering only a gradual decay of nature, he had a happy diſmiſſion out of life at the venerable age of ninety-two.

Dr. Sibthorp, the celebrated botaniſt, in conſequence of the fatigues he underwent in his ſecond (and laſt) tour to Turkey and the Grecian iſlands, in queſt of rare and curious plants. Mr. Sibthorp took his degrees of A.M. at Oxford, in the year 1733 (June 28); that of B.M. in 1733 (Dec. 8); and that of D.M. in the following year

14th,

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(Jan 20). Some years ago the univerſity of Oxford choſe him to be a travelling fellow, a deſignation well adapted to his favourite ſtudies and purſuits; we find him accordingly afterwards in this capacity exploring a conſiderable part of the European continent. In 1794, the doctor publiſhed his Flora Oxonienſis. He has bequeathed his valuable collection of plants and books to the botanical library at Oxford. He has alſo left to the univerſity there three hundred pounds per annum in landed property, in truſt, for the purpoſe of defraying the expences which may attend the publication of a Flora Græca, to be taken from ſpecimens in his own collection. On the completion of that work, the doctor has farther bequeathed the ſum of two hundred pounds per annum to be added to the ſalary of the Sherardian profeſſor, on condition of his reading lectures in botany in every term. While the doctor was on his travels in Germany, the univerſity of Gottingen, in compliment to his great merit and abilities, preſented him with a degree.

17th. At Bellevue, in Badenoch, Inverneſsſhire, in his fifty-ninth year, James Macpherſon, eſq. M.P. for Camelford. His remains were brought to Highgate, Middleſex, and were eighteen days on the road. At that place the hearſe was met by eight gentlemen's coaches and ſix mourning coaches, and with this attendance the corpſe was, on Tueſday the 15th of March, brought to Weſtminſter-abbey, and interred in the Poet's corner, near the monument of John duke of Argyll, and not far from the buſt and tablet to the memory of the late Dr. Goldſmith, which, we believe, was erected at the expence of Mr. M. who wrote the epitaph inſcribed on the marble. Mr. M. made ſome noiſe in his day in the literary as well as the political world. The firſt publication by which he was diſtinguiſhed, he called a tranſlation of the poems of Oſſian the ſon of Fingal, which appeared in the year 1762. This performance excited a long and acrimonious controverſy, in which Dr. Hugh Blair early diſtinguiſhed himſelf. It produced ſome ſevere animadverſions from Dr. Johnſon, which the author reſented, and added to his reſentment ſome menacing expreſſions, which produced from the doctor that very ſpirited and intrepid letter, which Boſwell has publiſhed in his memoirs. In 1773 he publiſhed a tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, in the ſame heroic proſe with which he had dignified the ſon of Fingal; to this work the late ſir John Eliot was ſo extremely partial, that he preferred it to Pope's, and carried copies of the book round to all his patients. Not ſatisfied with the laurels he gathered in poetry, Mr. M. next embarked in the character of an hiſtorian, and in 1771 publiſhed an Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland; and in 1773 a Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the reſtoration in 1660 to the acceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, in two volumes quarto; the chief merit of this collection lies in original extracts from the private memoirs of king James the ſecond, and their leading error is party prejudices. In 1775 he publiſhed a pamphlet, intituled, The Rights of Great Britain over her Colonies aſſerted, which divided the approbation of the royaliſts with Dr. Johnſon's Taxation no Tyranny. It has been ſaid (with what truth we know

know not) that he obtained a penſion of ſeven hundred pounds per annum from lord North. He was firſt elected to parliament in 1780, and was appointed to the lucrative office of agent to the nabob of Arcot, which he held till his death.

MARCH.

1ſt. *Norwich.*—Laſt week, as ſome labourers were digging in a field at Lakenham, they uncovered about a hundred human ſkulls and bones, from a ſpot of ſixty ſquare yards in ſurface, and eighteen inches in depth. Some pieces of iron were alſo found, and a ſmall copper coin, with an impreſſion on each ſide, "Norwich," and around it, "Charles Reeve, 1664."

Dublin.—In the court of exchequer a jury of merchants, on the 20th of February laſt, gave lord Weſtmeath a verdict of ten thouſand pounds damages, againſt Mr. Bradſhaw, ſon of ſir Henry Cavendiſh (who took the name of Bradſhaw for a large eſtate) for crim. con. with lady Weſtmeath. Lady Weſtmeath was a Miſs Jefferys. She was married to lord Weſtmeath in 1784, and has two children by his lordſhip.

2d. *Axminſter.*—About nine o'clock in the morning, a fire happened, which deſtroyed about eighteen dwellings, and a methodiſt meeting-houſe. It is ſuppoſed to have begun at a blackſmith's. Providentially the wind was north; had it been in the oppoſite quarter, it is probable the whole town would have been deſtroyed, the houſes being moſtly thatched. During the fire, ſome poor people were ſo imprudent as to take part of the timber of the burning houſes, while in flames, for the purpoſe of uſing as fuel, which they piled up in their houſes, neglecting to have it properly extinguiſhed; this took fire the next day, and occaſioned the loſs of four more cottages. From its happening ſo late in the morning, no lives were loſt; but the ſufferers will ſuſtain ſerious injury in the loſs of their habitations and furniture.

Cork.—Laſt week, at a farm-houſe near Mallow, the lightning ſtruck the chimney (which in its fall killed a youth, aged nineteen) tore up a heavy flag, and ſmaſhed it in pieces; killed an old woman, and a girl twelve years of age, and ſeverely wounded the father, though no mark of violence appeared on his body. A child in the man's arms received no injury. All the dogs, cats, and fowls were killed.

3d. James Weldon, for high treaſon, was executed in Dublin. The body, having been ſuſpended ten minutes, was taken down, and the executioner proceeded to decapitate the ſame, which, from terror, he did not perform till after ſeveral ineffectual ſtrokes.

4th. Mr. B. D. Cock, driving a curricle round Camden-place near Bath, the horſes, in conſequence of being too much curbed, became reſtive, and one of them, having broken the bar, ſuddenly ruſhed over a precipice upwards of one hundred feet deep, by which the gentleman was literally daſhed to pieces, the curricle deſtroyed, and the horſes killed on the ſpot.

10th. *Derby.*—What particularly engaged the attention of the public at our aſſizes, was a charge againſt a woman of the name of Ann Hoon, aged twenty-four, for the wilful murder of her infant child, about fourteen months old.

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The circumſtances of this murder were as follow: On Friday laſt this poor creature, who is the wife of a labouring man, was about to heat her oven, and, being ſhort of wood, had broken down a rail or two from the fencing round the plantation of a gentleman in the neighbourhood; ſome of her neighbours threatened her with a proſecution, and told her ſhe would be tranſported for it. This much alarmed her mind; and the idea of being ſeparated from her child, of whom ſhe had always appeared remarkably fond, ſo wrought on her imagination, that ſhe formed the horrible deſign of putting it to death, in order that, by ſurrendering herſelf into the hands of juſtice, ſhe might be executed for the murder, and ſo be for ever re-united in heaven to that babe whom ſhe had loved more than life. As ſoon therefore as her huſband was gone out to his labour, ſhe proceeded to put this diabolical deſign into execution: ſhe filled a large tub with water, when the babe, ſmiling in its mother's face, diſarmed her for the moment, and ſhe found herſelf unable to commit the horrid fact. She then lulled the babe to ſleep at the breaſt, and, wrapping a cloth round it, plunged it into the tub, and held it under water till life became extinct; then took it out of the tub, and laid it on the bed, and, taking her hat and cloak, locked her ſtreet-door, and left her key at a neighbour's for her huſband, when he ſhould return from his labour. She then proceeded to walk eight or nine miles to a magiſtrate, and, requeſting admiſſion to him, told him the whole ſtory, concluding with an earneſt deſire immediately to be executed. She was tried this morning; and, many ſtrong inſtances of inſanity for ſome years paſt appearing, the jury found her—Not guilty.

At Stafford aſſizes, a remarkable cauſe was tried, in which Mrs. Dockſey, ſiſter and heir at law of the late Peter Garrick, eſq. of Litchfield (brother to the celebrated David Garrick) was plaintiff, and Mr. Panting, ſurgeon of that town, defendant. The defendant claimed all the real and perſonal property of the deceaſed (nearly thirty thouſand pounds) under deeds of conveyance executed by Mr. G. at the advanced age of eighty-five, to the total diſinheriſon of all his relations and their families, and in derogation of many wills made in their favour, the laſt dated in 1791. Mr. Erſkine led the cauſe for the plaintiff; and, after a moſt eloquent and impaſſioned opening of the caſe, which laſted upwards of two hours, and the examination of ſeveral witneſſes, the cauſe was relinquiſhed on the part of the defendant.

Birmingham.—Binns and Jones, two delegates from the London Correſponding ſociety, regardleſs of the laws and peace of the country, delivered (the one at the Swan in Swallow-ſtreet, and the other at the Bell public-houſe in Suffolk-ſtreet, in this town) their inflammatory lectures; information of which being given to William Hicks, eſq. one of our magiſtrates, he immediately repaired, with the peace-officers, to the illegal aſſemblies. The meeting at the Swan had broken up; but at the Bell they found Jones in a room haranguing about ſeventy people. As ſoon as he ſaw the magiſtrate, he was ſilent; but Mr. Hicks being made acquainted, by ſeveral who were preſent, of the ſeditious language he had held, immediately or- 11th.

dered the proclamation againſt diſorderly meetings to be read, and the people in a few minutes diſperſed. Jones was admoniſhed by the magiſtrate, who warned him to beware of his conduct in future, as a ſtrict watch ſhould be kept over him and all his aſſociates.

12th. *Dublin.*—A cruel murder was committed at the lower end of Townſhend-ſtreet. A young man (a fiſherman) who by his induſtry maintained an aged mother, two children, and his aunt, lodged over a cobler: on Saturday night, after he had prepared his boat and nets for the purpoſe of going out to fiſh on the Sunday evening, he came home to ſupper, during which a ſtool in his room chanced to fall down. The noiſe diſpleaſed the cobler, who called out to complain of it in very rude terms. The young man ſaid, he had a right to do what he pleaſed in his own room; to which the cobler replied, he would ſoon let him know he ſhould not make any noiſe over his head. The fiſherman went down ſtairs to ſpeak with the cobler, but, ſeeing him coming towards him with his cutting knife in his hand, attempted to go up ſtairs; but, ere he had gone half way, the cobler ſtabbed him to the heart, and thruſt the knife with ſuch violence, that, when the poor fellow got into his own room, and cried out he was murdered, it was with great difficulty the knife could be pulled out. He vomited a torrent of blood, and expired immediately. We are ſorry to add, that, during the confuſion occaſioned by this event, the murderer made his eſcape; but, as diligent ſearch is making after him, it is hoped he will be brought to juſtice.

13th. *Vienna.*—On the preſentation of the princeſs royal of France, a particular circle had been formed for the ſolemnity, and the court was as numerous as it was brilliant. The empreſs preſented the princeſs to the ambaſſadors and their ladies, and to certain ladies of the firſt rank. After which the other miniſters and nobility were, in their turn, preſented to her royal highneſs, by the grand miſtreſs of her imperial majeſty's court, by the grand treaſurer of the court, count Dietrichſtein, and by prince Gavre, governor of the princeſs's court. The princeſs of France exceeded the general expectation on this occaſion. Her beauty, her ſenſibility, her grace, her affability and eaſy deportment, excited at once ſurprize and admiration. Her very confuſion when ſhe firſt appeared, ſerved to render her more intereſting. She ſaid the moſt flattering things to field marſhals Laſcy, Clerfaye, Colloredo, and Pellegrini, and to count Trautmanſdorff. The French emigrants were preſented to her royal highneſs by the marquis de Gallo, the Neapolitan ambaſſador. They were ſix in number: the duke of Guiche, captain of the guards to Louis XVI. who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the 5th of October 1790; the marquis de Riviere, the Blondel of his maſter; count de Gourci, count de Merci, the marquis de la Vaupaliere, and M. D'Aſchepar. Amongſt the other French and foreigners, who were acknowledged by the princeſs, were the duke of Richelieu, count de Ferſen, the chevalier Mayer, ſo well known for his literary productions; the biſhop of Nanci, alike celebrated for his virtues and his talents; the

duchefs

ducheſs de Guiche, who ſhed tears; the counteſs de Vauban, and the counteſs d'Oudenarde. The preſence of theſe faithful and unfortunate nobles contributed not a little to render the ſcene peculiarly intereſting.

14th. *Briſtol.*—Lately a young Newfoundland dog, belonging to a farmer at Gurney-ſlade, Somerſetſhire, returning from a field ſome diſtance behind his maſter, paſſing a child while eating its ſmall pittance of repaſt on the threſhold of a door, the dog, with eagerneſs to obtain the food, ravenouſly ſnapped the child's hand off about an inch above the wriſt.

16th. *Derby.*—At the aſſizes, which ended this morning, Suſannah Morton, aged twenty-three, for the wilful murder of her baſtard child, and James Preſton, aged ſeventy, for aiding, abetting, and aſſiſting her to commit ſuch murder, received ſentence of death, and are ordered for execution.

18th. On Saturday laſt, David Downie, ſentenced to ſuffer death at Edinburgh for high treaſon, was liberated from his confinement in the caſtle, in conſequence of the remiſſion granted by his majeſty on the recommendation of the jury. The terms of the remiſſion are, that he ſhall depart from his majeſty's dominions of Great Britain and Ireland within ten days after being ſet at liberty, and never be found therein during all the days of his natural life, under pain of the former ſentence being put into execution againſt him; unleſs he ſhall obtain a licence for that purpoſe under the royal ſign manual.

20th. This day came on, at Kingſton aſſizes, the trial of captain Brereton Watſon, for the murder of major Sweetman, in a duel, which took place in January, at Cobham. Captain Watſon, ſtill very ill of his wound, was carried, on a ſofa covered with black, into court. The ſurgeons refuſing to be examined, through fear of implicating themſelves in the crime with which the priſoner ſtood charged, the trial was very ſhort, and the reſult was, that captain Watſon was acquitted.

24th. On Monday at one o'clock the court martial aſſembled at the horſe-guards, to paſs ſentence on colonel John Fenton Cawthorne, of the royal Weſtminſter regiment of militia. A certificate was read from Dr. Reynolds, ſtating the colonel's indiſpoſition, and conſequent inability to attend. The judge advocate then intimated his majeſty's pleaſure, that ſentence ſhould be pronounced, notwithſtanding the abſence of the priſoner. The opinion and ſentence of the court upon the different charges, fourteen in number, were then read. They charged the priſoner with appropriating to his own uſe the marching guineas; with peculation, receiving money to excuſe perſons from ſerving in the militia, and putting it in his own pocket without providing ſubſtitutes, &c. On twelve of the charges he was adjudged to have acted in a ſcandalous and infamous manner, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, and he was therefore ſentenced to be caſhiered; and declared incapable of ever ſerving his majeſty in future. The ſentence, by his majeſty's order, is to be given out in general orders, and read at the head of every militia regiment in the kingdom,

25th. This evening, about ſix o'clock, a diſagreeable accident happened in Greek-ſtreet, the corner of Compton-ſtreet. Two men, intoxicated to a great degree, aſſaulted every perſon they met; and one of them, who had a hammer in his hand, ſtruck a paſſenger on the head with it, near the eye, which was beat in by the blow. They were at length ſecured, and carried to the office in Marlborough-ſtreet, whence they were removed to Tothill-fields bridewell.

30th. As J. Lamaſon, a promiſing youth, between fourteen and fifteen, apprentice at the dye-houſe of Mr. John Bennett, in Exe-iſland, and ſon of Mr. Lamaſon, confectioner, on the new bridge, Exeter, had juſt turned the water-pipe belonging to one of the furnaces, he ſuddenly fell backwards into a large copper of hot liquor, which boiled over him twice before it was in the power of human aſſiſtance to extricate him from the horrid ſituation into which he had unfortunately plunged. He was, when taken out, literally ſtead alive; notwithſtanding which, he lived perfectly ſenſible, though amid the moſt excruciating torments, till about ſeven in the evening.

31ſt. Mr. Halhed has thought proper to diſpoſe of all his Oriental manuſcripts, which he acquired with great labour and expence. Theſe manuſcripts the Britiſh Muſeum has very laudably purchaſed.

A remarkable fiſh was lately exhibited in York. In length it meaſured thirteen feet, in depth one foot one inch, and in its greateſt thickneſs only three inches: though deſtitute of ſcales, it had four ſtripes (ſtretching its whole length) rough, with ſmall protuberances, and covered with a ſhining ſilvery film, reſembling the natatora bladder of a herring. The face and inſide of its mouth (which had no teeth) were black; the tongue was ſmooth and ſoft, and the eye meaſured in diameter one and three-eighths of an inch, the iris being of a ſilver white. The head, from its front to the cover of the gills, incluſive, was exactly ſeven inches in length. The gills conſiſted of ſix rays; and the ventral fins, which had each only a ſingle ray, a foot in length, were red, and lay under thoſe of the breaſt, which conſiſted of twelve, and were white. The anus lay five feet diſtance from the head: there was, however, no anal fin. The dorſal fin, having upwards of three hundred rays, reached the whole length of the animal, and was of a crimſon colour. The ſide line deſcended with an eaſy curve from the head towards the belly, to which it ran parallel at three inches diſtance, till nearly touching the tail, when it again curved gently, and terminated with the bone.

Died.—Sir William Chambers, ſurveyor general of the 5th. board of works, fellow of the royal and antiquarian ſocieties, treaſurer of the royal academy, and knight of the polar ſtar, Sweden. See Characters.

At Paris, in his eighty-fourth year, the abbé Raynal. 6th. He walked on foot to Paris a week before his death. He got cold, which was followed by a catarrh. He kept his bed ſome days. On the 6th of March he got up, ſhaved and dreſſed himſelf. At ſix in the evening he went to bed, heard a newſpaper read, and made ſome critical obſervations upon the ope-

rations

rations announced in the paper. At ten he died. The abbé Raynal may with reaſon be conſidered as one of the authors of the French revolution, from the republican, democratic, and licentious principles, which are interſperſed throughout his celebrated hiſtory of the European ſettlements in the two Indies; and recommended by every grace and allurement of ſtyle. Shocked at the dreadful effects produced by his own writings, in the month of May 1791, the abbé appeared voluntarily at the bar of the national aſſembly, and boldly expoſtulated with them on their raſh and ruinous meaſures. They had, he told them, literally followed his principles, and reduced to practice the reveries and abſtracted ideas of a philoſopher, without having previouſly adapted and accommodated them to men, times, and circumſtances. In the cloſe of this addreſs, which was received with evident marks of diſpleaſure and diſſatisfaction, he expreſſed his indifference as to the pains and penalties he might incur by his conſidence, he being then on the verge of fourſcore.

15th. At his houſe, in Percy-ſtreet, Rathbone-place, Mr. Stephen Storace, the compoſer, a man of conſiderable genius and great ſkill; and better acquainted with the *jeu du théâtre* than any living muſician. Mr. Storace, born in 1763, was the ſon of Mr. S. S. a native of Italy, who married the daughter of Truſler, the proprietor of Marybone-gardens, ſo much famed for making "rich ſeed cakes and Epping butter." In the early part of his life he diſcovered a ſtrong propenſity for muſic, which his father took ſuch pains to cultivate, that at the age of ten or eleven he was able to perform the moſt difficult ſolo of Tartini and Giardini on the violin, with the greateſt preciſion. According to the faſhion of the times, he was placed in a *conſervatori*, or muſical college, in Italy; and thinking the ſtudy of compoſition more reſpectable than ſcraping catgut, he turned his whole attention to the theory of compoſition. The proficiency he made, we are enabled to judge of by his early productions: he wrote his beſt compoſition, the *finale* to the firſt act of the Pirates, while at Vienna; and moſt of the pieces, for which he has ſince been ſo greatly admired, during his reſidence upon the continent. Returning to England, he reſided ſome time at Bath; but finding no opening there, or in London, at that time, he was induced to give up his muſical purſuits, and turn his attention to drawing, an art for which he always had a predilection. His introduction to Drury-lane theatre was occaſioned by the friendſhip of Mr. Kelly, who had known him in Italy. In this ſituation, he found ample ſcope for his abilities: and the public thought ſo favourably of his taſte, that he is ſaid to have received greater prices for ſome of his operas from the muſic dealers than were ever given before, although they chiefly conſiſted of compilations. His operas of the greateſt popularity are, The Haunted Tower, The Siege of Belgrade, and No Song no Supper. As a compoſer, he had much fire and ſpirit, though little originality. His chief merit lay in his quartettos and finales. The melodies of his airs were generally pleaſant, though not always conſonant with the ſentiments of the poet. An attack of the gout in his head ſnatched our young compoſer from

the world, at the early age of thirty-three. He married the daughter of Mr. Hall, the engraver, by whom he has left ſeveral children.

17th. At the Hague, Peter Paulus, preſident of the firſt national convention there, and one of the principal authors of the revolution in Holland.

APRIL.

2d. At the laſt aſſizes at Leiceſter, the only cauſe of importance which came on to be tried, was an action for crim. con. in which the rev. John Thoroton was plaintiff, and Mr. John Whitchurch, an apothecary and man-midwife, defendant: the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, two thouſand pounds damages. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that the lady's enamorato is near ſixty years of age; ſhe is juſt twenty-four, and her huſband about her own age, by whom ſhe has three children; the defendant is a married man, and has eighteen children.

The intimation of the firſt performance of a piece aſcribed to the pen of Shakſpeare produced this night the effect which might naturally have been expected in a metropolis filled with his admirers. At four o'clock the doors of the theatre were beſieged; and, a few minutes after they were opened, the pit was crowded ſolely with gentlemen. Before ſix not a place was to be found in the boxes, and the paſſages were filled. The play of Vortigern was announced for repreſentation as the production of our immortal bard; but the tale of its long concealment and happy recovery was not heard without ſuſpicion; which his votaries wiſhed to heighten into immediate incredulity. The town, however, retained its candour; and, we believe, the predominant ſentiment in the audience, on this evening, was a wiſh to welcome with rapture the recovered offspring of their beloved Shakſpeare. A play was, therefore, performed, founded in ſome degree on the hiſtorical account of the ambition of Vortigern, the uſurper of Britain; his murder of Conſtantius; his alliance with the Saxons; and his paſſion for Rowena, the daughter of the Saxon chief. The events are warped into a reſemblance to thoſe of Macbeth, Richard III. &c. with the inadvertency of a copyiſt, who was more intent on imitating the language than the genius of Shakſpeare. The characters are ſuch as would not have been drawn by that aſtoniſhing writer in the exerciſe of his uſual faculties. He is remarkable in ſeldom borrowing from himſelf. The play is deſtitute of all thoſe gigantic metaphors, and bold alluſions, which, approaching the limits of poſſibility, aſtoniſh and alarm our imaginations into a ſympathy with his ſublime conceptions. The language, though evidently an imitation, is infinitely beneath the original, which poſſeſſes an aptitude, a facility, and harmony, which has never been ſurpaſſed. The audience betrayed ſymptoms of impatience early in the repreſentation; but, finding its taſte inſulted by bloated terms, which heightened the general inſipidity, its reaſon puzzled by diſcordant images, falſe ornaments, and abortive efforts to elevate and aſtoniſh; pronounced its ſentence of condemnation, at the concluſion of the play; and we apprehend, that Vortigern, if it be

publiſhed,

publiſhed, will rank in character, though not in merit, with the perverted and ſurpriſing labours of the unfortunate Chatterton.

5th. Yeſterday came on at Glouceſter aſſizes, the trial of Mrs. Mary Reed, charged with the wilful murder of her huſband William Reed, eſq. in the month of May 1794, at Swanley, in the pariſh of Berkeley. By the evidence of Robert Edgar, it appeared that Watkins (Mrs. Reed's brother) and Mrs. Reed, had long concerted a plan to murder Mr. Reed by poiſon; that Edgar was averſe to it, though he acknowledged that in caſe of Reed's death, he was to have married the widow. An illicit connexion had certainly ſubſiſted between them. Mr. Brook, of Briſtol, agent to the Royal Exchange company, proved Watkins coming to him about inſuring the life of Mr. Reed, whom he afterward ſaw in company with his wife and three children: he then appeared in perfect health: his life was inſured for ſeven years, and a premium of 48l. 17s. 6d. was paid on the 22d of April 1794, which ſum was to be annually paid for ſeven years; and in caſe of Mr. Reed's death in that time, his widow was to receive 2000l. On the 18th of the next month Mr. Reed died, having been cruelly beat about the head, while in bed, by Watkins, who, a few days after, killed himſelf. Mr. Jenner, ſurgeon, of Berkeley, depoſed his being called in to Mr. Reed, in conſequence of the wounds he received; which he, however, did not think were the cauſe of his death, but ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by ſome poiſon adminiſtered; that, on opening the body, he found the ſtomach inflamed, and ſome liquid in it, ſome ſpoonsful of which he gave to two dogs, and it killed them. Several other witneſſes having been examined, Mr. juſtice Lawrence, in his charge to the jury, deſcanted upon the teſtimony of the witneſſes with the niceſt diſcrimination; when the jury withdrew, and after an abſence of an hour and a quarter, returned with a verdict—Not guilty; at which the court were evidently ſurpriſed. The trial laſted ſeventeen hours.

6th. The new charter of Northampton, this day brought from London by the mayor, was met at the foot of the bridge by the corporation with great ceremony, and conducted to the Guildhall amidſt the congratulations of the townſmen on the re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient privileges, and the ſecurity and protection afforded to the poor.

7th. This day came on at Portſmouth, the trial of admiral Cornwallis, for diſobedience of orders. See Appendix to Chronicle.

9th. On Tueſday came on at the ſeſſions-houſe, in Clerkenwell, the trial of Mrs. Phipoe, who ſtood indicted for an aſſault on Mr. Courtoy. Some months ago ſhe was tried at the Old Bailey, on a charge of feloniouſly and forcibly obtaining from the ſaid Mr. Courtoy a promiſſory note for 2000l. but her caſe being left to the twelve judges, they decided in her favour, a promiſſory note not being conſidered as a thing of value; but was ordered to be detained for the aſſault, which ſhe gave bail to anſwer. The ſame circumſtances were adduced in evidence againſt her as at the Old Bailey, and on which the jury found her guilty. The chairman then ſaid, that the court would take time to conſider the ſentence, and ordered her to be brought up the

laſt day of ſeſſions. Accordingly this day ſhe was brought into court to receive ſentence, which was that ſhe be impriſoned in Newgate for the term of twelve calendar months.

10th. This morning, about three o'clock, a moſt cruel and inhuman murder was perpetrated on the body of Mrs. Ann Sawyer, wife of Mr. William Sawyer, the king's barge maſter, at his houſe, Biſhop's Walk, Lambeth. The villains had firſt broken open the houſe, and packed up all the valuables they could find, but Mrs. Sawyer hearing a noiſe in the houſe, had got up to ſee what was the matter, when they knocked her down, ſtabbed her in ſeveral places, and put one of her eyes out. This noiſe awoke the ſervant, and ſhe got up and called the watch, when they all made off in a boat without their booty.

Mrs. Sawyer was at the extreme age of eighty years. Mr. Sawyer is yet older, and ſo completely ſuperannuated, as not to have heard any thing of the noiſe which was neceſſarily made in the houſe at the time the dreadful act was perpetrated.

11th. Letters from Smyrna unfortunately adviſe us of the conflagration of 4000 warehouſes, entirely belonging to Ottoman merchants, the value of which is eſtimated at four millions of piaſtres.

13th. *Bath.*—A piece of ground, which was formerly deviſed to the poor of Priddy on Mendip Hills, is likely to produce ſuch a quantity of rich lead ore as will purchaſe the fee-ſimple of the whole pariſh. It was diſcovered in digging ſtones for a well, and is in ſuch abundance, up to the clay, that one man cleared out half a ton, in the courſe of twelve hours, laſt week.

14th. Two of the officers belonging to Bow-ſtreet arrived in town from Liverpool with Henry Weſton, who is charged with committing divers forgeries on the bank of England to the amount of 17,000l. He had got to Liverpool, and ſent his luggage on board the Hector, bound for St. Vincent's in the Weſt Indies, which ſhip had got down to a place called the Gut, about ſeven miles below Liverpool, and was to have ſailed the next morning. The officers found him in bed at Bates's hotel, with a brace of loaded piſtols by his ſide. On their road to town, Weſton found means to conceal a caſe-knife in his pantaloons, and on changing chaiſes at the King's-head, Hounſlow, he requeſted to go to the privy, where he cut his own throat, but miſſing one of the arteries, did not effect his purpoſe.

20th. A dreadful fire broke out at Frampton, Dorſetſhire, which, in about two hours, nearly conſumed the whole of the buildings north of the church. Very little furniture was ſaved, ſo that the inhabitants were obliged to ſeek refuge in the neighbouring pariſhes. This misfortune is ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by ſome ſparks blown from the leads of the church, which was repairing by the plumber.

St. Neot's.—A lad being on horſeback, and the animal taking fright, was dragged in the ſtirrup and killed.

A poſt-chaiſe, with three ladies therein, being overturned, and thrown down a bank twenty-two feet nearly perpendicular, the ladies were terribly cut, and the chaiſe daſhed to pieces. This accident, which happened between Wiſbech and Ely, was in conſequence of three drivers racing on the road. The poſt-boy

poſt-boy belonging to the chaiſe in which the ladies were, ſeeing the carriage muſt go down, very carefully diſmounted and ſaved himſelf.

21ſt. Advice was received at the Admiralty, brought by lieutenant Criſpe, of the Telemachus cutter, of the capture of the enterprizing ſir Sidney Smith, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Diamond, on the coaſt of France. Having, on the 18th inſtant, boarded and taken a lugger privateer, belonging to the enemy, in Havre-de-Grace harbour, by the boats of his ſquadron, then on a reconnoitring expedition, and the tide making ſtrong into the harbour, ſhe was driven above the French forts, who, the next morning, the 19th, diſcovering, at break of day, the lugger in tow by a ſtring of Engliſh boats, immediately made the ſignal of alarm, which collected together ſeveral gun boats and other armed veſſels, that attacked the lugger and Britiſh boats; when, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of two hours, ſir Sidney had the mortification of being obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner of war, with about ſixteen of his people, and three officers with him in the lugger. The Diamond frigate is ſafe, but could afford her commander no aſſiſtance, there not being a breath of wind during the whole of this unfortunate tranſaction; we are happy to add, that only four Britiſh ſeamen were killed, and one officer and ſix ſeamen ſlightly wounded. The ſeamen were immediately thrown into priſon on their landing; and ſir Sidney underwent a long examination before the French commandant, after which he was ordered to be conveyed, under a ſtrong eſcort, to Paris. The following were amongſt the officers captured with ſir Sidney Smith: Meſſrs. W. Moore, R. Kenyon, and R. Barrow: one of theſe was wounded. Four of the ſeamen were killed, and ſix ſlightly wounded. When the officers on board the Diamond heard of the diſaſter which had befallen their gallant commander, they ſent a flag of truce into Havre, to enquire whether he was wounded, and entreating that he might be treated with kindneſs. The governor returned in anſwer, that ſir Sidney was well, and that he ſhould be treated with the utmoſt humanity and attention. The French, it appears, warped out another lugger of ſuperior force againſt that captured by ſir Sidney Smith in Havre-de-Grace harbour, with which they engaged him, for a conſiderable time, with ſo much heavier metal, that rendered all his reſiſtance ineffectual, and therefore compelled him to ſtrike.

25th. This night the counting-houſe of Mr. Mingay, of Smithfield (who in the interim was ſpeaking to a friend in the back room on the ſame floor) was broke open, and a bag of gold, containing 1200 guineas, which had been placed in readineſs to ſend to his banker's in the morning, was taken clear off.

30th. In conſequence of a publication addreſſed by lord Malden to the inhabitants of the borough of Leominſter, the duke of Norfolk, accompanied by capt. Wombwell, of the firſt Weſt York regiment of militia, and lord Malden, accompanied by capt. Taylor, aid de camp to his royal highneſs the duke of York, met on Saturday evening in a field beyond Paddington. The parties having taken their ground, and the word being given by one of the ſeconds, they fired without effect. The ſeconds

then

then thought proper to offer their interference, and, in conſequence of a converſation which paſſed while the parties were on the ground, a reconciliation was effected.

At Peuſey, Bucks, a ſwan ſitting on her eggs, on one ſide of the river, obſerved a fox ſwimming towards her from the oppoſite ſide; rightly judging ſhe could beſt grapple with the fox in her own element, ſhe plunged into the water, and after beating him off ſome time with her wings, at length ſucceeded in drowning him.

At Moſsband, near Longtown, Cumberland, the water lately (in ſome high tides) entered a houſe, wherein was an old woman, who had lain there bed-ridden for twenty years. The reſt of the family eſcaping, from a ſenſe of danger operating forcibly on her mind, the woman recovered the uſe of her limbs, and has retained the ſame ever ſince.

Lately, near Maldon, Eſſex, an eel was taken meaſuring five feet ſix inches in length, 17 inches in girth, and weighing 26 pounds; the largeſt of the ſpecies ever caught or deſcribed in natural hiſtory.

DIED.—6th. At Aberdeen, in his 77th year, George Campbell, D. D. F. R. S. Edin. late principal and profeſſor of divinity in the Mariſchal college and univerſity of Aberdeen, and one of the miniſters of Aberdeen. He was author of—1. A Diſſertation on Miracles: containing an examination of the principles advanced by David Hume, eſq. in an eſſay on miracles, 8vo. 1762. 2. The Spirit of the Goſpel neither a Spirit of Superſtition, nor of Enthuſiaſm. A Sermon preached before the Synod of Aberdeen, April 9, 1771, 8vo. 3. The Philoſophy of Rhetoric, 2 vols. 8vo. 1776. 4. The Nature, Extent and Importance of the Duty of Allegience. A Sermon, preached at Aberdeen, 8vo. 1777. 5. The Succeſs of the Firſt Publiſhers of the Goſpel a Proof of its Truth. A Sermon, preached at Edinburgh, June 6, 1777, before the Society for propagating Chriſtian Knowledge, 8vo. 1777. 6. An Addreſs to the People of Scotland upon the Alarms that have been raiſed in regard to Popery, 8vo. 1779. 7. The Four Goſpels tranſlated from the Greek, with preliminary Diſſertations, and Notes, critical and explanatory, 2 vols. 4to. 1789.

In St. Patrick's hoſpital, Dublin, aged 106, Nanny M'Daniel. She poſſeſſed her faculties to the laſt moment, and through life enjoyed an uninterrupted good ſtate of health. This woman, when young, married a ſoldier, and attended his fortune in the field, where, on the plains of Fontenoy, he fought for honour, and fell, and left her a widow with two children. The humanity of her late huſband's colonel enabled her and children to reach Ireland; another ſoldier was her lot, who fell at the battle of Preſton Pans, where ſhe was preſent, and had a ſon alſo killed in the field, whoſe wife and child were in the camp. On her return to Dublin, ſhe was appointed by the governors a ſervant in the foundation of Dean Swift, and was the firſt perſon that ever ſlept in that hoſpital, where ſhe remained ever ſince. The governors had ſuperannuated her ſome years, and ſupported her with decency and comfort to her death. 10th.

In Doctors Commons, George Harris, D. C. L. ſon of Dr. John H. biſhop of Landaff, chancellor 19th.

chancellor of the dioceſes of Durham, Hereford, and Landaff, and commiſſary of Eſſex, Herts, and Surrey. He has left a large fortune, which he has chiefly bequeathed to public charities, 10,000l. to the Weſtminſter lying-in-hoſpital, donations equally liberal to ſeveral others, and the reſidue (ſuppoſed to be 40,000l.) to St. George's hoſpital. He was the tranſlator of Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, 4to. 1756.

21ſt. At his houſe in Stafford-row, Pimlico, aged 89, Richard Yates, eſq. the celebrated comedian, in which his fame, in the parts of old and groteſque characters eſpecially, was eminently great. He was remarkable for pure and chaſte acting up to the words of his author with a ſcrupulous attention; the more remarkable, as performers of this caſt of acting frequently introduce their own humour, with what may be called the *licentia hiſtrionica* of the drama. He excelled alſo in teaching or making an actor, in a higher degree, perhaps, than any one of his time. He was married, firſt, to a woman who was rich; ſecondly, to Miſs Anna-Maria Graham, who had been introduced to his tuition by Mr. Garrick, and with him ſhe firſt came on the ſtage at Birmingham. Mr. Y. died ſuddenly. He had been very well, as uſual, for ſome time, and had breakfaſted heartily. Having ordered eels for dinner, when, unfortunately, they could not be had, his warm and haſty temper could ill bear the diſappointment; and from anger he worked himſelf up to rage. His houſekeeper, zealous to pleaſe him, went out a long way, and brought ſome; ere ſhe returned, exhauſted with fatigue of ſpirits, he had leaned his head upon the table, and ſhe found him dead. He was born in London.

Aged 102, Mrs. Su. Mills, who had lived in good health moſt of her days in a Lockhouſe, on the Bungay navigation (ſurrounded with water in the winter ſeaſon.)

MAY.

Liverpool.—The grand tunnel on the Leeds and Liverpool canal, between Coln and Burnley, was lately opened. The heavieſt ſailing veſſel was forty minutes in paſſing through. The length of the tunnel is 1630 yards; in height it is nearly 18 feet, and in width 17 feet. The work was planned by Mr. Whitworth, and executed by Mr. Fletcher with great reſolution and ingenuity, in deſpite of extraordinary difficulties. It is confeſſedly the moſt complete work of the kind in the Britiſh dominions. 1ſt.

This day a ſtorm of thunder was remarkably tremendous in the weſtern part of Suſſex. At Pulborough a barn was ſet on fire by the lightning, and entirely conſumed. Luckily it contained only ſeven quarters of oats. In the neighbourhood of the above place, the peas in the fields were conſiderably injured by a heavy fall of hail, which accompanied the thunder.

A few days ago, as a groom was combing a race-horſe in the neighbourhood of Beverley, in Yorkſhire, the animal became ſo irritated as to catch hold of the man's ſide with his teeth, and tear away the fleſh in ſo ſhocking a manner, as to render his bowels and entrails viſible. The poor fellow's recovery is much deſpaired of.

Mr.

4th. Mr. Bond moved for the judgment of the court of king's bench againſt Iſabella Williams. This perſon was a woman of very genteel appearance, and it was rather a novel ſpectacle in the court, and excited a good deal of ſurpriſe, to hear that ſhe had ſallied forth at the head of twenty men, armed with ſwords, piſtols, and tomahawks, had aſſaulted and obſtructed two revenue officers in the execution of their office, and had reſcued a lugger containing uncuſtomed goods near Bodmin. Lord Kenyon ſaid this was a very diſtreſſing caſe to the court. Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt obſerved, that if this woman were to go unpuniſhed on account of her ſex he was afraid this ſort of buſineſs would paſs into female hands, and that men would withdraw themſelves from the danger of puniſhment. The court, however, had taken her ſex into conſideration, and meant to paſs a lighter puniſhment than, perhaps, for the ſake of example, they ought. Her ſentence was, to be committed to the jail of the county of Cornwall, for twelve calendar months.

6th. An important cauſe came on to be tried in the common pleas, in conſequence of an iſſue directed from the court of chancery on the queſtion of fact, whether the late earl of Orford deviſed by his laſt will any lands and effects to the earl of Cholmondeley. The caſe is briefly this.—On the 25th of November, 1752, the earl of Orford made a will, in which he bequeathed his principal eſtates, after the demiſe of his immediate heir, the preſent earl of Orford, to the earl of Cholmondeley, whoſe grandfather had married the daughter of his anceſtor, ſir Robert Walpole, the firſt earl of Orford. In 1756, the earl of Orford made a ſecond will, in which he changed the order of ſucceſſion, and gave a preference over the earl of Cholmondeley to Lord Walpole, who is deſcended in a direct line from the ſecond brother of the firſt earl of Orford.—This, of courſe, annihilated the firſt will; and, had nothing farther occurred, no queſtion could have ariſen on the ſubject. But, in 1776, twenty years after the ſecond will was made, the earl of Orford ſigned a codicil, the purport of which was to make various proviſions which had been omitted in his wills, and declared this codicil to be a codicil to his laſt will, ſigned on the 25th day of November, 1752. On the part of the plaintiff, it was contended that this codicil, which was duly ſigned and atteſted, was a revival and ſetting up of the will to which it referred; and that, of courſe, that will retained the ſame force and effect, as if the ſecond will had never been made. On the part of the defendant, it was maintained, in the firſt place, that the codicil was deſtitute of thoſe forms, expreſsly required by the ſtatute of wills, which could alone give it the effect of reviving a firſt will in preference to a ſecond, where a real eſtate was deviſed; and, ſecondly, that it was the intention of the teſtator to annex the codicil to the ſecond, and not to the firſt will. To eſtabliſh theſe points, it was propoſed to adduce parol evidence; but the court interfered; and were unanimous in their opinion, that the eſtabliſhed law of the land forbade the admiſſion of parol evidence to contradict a written and perfect inſtrument, ſuch as the will and codicil together appeared to be; that

that the word *laſt*, on which the counſel for the defendant had laid ſo much ſtreſs, was an expreſſion which had no determinate meaning until the death of the teſtator, when it operated to explain the intended laſt act of his life; that neither the will of 1752, nor the will of 1756, was, in fact, a will until the teſtator was dead; that an alteration of the date of the codicil would be making a new diſpoſition for the dead, which no court upon earth was entitled to do; the only power veſted in a court, on the ſubject of wills, being that of explaining the intention of the deceaſed, which, in this caſe, was perfectly clear; that wills ought only to be conſidered as ambulatory inſtruments, ſubject to the pleaſure of the owner, and to be uſed by him as his judgment or caprice might direct; and that the will of 1752 was abſolutely revived, and made his laſt act by the codicil of 1776. The jury, agreeing with the court, found a verdict for the plaintiff; in conſequence of which, the earl of Cholmondeley will ſucceed, at the death of the preſent earl of Orford, to an eſtate of the annual value of 10,000l. excluſive of the magnificent ſeat at Houghton, which is ſuppoſed to have coſt upwards of 200,000l. and ſome other property.

7th. The judgment of the court of king's bench was moved for by the attorney general againſt Kyd Wake, the journeyman printer, who groſsly inſulted and abuſed the king in his way to the parliament houſe, in October laſt, when juſtice Aſhhurſt pronounced ſentence as follows, after addreſſing the priſoner on the enormity of his crime, and the frivolouſneſs as well as futility of his defence: "That you be committed to the cuſtody of the keeper of the penitentiary houſe in and for the county of Glouceſter, and be kept to hard labour for the ſpace of five years; and within the firſt three months of that time, that you ſtand in and upon the pillory for one hour, between the hours of eleven and two in the afternoon, in ſome public ſtreet in Glouceſter, on a market day; and that you give ſureties in 1000l. for your good behaviour for the term of ten years to be computed from the expiration of the ſaid five years; and that you be further impriſoned till you find the ſaid ſureties."

This day a cauſe came on in the court of king's bench, which deſerves the attention of ſome ladies and gentlemen at the weſt end of the town, as well as the magiſtrates of Weſtminſter. The action was brought on a note of hand for 12l. Mr. Mingay, for the defendant, obſerved, that the plaintiff was a publican, and lived near Carnaby-market; and that the defendant was formerly a butcher, but now had alſo become a publican. The anſwer that he had to make to this demand was, that the conſideration of this note was money won at play.

It appeared clearly in evidence, that the plaintiff and defendant ſat down in the plaintiff's houſe to play at whiſt on a Sunday morning; and that the defendant loſt 12l. for which he gave the plaintiff the note in queſtion, payable in eighteen months. It was alſo proved, that the plaintiff had afterward offered to ſell this note to a third perſon for two guineas. Lord Kenyon, in ſumming up, lamented that gaming had ſo deeply pervaded the whole maſs of the public. 'It is extremely to be lamented,' ſaid his lordſhip, 'that

'that this vice has deſcended to the very loweſt orders of the people. It is to be regretted, that it is ſo prevalent among the higheſt ranks of ſociety, who have ſet the example to their inferiors, and who, it ſeems, are too great for the law. I wiſh they could be puniſhed. *If any proſecutions are fairly brought before me, and the parties are juſtly convicted, whatever may be their rank or ſtation in the country,* THOUGH THEY SHOULD BE THE FIRST LADIES IN THE LAND, *they ſhall certainly exhibit themſelves in the* PILLORY. When I ſpeak of the higheſt claſſes of ſociety, I muſt be underſtood to mean *ſubjects*; for theſe obſervations do, in no reſpect, apply to thoſe of the very higheſt rank in this country; who hold out for the imitation of their ſubjects, the brighteſt example of every public as well as private virtue.'—Verdict for defendant.

Northampton. — The following dreadful accident happened a few days ſince to Mr. J. Robinſon, horſe-breaker, in Peterborough: having a young colt in training, the animal began on a ſudden to plunge, by which means the rider was thrown from his ſeat with ſuch violence, as to ſeparate the ribs from the back-bone. The unfortunate man is attended by an eminent ſurgeon, and there are hopes of his recovery.

11th. This day came on at the Old Bailey, the trial of Croſsfield, for high treaſon. See Appendix to Chronicle.

14th. Henry Weſton was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, of forging and uttering a warrant of attorney, by means of which he transferred 5,000l. three per cent. ſtock, the property of general Tonyn. He had likewiſe transferred 11,000l. of the ſame ſtock belonging to the general; but he was indicted only for the former. The fact being fully proved, a letter, written by the priſoner to his employer, Mr. Cowan, on his abſconding from London, was read in court. It mentioned, that he (the priſoner) had loſt, by ſpeculating in the funds, 7,000l. entruſted to his care by ſir Hugh Pallifer Walters, bart. that he afterwards had ventured immenſe ſums in ſpeculation at Meſſrs. Mackay and Forbes's, and continuing ſtill unlucky, he had recourſe to the gaming-table, where his ill-fortune followed him, and he was under the neceſſity of impoſing on the credulity of Mr. Cowan, by forging two powers of attorney in the name of general Tonyn, the one for 11,000l. the other for 5,000l. ſtock, belonging to that gentleman. That he had paid an immenſe ſum to Mr. C. K. at Forbes's, beſide loſing 1,600l. in the laſt lottery, and other great loſſes which he had experienced at different gaming-tables. The letter then took notice of ſeveral debts which were owing to him, and concluded by a declaration, that he was ſo dreadfully affected by his miſconduct, that he could live no longer, with the words, 'God forgive me,' ſigned Henry Weſton. The priſoner being called upon for his defence, made none. Several reſpectable gentlemen were called to his character, the excellence of which, prior to the fatal tranſactions that preceded his ruin, was manifeſt to the whole court. The judge ſummed up the evidence; and the jury returned the verdict, guilty. When it was pronounced, the priſoner addreſſed the court as follows: "I hear the verdict againſt me with a calmneſs and reſignation

reſignation I am happy in poſſeſſing upon ſo awful an occaſion. I hope the numerous young men who ſurround me will take example by my fate, and avoid thoſe exceſſes which have brought me to ruin and diſgrace, and that thoſe farther advanced in years will be cautious of indulging, with too unlimited a controul, perſons at too early a period of life. At the time I was uſhered into life, I poſſeſſed that controul over property, the value of which I could not juſtly eſtimate, from which I date my preſent dreadful ſituation. The juſtice of my condemnation I acknowledge, and ſhall ſubmit to it with patience, and I hope with fortitude."

16th. An action was brought in the court of king's bench, by lord Valentia againſt Mr. Gawler, for crim. con. with lady Valentia. The damages were laid at 10,000l. Mr. Erſkine, with his uſual ability, ſtated the caſe, and the criminal converſation was clearly proved from the evidence of a maid ſervant, lady Lucy Maxwell (his lordſhip's ſiſter), and others. The defence ſet up was, that lord Valentia not only winked at, but in ſome meaſure promoted the incontinency of his wife. Lord Kenyon delivered an excellent charge to the Jury, and they brought in a verdict of 2,000l. damages.

Birmingham.—On the morning of Friday the 13th of this month, the Peak Hills in Derbyſhire were covered with ſnow near four inches deep, the contraſt between which, and the green thorn fruit trees in full bloom, formed a ſpectacle novel and ſtriking.

There has lately been diſcovered at Wallingford an old painting, on oak, of our Lord's laſt entrance into Jeruſalem, which has been uſed as a chimney-board, and was near being thrown into the fire; but turns out an original of the great Raphael's. The drawing, expreſſion, and arrangement, aſtoniſh all who have ſeen the picture. Connoiſſeurs far and near are going to its owner continually to behold this fine piece, reſcued by accident from obſcurity and the flames, and likely to produce no inconſiderable ſum by its ſale. Several hundred pounds have already been offered for it and refuſed.

20th. An information, filed by the attorney general, at the command of his majeſty, in conſequence of a reſolution of the houſe of commons, againſt John Reeves, eſq. for publiſhing a libel on the Britiſh conſtitution, was tried.—The libel was contained in a pamphlet, entitled, thoughts on the Engliſh government. Of this pamphlet the defendant was charged to be the author and publiſher, which was admitted.—After a forcible charge from lord Kenyon, the jury withdrew, and, after being out an hour, returned, and ſaid, "My lord, the "jury are of opinion, that the book "publiſhed by Mr. J. Reeves, is a "very improper publication; but "not thinking his intention was "that attributed to him in the "indictment, we find him—Not "guilty."

A very melancholy and extraordinary tranſaction took place this day. Lord Charles Townſhend, and his brother lord Frederick Townſhend, ſons to the marquis Townſhend, had been to Great Yarmouth, for which place lord Charles had been juſt choſen repreſentative; they arrived in town yeſterday morning about ſix o'clock, and when they had reached Oxford-ſtreet, near the Pantheon,

Pantheon, the poſt-boys ſtopped to enquire where the biſhop of Briſtol, to whoſe houſe they had been ordered to drive, lived; when lord Frederick jumped out of the chaiſe, and ſtruck one of the boys, which gave riſe to an altercation, that drew together ſeveral perſons who were paſſing by. Among theſe was a coachman, to whom lord Frederick particularly addreſſed himſelf; inſiſting upon it that he knew where the biſhop lived; and on the man proteſting that he did not, his lordſhip abuſed him with great violence; and, with the moſt deplorable marks of inſanity, threw off his coat, waiſtcoat, and ſhirt, and challenged him to fight. Unable to provoke the man to a conteſt, he walked leiſurely away towards Hanover-ſquare, when ſome perſons who had been attentive to the whole ſcene, looked into the carriage, and ſaw a lifeleſs body on the ſeat, which proved to be the corpſe of lord Charles. Lord Frederick was immediately purſued, and being taken near the end of Swallow-ſtreet, was conducted to a neighbouring watch-houſe, whither the body of his brother was alſo conveyed. As ſoon as the magiſtrates at the Police-office in Marlborough-ſtreet were apprized of the circumſtance, they ordered lord Frederick to be brought before them, together with the poſtilions who drove him to town. His lordſhip, when interrogated on the melancholy ſubject, betrayed the moſt unequivocal ſymptoms of a mental derangement, and it became neceſſary for the magiſtrates to apply to the poſtillions for the information they wanted. From their evidence it appeared, that about ſeven miles from town, in the vicinity of Ilford, one of them had heard the report of a piſtol, when, looking round, he ſaw lord Frederick throw a piſtol out of the chaiſe window; but he did not ſtop to inquire the cauſe of it.—This was all that could be collected till the evening, when the agitation of lord Frederick had ſubſided, and he had recovered a conſiderable degree of compoſure. Lord Frederick then, on being aſked concerning his brother's death, ſaid, they had been diſcuſſing a religious ſubject, and lord Charles took a piſtol and blew out his own brains, and that he had endeavoured to deſtroy himſelf, but his piſtol failed. The mayor of Yarmouth was preſent, and declared that their lordſhips' conduct at that place appeared that of madmen, which induced him to follow them to town, being fearful ſome accident might happen. The evidence of the ſervants, reſpecting the conduct of their lordſhips, was ſimilar to the above. A piſtol was found unloaded in the carriage, which appeared to have been juſt fired. The piſtol which had put an end to the life of lord Charles, had been placed in his mouth, and loaded with two ſlugs or balls, one of which perforated the ſkull, and the other was extracted from the mouth. Neither the teeth nor tongue were injured, ſo that it is evident that no violence had been uſed in the introduction of the fatal inſtrument, and the death of lord Charles might not improbably be an act of his own committed in a paroxyſm of phrenzy. Laſt night the coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body; when, after a long examination, the jury brought in a verdict—"That the deceaſed had been killed by a piſtol ball, but from whoſe hands unknown."

At the admiralty ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, William 28th, and

and John Mitchell were brought to the bar, under an indictment for murder, committed on the high ſeas, upon the body of Colin, alias Ezekiel Franklin. The circumſtances of this caſe, as ſtated by the counſel for the proſecution, were marked with the greateſt enormity. The priſoners were owner and maſter of the veſſel John and Elizabeth, of thirty-ſix tons burden. This veſſel was lying at Jerſey in December laſt, when the Somerſet fencibles were diſcharged. The quarter-maſter of that regiment agreed with the owner of the veſſel to convey one hundred and twenty of the ſoldiers to England, and to ſupply them with water. When the veſſel left Jerſey, ſhe had only two hogſheads of water on board. In the paſſage between Jerſey and Guernſey, the paſſengers were in great want of water, and in anſwer to their complaints, the maſter aſſured them that they ſhould get a plentiful ſupply at Guernſey, which they reached on the ſame day that they ſet ſail. The maſter would not permit any of them to go on ſhore that evening. Next morning he gave them liberty, but had it not been for the ſupply they received from ſome veſſels lying along ſide of them, they would have been parched to death during the night. They left Guernſey with a very inadequate ſupply, and on their paſſage to England were overtaken by a ſtorm. When the gale ſprang up, the captain and maſter forced the whole one hundred and twenty paſſengers into the hold, and nailed down the hatchway. While they were about this operation, one of the priſoners thinking that Colin Franklin was not making haſte enough, beat him violently, and thruſt him down headlong, by which means he was ſeverely bruiſed. In this ſmall hold, theſe one hundred and twenty people remained all night without any communication either of air or water, though they were conſtantly calling out to the captain for God's ſake to bring them ſome relief. In this horrible ſtate many of them became delirious, and beat, bruiſed, and ſtabbed one another. When the ſtorm abated, the hatchway was opened, and no leſs than fifty-ſeven perſons were found dead, among whom was Colin, alias Ezekiel Franklin, who ſeemed to have ſuffered ſome very ſevere contuſions, charged to have been given by the owner and maſter of the veſſel. The principal facts were proved; but it appeared from the evidence that the priſoners were neceſſitated by the ſtorm to ſhut up the paſſengers in the hold, and it did not appear whether Franklin had died in conſequence of the confinement, or the blows given him by his companions, or the rough uſage he received from the owner and maſter of the veſſel. The court delivered a charge favourable to the priſoners, and the jury brought in a verdict—Not guilty.

Yeſterday and this day there was a very heavy gale of wind from the ſouth-weſt, which blew in guſts with uncommon violence. Much damage was ſuſtained in many parts of the metropolis by the blowing down of chimneys, untiling houſes; and in ſome of the environs of the town many trees were torn up by the roots. In Dean's-yard, Weſtminſter, part of the old ruinous buildings came down by the violence of the wind with a great craſh. Luckily it had been ſome time ſince railed

30th.

and paled in, ſo that no perſon was near enough to receive any damage. In St. James's Park more than a dozen large trees were torn up by the roots, and the foliage of others were ſcattered in every direction. The paſſage to Spring-gardens was as thickly ſtrewed with leaves as any orchard in autumn. A part of one of the ſtands, erected in Covent-garden for the accommodation of the ſpectators of the election, was blown down: there were, however, no perſons on it at the time, as from its elevation it was not conſidered ſafe. Part of the roof of a houſe at the corner of College-hill, Dowgate, was thrown down; which, falling upon a poor woman paſſing at the time, bruiſed her ſo ſeverely, that ſhe was carried to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, without hopes of recovery. Several buildings in the neighbourhood of Houndſditch, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, &c. were alſo unroofed, and ſome trees in the quarter of Moorfields were torn up by the roots. In Lambeth-marſh, an empty houſe, condemned by the commiſſioners of the road, was blown down; as were the roofs from ſome of the buildings in the ſame quarter.

The land-tax being nominally 4s. in the pound, London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, do not pay 3s. No county in England pays more than 2s. except Surrey, Suſſex, Hertford, Bucks, Berks, Oxford, and Warwickſhire. They pay ſomewhat above 2s. Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Hampſhire, and the inland counties, pay 20d. to 22d. The great counties of York, Devon, and Somerſet, pay 1s. 6d. Cornwall pays leſs. Wales, Lancaſhire, and the Northern counties, pay under a ſhilling. Scotland pays about the forty-firſt part of the land-tax, though the value of their lands is about one-ſixth of that of England. Several pariſhes in London and Weſtminſter pay full, or more than 4s. in the pound, while others ſcarce pay a third part, and ſome leſs than half that ſum. Marybone pariſh, conſiſting of 2500 acres, of which one-third is occupied by buildings, pays the enormous ſum of one penny farthing! When they make it a halfpenny there is an overplus! Serjeants-inn, Chancery-lane, containing about fifteen apartments, formerly for the judges and ſerjeants, worth about 50l. *per annum*, one with another; the whole is worth about 900l. *per annum*. A tax of 4s. in the pound would be 180l. They pay no more than 31l. which is about 9d. The three Temples pay about 10d. Pembrokeſhire pays 6d. Cardiganſhire, 4d. Part of Radnorſhire pays 2s. other parts 4d. in the pound.

JUNE.

At the final cloſe of the poll for members of parliament for the city of London, at Guildhall, the numbers were, for 1ſt.

Mr. alderman Luſhington	4379
The lord mayor - - -	4313
Mr. alderman Combe -	3865
Mr. alderman Anderſon -	3170
Mr. alderman Pickett -	2795
Sir Watkin Lewis - -	2354

On Monday, during the whole day, there was a very violent ſtorm, which was particularly felt in St. James's and Hyde parks, where the trees have ſuffered even more than in the memorable hurricane of November laſt. In the Pool ſeveral ſhips were driven from their moorings, and daſhed with ſuch violence againſt each other, as to occaſion the ſinking of ſome, and the very

material

material injury of others. At flood tide, the wind and current being oppoſite, it was impoſſible to navigate the river with boats. Inconceivable damage has likewiſe been done to the fruit trees, garden grounds, &c.

Northampton.—Yeſterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, during a thunder-ſtorm, a ball of fire burſt, (with a moſt tremendous exploſion,) over the houſe of Mr. Freake, in College-lane, in this town. The electrical matter took ſeveral directions, and in a moſt extraordinary manner materially damaged the houſe, both without ſide and within. All the family were very fortunately at the end of the houſe moſt diſtant from that where the ball deſcended, and received no injury; only three of the children were knocked down by the ſhock, but they ſoon recovered.

A male pike, of the following dimenſions and weight, was caught in the pond belonging to the earl of Gainſborough, in Exon Park, on Thurſday June 9: length from eye to fork forty-two inches and a half, ditto from noſe to tail forty-nine inches, girth round the body twenty-eight inches, weight 37lb. 4oz. the largeſt ever taken from that water in the memory of any man.

10th. An officer belonging to a party on the recruiting ſervice at Brecon, took an opportunity, whilſt a poſt-chaiſe was waiting for him at the door of an inn in the town of Hay, to ſhoot himſelf, and deliberately contrived to ſend the ball through his head in ſuch a direction, that he inſtantly fell, and died without a groan.

13th. At the cloſe of the poll for Weſtminſter, the numbers were, for

Mr. Fox - - -	5160
Admiral Gardner - -	4814
Mr. Horne Tooke - -	2819

This day Mr. Park in the court of King's Bench, obtained an attachment againſt admiral Bligh, for the diſreſpectful manner in which he had treated a writ of habeas corpus. When the perſon who wiſhed to ſerve the writ got on board the Brunſwick, the admiral ordered the men to get ready a 32lb. ſhot. He then tied the habeas corpus to a boat, and told the perſon who brought it, that he would ſink him and the boat too, if he did not go back, and carry his habeas corpus along with him.—Lord Kenyon ſaid, it was a very ill-adviſed thing, and if the admiral had a minute to pauſe, he had no doubt but he would do what was right in this buſineſs.—Mr. Park told the court, the ſhip was under ſailing orders, and by a late rule of the court, the rule for the attachment was abſolute in the firſt inſtance.—Lord Kenyon ſaid, ſince that was the caſe, the attachment muſt go, and he was ſorry for it.—On a ſubſequent day, the rule was diſcharged, the admiral having complied with the requiſition of the habeas corpus.

Charleſtown.—Monday the 13th of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a room in Lodge-alley was diſcovered to be on fire, which in a few minutes communicated to the neighbouring buildings. The citizens ſoon aſſembled, but their exertions could not ſtop the devouring flames till three o'clock the next morning, nor till a very conſiderable part of the city was deſtroyed. Every houſe in Queen-ſtreet, from the Bay to the corner of Church-ſtreet; two-thirds of Union-ſtreet; Church-ſtreet, from Broad-ſtreet to

St. Philip's church, with only two exceptions; Chalmer's and Beresford's alleys; Kinlock's-court; and the north ſide of Broad-ſtreet, from the State-houſe to four doors below Church-ſtreet; and five houſes on the Bay, were burnt to the ground.

The public buildings deſtroyed are the French church, and ſeveral adjoining buildings. St. Philip's church was on fire ſeveral times, and ultimately muſt have been deſtroyed, if a ſpirited negro man had not aſcended to the top of the cupola, next the vane, and tore off the ſhingles.

The private buildings deſtroyed, and the property they contained, are eſtimated to exceed 250,000l.

A cauſe of ſome importance was laſt week determined in the court of King's Bench. Worſley againſt the aſſignees of Lockyer and Bream. This action was originally brought by Lockyer and Bream, whoſe houſe, in Taviſtock-ſtreet, was deſtroyed by fire on the 14th of May, 1792, againſt the Phœnix Fire-office, to recover the amount of 7000l. the ſum they had inſured. That cauſe was tried before chief juſtice Eyre at Guildhall, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiffs. Damages 3000l. The office refuſed to pay; on the ground, that the inſured had not performed their contract, in not having produced to them, agreeably to their printed propoſals, a certificate from the miniſter and churchwardens of the pariſh, ſtating, that they believed the fire was really accidental, and ſpeaking to the good character of the inſured, &c. A part of one of their printed articles runs thus: "Perſons inſured, ſuſtaining any "loſs or damage by fire, ſhall procure a certificate under the "hands of the miniſter and church-"wardens, together with ſome "other reſpectable inhabitants of "the pariſh not concerned in ſuch "loſs, importing, that they are "well acquainted with the cha-"racter and circumſtances of the "perſon or perſons inſured, and do "know, or verily believe, that he, "ſhe or they, really, and by mis-"fortune, without any fraud, or "evil practice, have ſuſtained by "ſuch fire, the loſs and damage, as "his, her, or their loſs, to the value "therein mentioned; but, till ſuch "affidavit and certificate of the "inſured's loſs ſhall be made and "produced, the loſs money ſhall "not be payable." This caſe was argued more than once in the Common Pleas; after which they gave judgment for the plaintiffs. Thomas Worſley, eſq. the ſecretary to the office, brought a writ of error into the court of King's Bench, on the part of the proprietors of the ſaid office, againſt the aſſignees of Lockyer and Bream. This writ of error was argued with great abilities by Mr. Law, for the plaintiff in error, and Mr. Gibbs, for the defendants in error. The queſtion to be decided by the court, was, Whether, under the circumſtances of this caſe, the production of the certificate of the miniſter and churchwardens was a condition precedent neceſſary to be performed by the party claiming the amount of the loſs from the office? Mr. Law contended, that the production of that certificate was a condition precedent. Mr. Gibbs argued, that it was not a condition precedent, but only a regulation, or a condition ſubſequent, which had been ſubſtantially performed on the part of the

the insured. The court delivered their opinions *seriatim* upon this question. It was observed, that this was a case calling for their very serious attention; that the companies insuring against fire entered into very extensive contracts; that they were frequently liable to attempts to take money out of their pockets contrary to all justice and conscience, and that they had a right to shut the door against fraud as far as they could. For that purpose they had printed their proposals. The court were unanimously of opinion, that the production of the certificate of the minister and churchwardens of the parish was a condition precedent, that it was indespensably necessary to be produced by the insured before they had a right to call upon the office for the amount of the loss they had sustained. This was not an impossible condition, nor was it illegal or unreasonable. The office had a right to say, *hæc non in fœdera veni.* In resisting this demand, they had discharged a duty which they owed to themselves, and which they owed very much to the public. The court were most decidedly of opinion, that the judgment of the court of Common Pleas ought to be reversed.—Judgment for the plaintiff in error.

17th. *Coventry.*—The following instance of human depravity was discovered on Wednesday at Westwood-heath near Stonleigh. As a young lad, servant to Mr. Hands, was waiting near Park-wood, in order to shoot some rabbits, he heard, at some distance within the wood, a noise which he supposed to be the crying of a cat, and pointed his gun to the spot in order to destroy it; but, not being able to get a good aim, he proceeded with his gun cocked towards the place whence the noise came, where to his utter astonishment he found a little infant. He ran to call his master, who came immediately to the place, and took up the child, which appeared to be nearly exhausted. Mr. Hand, recollecting there was a woman near the place who had a young child of her own, sent for her, and by her assistance the poor foundling was preserved alive. After watching near the wood till midnight, to see if any one would come for the infant, he went home, and made every enquiry in his power to learn who had so cruelly exposed it to destruction; and suspicion, from many circumstances, fell upon one Hannah Russel. Early the next morning, Mr. Hands set out in pursuit of her, and found her in bed at her father's house at Honily. Being roundly taxed with the fact, after some hesitation, she confessed, that about three weeks ago she was delivered, in the work-house in Coventry, of a female bastard-child; that last Tuesday she obtained leave to come out, and go to her friends. That evening she spent in the said city, and the next day set out for Honily; but, thinking her friends would not be pleased to have the child to keep, she determined to leave it in the wood as she was passing by. She was committed to take her trial.

22d. Yesterday, at the sessions held at Clerkenwell Green, Joseph Stannart, shoe-maker, was tried upon an indictment charging him with being a seditious person, devising and intending to stir up the minds of the people to withdraw their allegiance from his majesty, by having seditiously spoken

and published the following words —"I wish for no king—a king is "a useless thing—I wish the king "may come to the gallows—the "first king was a curse to this "country." The jury withdrew for a short time, and returned with a verdict, guilty. He was sentenced to be imprisoned six calendar months in Clerkenwell-bridewell.

23d. The New College at Hackney, with eighteen acres of land, was this day knocked down at 5,700l. whether to a real or fictitious bidder we have not heard. The adjoining house, inhabited by Dr. Rees, as president of the college, was bought by him, or in his name, for 1,050l. The fate of this building, on which the proprietors acknowledge immense sums have been expended, and for which more than twice the sum it now fetched had been refused, and the fate of the institution itself, affords a striking proof that the people of this country are not disposed to encourage the modern philosophers in their attempts to undermine the constitution. That seminary was instituted under the most favourable auspices. The most wealthy and respectable part of the Dissenters were disposed to support the institution; but, that support having been withdrawn, the building is brought to the hammer. Whether it shall be converted into barracks, being not farther from the east than those in Hyde-park from the western extremity of the capital, or into a country settlement of any capital public and more constitutional school in London, or serve as a supplement to Bedlam, already too crowded to receive more inhabitants, time must shew.

The following melancholy accident happened yesterday morning in Houghton-street, Clare-market:—Two houses suddenly gave way, and buried in their ruins sixteen unfortunate inhabitants. At noon, thirteen were got out and conveyed to the parish work-house in Portugal-street. Of these, three had been dug out, shockingly mangled, without the least symptoms of life: two children apparently dead, were restored to life by the means prescribed by the humane society in cases of suffocation; the rest received some of them slight and others severe contusions. 27th.

A duel was fought in a field within three miles of Hamburgh, between lord Valentia and Henry Gawler, esq. They left England with their seconds and surgeons for the express purpose of fighting. They fired together. Mr. Gawler's ball took place; it entered his lordship's breast-bone, and lodged near the neck; it was extracted on the field, and he is considered to be out of danger. Lord Valentia's ball passed through Mr. Gawler's hat. The affair between Mr. Gawler and lady Valentia was the subject of the dispute. 28th.

One of the powder mills on Hounslow Heath blew up about eleven. Four unfortunate persons perished, but no others were hurt. It is remarkable, that this mill had been lately erected on the scite of that blown up on the 24th of January, and was used for the same purpose, that of corning the powder.

Died.—In Abingdon-street, in his 70th year, the rev. Thomas 7th.

mas Cole, L. L. B. and vicar of Dulverton. He was of Queen's college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of L. L. B. in 1751. He was the author of "The Arbour, or the Rural Philosopher," 4to. 1756, reprinted in Dodsley's Collection of Poems; "Discourses on Luxury, Infidelity, and Enthusiasm," 12mo. 1760, at which time he was preacher assistant at St. Paul's Covent-garden; and "The Life of Hubert, a Narrative, Descriptive, and Didactic Poem," Book I. 8vo. 1795.

11th. At Bedwell-park, Herts, in his 76th year, Samuel Whitbread, esq.; whose abilities, integrity, benevolence, and public spirit, will transmit his character with respect to the latest posterity. His father was a yeoman of Bedfordshire, who lived at the Barns at Cardington, in that country, on an estate of about 200l. per annum, which devolved to his eldest son, who much improved it by building, and spent much of his time at it after he purchased Bedwell-park. He is said to have died worth a million at least; the bulk of which he has bequeathed to his son. He was half-brother to Ive W. esq. hardwareman, of Cannon-street, and sheriff of London with Mr. Beckford, in 1755. By his first wife, Harriet, daughter of —— Haytor, an eminent attorney, of London, whom he married in 1757, and who died in 1764, he has left issue a son, Samuel, gentleman-commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, and representative of the town of Bedford in several parliaments after his father gave it up; and two daughters, the eldest married, 1789, to James Gordon, jun. esq. of More-park, Herts; the younger, Emma, to Henry Beauchamp lord St. John of Bletso, 1780. Mr. W. married to his second wife, 1769, lady Mary, youngest daughter of the late earl, and sister to the present marquis Cornwallis, who died in 1770, in childbed of an only daughter, married, in June, 1795, to capt. George Grey, late of the Boyne man of war, of 98 guns, third son of sir Charles G. K. B. and nephew of sir Harry G. bart. whose sister was married in 1788 to the present Mr. W. and by whom he has several children. His extensive establishments in the brewery were long unrivalled, and perhaps, to a certain point, remain so still. Mr. W's liberal charity will be witnessed by every parish where he had property, and in the distribution of his private benevolence, which is said to have exceeded 3000l. per annum; for no proper application met with a repulse; and to his honour let it here be recorded, that, several years before his death, he settled on St. Luke's hospital for lunaticks a perpetual rent-charge of one hundred guineas, payable out of his extensive premises in Chiswell-street. As a senator, he maintained his independence and integrity, his walk through life being uniform and unostentatious.

JULY.

1st. At the Old Bailey, Mary Nott was capitally convicted, for the wilful murder of M. le marquis de Gripier de Moncroe de Laval, a French emigrant nobleman, on the 29th of May last, at his lodgings in Monmouth-court, Whitcomb-street, of which house she had the care; and received sentence to be executed on Monday.

2d. Richard Ludman, Ann Rhodes, Eleanor Hughes, and Mary Baker, were tried for the murder of George Hebner.—This murder was committed in King-ſtreet, Eaſt Smithfield, in one of thoſe obſcure receptacles of debauchery with which this metropolis abounds. The body of the deceaſed was found on the morning of Sunday the 22d of May, ſuſpended by the neck from a bed-poſt, in a room on the ſecond floor, with his hands tied behind his back. This unfortunate man was a taylor, and had, it ſeems, been in very diſtreſſed circumſtances, which produced a propenſity to intoxication: when much in liquor, his widow ſaid, he ſlept ſo ſound, that it was almoſt impoſſible to wake him. It was proved that the four priſoners were in the houſe (which belonged to Eleanor Hughes) on the evening of Saturday the 21ſt, and next morning. They were ſeen, and ſome of their converſation heard, by two women who lived in an adjoining houſe; this houſe was ſeparated from that in which the body was found by only a lath partition, perforated in ſeveral places, and the holes and crevices affording a diſtinct view of almoſt all the apartments of the latter.

The manner in which the hands of the deceaſed were bound with a piece of tape was deſcribed in the court. The knot that had been uſed was what ſeamen call a timber hitch, and it was obviouſly ſuch as could not be done by himſelf. There was no direct and poſitive proof as to the guilt of the priſoners; but there was a chain of moſt ſuſpicious circumſtances pointing againſt Ludman and Hughes. The lord chief baron of the exchequer ſummed up the evidence with great preciſion, candour, and humanity. It was on the expreſſions uſed by the priſoners that the proof chiefly reſted, and his lordſhip nicely diſcriminated between thoſe that ſeemed to ariſe from ſurpriſe, on the diſcovery of the ſituation of the deceaſed, and thoſe which could only be ſuppoſed to proceed from a knowledge of the murder.—The jury retired for about an hour, and returned with a verdict, finding Richard Ludman and Eleanor Hughes — Guilty — Ann Rhodes and Mary Baker — Not Guilty. Sentence of death was immediately pronounced on Ludman and Hughes, by the recorder.

In the pariſh of Thorp, between Chertſey and Egham, there now reſides a Mr. Wapſhot, a farmer, whoſe anceſtors have lived on the ſame ſpot ſince the time of king Alfred, by whom the farm was granted to Reginald Wapſhot, the anceſtor of the preſent family.

A gentleman troling lately for pikes at Broad Creak, near Cambridge, drew out of his pocket with his handkerchief a ſmall red letter-caſe, containing bank bills to the amount of 78l. and ten guineas and a half in gold. Some perſons preſent, on the proſpect of a reward of ten guineas, drew the hole, when ſeveral pikes were caught, but no appearance of the pocket book. The gentleman at length took home his pikes, in one of which, of about ſeven pounds, on being opened, was found the letter-caſe, not much injured, and its valuable contents no otherwiſe affected, than in being wet.

3d. This day came on in the court of King's Bench, an action brought by the proprietors of the Telegraph againſt the proprietors of the

the Morning Poſt. The action was founded on the remarkable forgery of L'Eclair (a French newſpaper) of the 10th of February laſt, containing the pretended articles of a new armiſtice, and the preliminaries of a treaty of peace between the emperor of Germany and the French republic.—The declaration ſtated, that the forgery was made by the proprietors of the Morning Poſt, who had conſpired to ſend it to the Telegraph, to diſcredit the character of that paper. The fact being proved in evidence, the jury, after a few minutes conſultation, found a verdict for the plaintiffs—damages 100l. Lord Kenyon gave to the proſecutors much credit for the preſent action, and deſired it to be underſtood as his opinion, that a criminal proſecution would lie againſt the perſons concerned in the forgery.

4th. An action was brought by Mr. Goldſmidt againſt Mr. Dickinſon, for falſely charging the plaintiff with having promiſed to defray the expences of printing the forged L'Eclair mentioned in the preceding article, with a malicious intention to injure the plaintiff in his reputation, and to effect his ruin. He laid his damages at 20,000l. and evidence on both ſides being heard, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff—damages 1,500l.

5th. Was tried, in the court of King's Bench, Guildhall, before lord Kenyon and a ſpecial jury, an information filed by the attorney general againſt D. I. Eaton, a bookſeller in Newgate-ſtreet, for a libel in publiſhing a book, which defined the words "A king" to imply "cunning and craft, which would ſoon be in diſrepute in this country:" "A niggard" to mean, "a king who had defrauded his ſubjects of nine millions of money.—Oh! Mr. Guelph, where do you expect to go when you die?" and that the guillotine ſhould be introduced into this country, as a more merciful mode of puniſhing kings and queens than by the axe, &c.

Lord Kenyon concluded a moſt excellent charge to the jury with obſerving, that the king was entitled to the ſame protection of the laws with other men; and they would conſider whether any part of the king's conduct called for ſuch obſervations as thoſe which had been read to them from the book publiſhed by the defendant. His lordſhip thought his majeſty, like the judge of Iſrael (Samuel), might appeal to the jury and ſay, "Whoſe ox have I taken? Whoſe aſs have I taken? Whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppreſſed?"

The jury, after 15 minutes conſideration, returned a verdict—Guilty

6th. This day was tried another information againſt D.I. Eaton, for publiſhing a ſeditious book, called "A Summary of the Duties of Citizenſhip." The defendant was found guilty.

12th. On Saturday laſt, at the aſſizes at Wincheſter, an action was brought by ſir Hyde Parker, againſt major Hugh Baillie, for crim. con. with the lady of the former. The defendant allowed judgment to go by default, and the damages allotted were 3,000l.

18th. A cauſe of ſome importance to the intereſt of the eſtabliſhed church was on Monday decided in the court of Arches, Doctors Commons. The rev. W. Percy, a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed church, had been accuſtomed to read prayers, preach, adminiſter the ſacrament,

crament, and occaſionally to church women, and baptize children, according to the rites of the church of England, in the pariſh of Woolwich, in a building (improperly called a chapel) neither conſecrated nor licenſed for ſuch purpoſes, but originally appropriated to diſſenters. Mr. Percy made no defence; but, being condemned in coſts, perſonally petitioned the court for a mitigation of the coſts, on the plea of not having baptized children privately in houſes, as ſet forth in the 6th article, which was accordingly withdrawn; but, having by his own confeſſion, incurred the penalty of the other five articles, the court rejected his petition. He was conſequently condemned in the whole coſts, amounting to about fifteen guineas, and admoniſhed, by the judge who preſided, to deſiſt in future from ſuch irregular and illegal practices as were a groſs abuſe of the Toleration-act.

21ſt. A proceſſion, attended by a band of muſic, proceeded from Braunſton and paſſed through the new tunnel, and other works of the Grand Junction Canal, which are now finiſhed as far as the turnpike road at Weedon. The tunnel is in length 2,045 yards, in height 19 feet 6 inches, and in width 16 feet 6 inches. At Weedon commences an immenſe embankment acroſs a valley, which, when completed, will extend to Blſworth.

22d. At the aſſizes for *Devon*, an action of ejectment was tried, between one Baſtin, plaintiff, and one Arthur and his wife, defendants, for the recovery of lands in Devonſhire, claimed by the plaintiff as heir of one John Noſeworthy, an idiot from his birth to his death, at the age of ſixty-one years. The defendants claimed thoſe lands und this idiot's will. In ſupport of t plaintiff's caſe, upwards of twen witneſſes clearly proved his idiot from his not knowing the value money, or any other article of lif and many inſtances of groſs i poſition on him; and, among othe that he never received one ſhilli of the rent of his lands; that was exempted from all offices, a particularly from ſerving in t militia, on account of his incapacit and it was proved that he was tak from his ſiſter, the plaintiff's moth and married to a woman whom ſcarcely knew, and that, a fortnig after his marriage, he did not kno he was married; that his wife oft corrected him, when he would cr and behave like a child. All t witneſſes on the part of the plai tiff gave teſtimony of the teſtato idiotcy. On the part of the d fendants many witneſſes were e amined, who all proved, in the ſam words, that he was a man of ſen without giving a ſingle inſtance it, except that he could read, wri his name, kept his church, remem bered the texts, and other paſſag of ſcripture. The curate of t pariſh of Aſhcombe, where the idi lived and died, in ſupport of th will, proved the idiot to be a *gre divine*, *philoſopher*, and *hiſtorian* that he was timid and ſhy ſtrangers at firſt; yet, when he b came acquainted, and any perſ had gained his confidence, he w very converſant, and all perſons a quainted with him muſt court h company. After a hearing of near ten hours, the jury, without a m ment's heſitation, gave a verdi againſt the will, in favour of th plaintiff Baſtin, to the ſatisfaction the court, and a crowded audience.

Anne Morgan, wife of a lace-maker at *Olney*, Bucks, laſt week ſtarved herſelf to death: it is ſtated, that nature was not exhauſted until ſhe had faſted ten days. She had for ſome time been deranged in her intellects, and, for a long period previous to her late raſh reſolve, had accuſtomed herſelf to eat but once or twice a week, and when thirſty to wet her lips with beer or water; the conſequence was, at the time of her death ſhe was a perfect ſkeleton.

27th. *Shrewſbury*. — Yeſterday was tried at the aſſizes here, by a moſt reſpectable ſpecial jury, before the honourable Mr. juſtice Heath, a cauſe againſt the biſhop of Bangor; the rev. Dr. Owen; the rev. Mr. Roberts, archdeacon of Merioneth; the rev. Mr. Williams; and Mr. Thomas Jones; for unlawfully diſturbing Mr. Samuel Grindley, in the regiſtrar's office at Bangor on the 8th of January laſt. It appeared, that in 1792, Mr. Grindley, an attorney, had, by means of the biſhop, been appointed deputy-regiſtrar of the conſiſtorial court of his diocefe, his lordſhip's nephew being the principal regiſtrar; that, on the 6th of January laſt, whilſt the office was ſhut, the biſhop ſent for the key of it; which was refuſed, by order of Mr. Grindley; that on the 7th of January, by his lordſhip's order, the lock of the office was taken off and a new one put on, the key of which was delivered to the biſhop, who the ſame day informed Mr. Grindley thereof. That, on the 8th of January, Mr. Grindley, with a blackſmith and four other perſons, broke open the office. That the defendants, being alarmed at this, went to the office unarmed (after Mr. Grindley had taken poſſeſſion of it) and expoſtulated with him, and were excited to ſhew ſome marks of anger at this violent conduct; for he was armed with piſtols and had forced one perſon down the ſteps and threatened to ſhoot another. It alſo appeared that the biſhop ſent for a magiſtrate; and his lordſhip and the other defendants ſoon afterwards departed, leaving Mr. Grindley in the office. A pamphlet was produced in court to Mr. Grindley, containing ſome confidential letters from the biſhop to him during the time he had been his lordſhip's agent; which letters Mr. Grindley owned he had delivered into the hands of a Mr. Williams of Treffos. The defendants' counſel ſaid they had many witneſſes; but that the caſe ſtood ſo clear, even on the plaintiff's evidence, they did not think it neceſſary to call a ſingle witneſs on the part of the defendants, and the jury immediately, without leaving the court, acquitted all the defendants. Mr. Adam from London, as leading counſel for the plaintiff, had a fee of 300 guineas, and Mr. Erſkine the like for the defendants.

30th. At the *Surrey* aſſizes, Edwards, late of Pleaſant-place, and doctor Gale, were tried for fraudulently ſigning and counterfeiting certain certificates, atteſtations, &c. of recruits. Edwards kept a recruiting-houſe, which was burnt by the mob. The doctor, being a good actor, occaſionally played the characters of captain, ſurgeon, and magiſtrate. When a recruit was brought in, he ſtripped and examined him as ſurgeon; approved of him in another place and dreſs as captain; and finally ſigned his atteſtation as magiſtrate. Of all theſe ingenious

genious acts of his, and of Edwards's participation, the jury found them both guilty.

At the same assizes came on the trial of Theophilus Bridges, of Temple-street, Prospect-place, St. George's-fields, for the wilful murder of Elizabeth Monk. Mr. Garrow stated that the prisoner followed the business of an army button-maker; and that he had taken as apprentices seven girls from the guardians of the Asylum; that he kept them at work, in a close apartment, from four in the morning to eight, and sometimes ten, in the evening; that any inability or neglect was punished, not only with beating severely, but a deprivation of their usual allowance at meals, which at best were but scanty, having a little meat on Sundays only; that the deceased was of a delicate constitution, and unable to do the same portion of work as the other apprentices, which frequently caused her to be severely beaten; that on the 7th of January 1795, the prisoner beat the deceased severely, and, after striking her down, kicked her in the side; that notwithstanding the injury she had sustained, she endeavoured to continue her work until bed time, but complained to the girl who slept with her, that her side was so very painful, she could not sit up, nor bear it; but such was the experience they had of his cruel disposition, they durst not utter a complaint in his hearing; that she continued endeavouring to work until the 15th of that month, when, being so affected with the pain in her side, as to be utterly unable to sit at her work, the prisoner again beat her, and, particularly, took her by the arms, and beat her head against the pump; that, soon after, she put to bed, and was found dead the morning; that, to conceal guilt, the prisoner sent for a geon to the deceased; but pr ously to his obtaining a sight of informed him, by his wife (M Bridges) "that the girl had b long in a consumption, which now got very bad; and that was very much troubled with a p in her side constantly:" that surgeon, on viewing the girl, her so much emaciated by her order (as he was led to suppose, Mrs. Bridges' account) and be of opinion that it was not in power of medical aid to save he told her mistress so, and left h that the prisoner some days af ward, sent for an undertaker, had her buried: that one of girls having communicated to friends the circumstance, it communicated to the guardians the Asylum, who instituted the p sent prosecution. Mr. Saum the surgeon, who saw the decea could not speak decisively on subject, not having (on account the artful information he recei from Mrs. Bridges) examined patient any further than to feel pulse. The undertaker had served her back and shoulders be very much bruised; and place, in particular, appeared as she had had a blister recently plied to her back. The evide being closed, lord Kenyon t spoke: "Gentlemen of the ju "the evidence of the surgeon "undertaker renders the cas "very doubtful, that I do not "how we can proceed any furth "as the law requires proof t "some actual violence inflicted "the prisoner, was the cause of

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girl's death. It happens unfortunately, that the diſtance of time ſince it happened renders it impoſſible to obtain ſuch information as the law requires. Now I am on this ſubject, I will ſay, and I hope it will have its due effect, that perſons like the priſoner taking children from charitable foundations as apprentices or ſervants, muſt not conſider themſelves as taſk-maſters, they muſt conſider that the kindneſs as well as the authority of a parent is transferred to them; and when they take upon themſelves to exerciſe the authority of correction, as a maſter, let them remember they alſo owe the kindneſs of a parent." The ry immediately returned a verdict not guilty. The grand jury were t diſcharged: Mr. Garrow moved at he remain in cuſtody: a true bill as then found againſt him for a pe. Counſel not being prepared, he as remanded till the next aſſizes.

Sunderland.—An iron bridge has en erected acroſs the river Wear, hich will be of conſiderable utility, t only to this town, but alſo to e adjoining counties. It conſiſts one arch, two hundred and rty-ſix feet in length and one ndred feet in height, ſo that the ge ſhips which frequent that port n ſail under it with ſafety; the ent of the arch is nearly one ndred feet longer than that of y other bridge in Europe. It s projected by Mr. Burdon, one the members for the county Durham, to whoſe public ſpirit ſucceſs of this important untaking is to be entirely attribut- The expence, amounting to ocol. and upwards, has been contributed by Mr. Burdon, except about the ſum of 6,000l. which was ſubſcribed towards the undertaking by Mr. Milbanke, the other member for the county of Durham, Mr. Lambton, and others. It is to be opened on Tueſday, the 9th day of Auguſt next, for the accommodation of the public, with a grand maſonic proceſſion, attended by the commiſſioners of the river Wear, magiſtrates, clergy, officers of the navy and army, and the Loyal Sunderland volunteers.

Bronſet, Kent.—Two ſervants of Mr. Slowman being 31ſt. lately in a garden near ſome beehives, they unfortunately overturned one of the hives; the bees ſwarmed with great rapidity on a child near them, which was ſtung in ſo dreadful a manner, that in a very ſhort period it died.

DIED.—On Sunday, the 17th, at his houſe in Park-lane, Dr. T. S. Dupuis, many years organiſt and compoſer to his majeſty. Dr. D. was a moſt excellent performer on the organ, and it may be ſafely affirmed, that he had no equal upon that inſtrument in this country. His ſtyle of performance was grand and ſtriking, and his extempore fugus were always performed with great correctneſs and judgment. Among Dr. D's contemporaries on the ſame inſtrument, he had never any rival, beſides the late celebrated Dr. Worgan. As a compoſer, he is known for ſeveral publications; but we underſtand ſome of his compoſitions are ſtill in MS. at the Chapel Royal. At the time of his death, he had attained the age of 63. As a private character, few can leave a more amiable one, and he is greatly lamented by a numerous

a numerous circle of muſical and other friends. He is ſucceeded as organiſt to the Chapel Royal, by Mr. Knyvitt, ſen. and as compoſer to his majeſty, by Mr. Attwood, organiſt of St. Paul's.

21ſt. At Dumfries, after a lingering illneſs, Robert Burns, the celebrated Scotch poet. An account of him will be given at a future period.

Lately. At Paris, the duke de Chatelet. This unfortunate peer, after ſecuring ſome part of his property in England, returned to France with the hope of reſcuing more; but before he could attain his object, was diſcovered, and arreſted by the deputy on miſſion in the department of the Somme. He had, however, taken ſuch precautions, that his emigration could not be traced; and he might perhaps, have eſcaped, had not a jacobin, whoſe brother was cook in an Engliſh nobleman's family, produced a letter, which ſtated the duke's having dined with lord —— on a particular day, and even the other company who were preſent, and the converſation which paſſed at table. Monſ. de Chatelet, ſurpriſed, unprepared for ſuch evidence, and unable to refute it, was ſent to Paris, and guillotined; and in his fate were involved ſeveral innocent people, one of them a young Engliſh lady, becauſe ſhe happened to be in a houſe where the duke ſlept one night.

America.—July 10. In the 64th year of his age, David Rittenhouſe, the American philoſopher. His hiſtory is curious, from the admiration in which his character was held. Rittenhouſe was a native of America; and, in the early part of his life, he mingled the purſuits of ſcience with the active employments of a farmer and a watchmaker. In 1769 he was invited by the American Philoſophical Society to join a number of gentlemen who were then occupied in making ſome aſtronomical obſervations, when he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the accuracy of his calculations and the comprehenſion of his mind. He afterwards conſtructed an obſervatory, which he ſuperintended in perſon, and which was the ſource of many important diſcoveries, as well as greatly tending to the general diffuſion of ſcience in the weſtern world. During the American war, he was an active aſſertor of the cauſe of independence. Since the concluſion of the peace, he ſucceſſively filled the offices of treaſurer of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and director of the national mint, in both of which capacities he was alike diſtinguiſhed for ſtrength of judgment and integrity of heart. He ſucceeded the illuſtrious Franklin in the office of preſident of the Philoſophical Society; a ſituation which the bent of his mind and the courſe of his ſtudies had rendered him eminently calculated to fill; and towards the cloſe of his days he retired from public life to the enjoyment of domeſtic happineſs, when he formed a circle of private friends, who will continue to admire his virtues as a man, while the world will applaud his talents as a philoſopher.

AUGUST.

The count de Montmorin arrived in town, being charged with diſpatches from Louis XVIIIth 3d.

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to the count d'Artois, at Edinburgh. This nobleman brings advice, that on Wednesday the 19th of July, at ten o'clock at night, as the king of France was looking out of the window of an inn, at a town belonging to the elector of Treves, called Dillingen, near Ulm, on the Danube, he was wounded on the upper part of his forehead by a ball, supposed to have been fired from a horse pistol on the opposite side of the street, which was about twenty-five yards wide. The ball took an oblique direction, and made a singular wound of three inches long, without penetrating the skull; no surgeon being immediately at hand, one of the gentlemen of his suite cut off the hair, and applied the first thing he met with in order to stop the bleeding. The confusion was great, by which means the perpetrator of this inhuman deed made his escape; he is supposed to be a Frenchman from the republican army, bribed for this purpose, and connected with others who facilitated his escape. The town has a wall round it, but, perhaps, not more than four feet high in many places. This assassin must have been particularly acquainted with the king's person, as the duke de Fleury was standing close by him at the time, in a narrow window, and is nearly as corpulent in his person. The ball was found on the floor, flattened by having struck the wall afterwards. The king was not materially hurt, and in three days afterwards pursued his journey to Ingoldstadt, in his way to Saxony.

3d. *Bath.*—An alarming accident happened at the coal-pits at Highgrove, near Timsbury, Somerset, occasioned by the forgetfulness of a boy in leaving a lighted candle against one of the timber props that was placed to support the roof of the pits, which, taking fire, communicated to the other timbers, and in a short time the whole pit was on fire—at least forty loads of wood were supposed to be in the pit. On Sunday three men went down into another pit that had a communication with that on fire, but the air-shaft being entirely stopt, the foul air, stagnated by the smoak, immediately suffocated them; by great exertions, two were drawn up, one dead. The coal-pit on the 22d still continued burning more furiously than when it first broke out, though every means have been tried to stop its progress. The pit is upwards of one hundred fathom deep, and the damage is already estimated at many thousand pounds. By this accident nearly one hundred poor men are out of employ.

4th. Early this morning, an elderly man, decently dressed, blew his brains out in a field between Brompton and Chelsea, with a large horse-pistol, the muzzle of which, it is thought, he had put into his mouth, as a large piece of the back part of the skull was found at several yards distance from the body. He had no money about him, nor any thing which could lead to discover who he was. A letter was found in his pocket unfinished, in which he addresses himself to a Mr. Graham, painting, in the most pathetic language, the distress that he laboured under, both as to his circumstances and bodily afflictions. The horrors he experienced when asleep, he says, cannot be equalled by any human distress; at such times he was a prey to the most frightful apprehensions,

ſions. To lull his diſordered ſenſes, he had daily taken a large doſe of laudanum, which at length turning his brain, occaſioned his exit.

At Stafford aſſizes an extraordinary incident took place: One of the priſoners (William Cotterell) was indicted for a burglary and robbery in the houſe of Mr. Forman, of Handſworth, to which he pleaded guilty; nor could he be perſuaded to offer any other plea, until the judge threatened, in caſe he perſiſted, to order him for a ſpeedy execution—He then pleaded not guilty, and his trial proceeded. However, ſufficient evidence not appearing to convict him, he was, of courſe (though very unexpectedly,) acquitted.

9th. A cricket-match was played by eleven Greenwich penſioners with one leg, againſt eleven with one arm, for one thouſand guineas, at the new Cricket-ground, Montpellier Gardens, Walworth. About nine o'clock the men arrived in three Greenwich ſtages; about twelve the wickets were pitched, and the match commenced. Thoſe with but one leg had the firſt innings, and got ninety-three runs; thoſe with one arm got but forty-two runs during their innings. The one-legs commenced their ſecond innings, and ſix were bowled out after they got ſixty runs, ſo that they left off one hundred and eleven more than thoſe with one arm. Next morning the match was played out, and the men with one leg beat the one-arms by one hundred and three runnings. After the match was finiſhed, the eleven one-legged men run a ſweepſtakes of one hundred yards diſtance, for twenty guineas, and the three firſt had prizes.

This day Wearmouth bridge, Sunderland, was opened in the moſt ſplendid manner. Prince William of Glouceſter, and Mr. Burdon, M. P. led the proceſſion, and were followed by the different orders of Maſons from moſt of the lodges in the north of England. The proceſſion proceeded, amidſt a concourſe of at leaſt fifteen thouſand people, through the High-ſtreet, Bridge-ſtreet, along the bridge, and to the weſtward as far as the lime-kilns, and to the eaſtward by the low road to the Land Arch, where a halt was made, and the grand honours given. On the centre of the bridge a very animated oration was ſpoken by the rev. brother Nesfield. Brother Burdon, grand maſter, alſo addreſſed the brethren, and expreſſed his obligations to brother Wilſon, the architect, and to brother Scarth, the ſenior grand warden, for his aſſiſtance in the work. The grand honours were then again repeated, and the bridge was declared by the grand maſter to be open, and fit for public uſe. A diſcharge of cannon and muſketry cloſed the ceremony. The proceſſion afterwards proceeded to Sunderland church, where a diſcourſe was delivered by the rev. brother Brewſter. The day was concluded by an elegant public dinner, and in the evening with an aſſembly and ball, which was numerouſly attended.

10th. A dreadful earthquake has nearly deſtroyed the city of Lattaique in Syria. The firſt ſhock was May 16th, which laſted about eighty-ſix ſeconds. Upwards of three thouſand perſons were buried in the ruins of the houſes. A great part of the moſques are deſtroyed. The ſmall town of Gibellet

Gibellet is alſo totally deſtroyed, and ſeveral houſes thrown down at Tortoſa and Tripoli.

11th. This afternoon, a gentleman going down Gray's-inn-lane in a whiſkey, the horſe took fright, and ſet off full-ſpeed; his ſervant ſeeing his maſter in ſuch a ſituation, unfortunately for him, came up to the horſe, and ſeized the bridle, but was not capable of ſtopping him. The beaſt turned up a narrow paſſage by Chads Wells; the ſervant ſtill running, and holding the bridle. In turning round the paſſage, the near ſhaft caught the man in the body, which it clearly run through, and was ſtopt by the wall. The gentleman was thrown violently from the carriage, but not much hurt. The ſervant was killed.

Dartford.—This morning, about eleven o'clock, one of the mills about half a mile diſtant from the place blew up with a dreadful exploſion: the inhabitants were ſo terrified by the ſudden concuſſion, that, imagining it to be an earthquake, they forſook their dwellings; an immenſe pillar of ſmoke, ariſing from the premiſes, apprized them of the melancholy event. Nine perſons, to a certainty, have loſt their lives; they were blown to pieces; the ſhoulders and part of a body were driven over a ſtream, which ran near a mill, at leaſt one hundred and fifty yards; part of a ſkull was found at a conſiderable diſtance, a mere ſhell, as clean within as without; other parts were alſo picked up a great way from the ſpot where the cataſtrophe happened, all of which appeared terribly ſcorched and black: the timbers of the building were alſo thrown a great way, and ſeveral large pieces ſcattered upwards of half a mile; the trees within its neighbourhood were ſtripped of their bark; not a veſtige of the mill is left ſtanding; and the houſes round the villages of Dartford, Crayford, &c. experienced its effects, by the windows being broken; the father of one of the ſufferers left the place about half an hour before the event happened, and one of the perſons loſt was going with a rope into the mill as it blew up. The cauſe of this accident is not at preſent known.

20th. This morning a duel was fought in Hyde-park, between Mr. William Carpenter and Mr. John Pride, both Americans, in which Mr. Carpenter received his antagoniſt's ball in the ſide, which penetrated nearly through his body: and, notwithſtanding it was immediately extracted, he died on Monday Morning.—The Coroner's jury ſat on the body, and brought in their verdict "Wilful "murder by three perſons un-"known."

22d. This afternoon an unfortunate affair took place in the houſe of the late Mr. Yates, the comedian, at Pimlico. A Mr. John Yates, his nephew, and a Miſs Jones, had had a diſpute about the right of poſſeſſion of the houſe, and Mr. Yates having taken a walk into the garden, on Monday afternoon, he was bolted out by Miſs Jones. On his return, he endeavoured to force his way through a window into the houſe, but being reſiſted by a friend of Miſs Jones's, of the name of Sellers, who tried to intimidate him with a piſtol, a ſcuffle enſued, and the piſtol going off, mortally wounded Mr. Yates.

Mr. Yates died on Tuesday, and on Wednesday night the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Miss Jones and her two friends, John Sellers and Richard Footner.

23d. This morning, a young whale came up the river as far as Rotherhithe, and was killed near Execution Dock, after having overset two boats. It measured nineteen feet in length.

26th. The audience at the Haymarket theatre were this night, about eleven o'clock, thrown into the greatest alarm and confusion by a set of ruffians who were parading through the streets with one of the candidates on the late Garratt election. These ruffians, no doubt, for the purpose of picking pockets, or gaining any booty that might offer, called out, fire! as they passed the theatre. The dreadful sound immediately spread over the front boxes, and communicated to the rest of the house. In an instant there was an eager struggle to escape; and though the box-keepers, and all the servants of the house in front, used their utmost endeavours to quiet the fears of the audience, it was impossible to remove the general anxiety. The stage was covered with people, who attempted to retreat that way. One gentleman lost his life, having leaped from the green boxes into the orchestra; in his fall, he broke the harpsichord, and fractured his skull; he was conveyed into the green-room, and thence removed to his own house. Young Bannister, with great zeal, assured the audience, that no danger of the supposed kind could possibly take place, and informed them of the real cause of the confusion that prevailed. The entertainment, which was the Mogul Tale, was necessarily prevented from proceeding any further; and the audience at length dispersed, not without the loss of hats, &c.

27th. *Nantz.*—A fire took place in our suburb theatre during the third act of Zemire et Azor; which caught the transparency in the apartments of Zemire, at the moment when the mechanist and his assistants were busy repairing the bust of Azor, which had met with an accident in coming up a trap not sufficiently open. The flames spread with such astonishing rapidity, that in five minutes the whole theatre was in flames, and this superb monument of the decorative talents of Cruci, the town architect, was soon a heap of deplorable ruins. The walls alone remain. The wardrobe and other decorations were totally consumed, and some persons lost their lives. Among the audience, however, a few bruises, inevitable from the confusion, were all the damage, except a pregnant woman who is stated to have been borne down by the crowd, and shockingly trampled upon. Those behind the scenes were in a dreadful condition. Three persons much burnt, have been drawn out from the flames. The tocsin was sounding at the moment of the account departing, the interior part still burning, and the sight of new victims was perpetually feared.

The last dispatches from the East-Indies have developed the origin and cause of the mutinous behaviour of the native battalions which had created a considerable alarm at Calcutta. The public service requiring that troops should be sent to Malacca by sea, the 15th battalion

battalion of ſepoys, on a propoſition from their officers, voluntarily offered themſelves to embark; the propoſition was repeated to them at three different times, in order that they might have full leiſure to deliberate upon it, and form their determination; and they again repeated their acquieſcence. The Britiſh government in India, ſenſible of the prejudice of the Hindoos againſt a voyage by ſea, and ever attentive to them, expreſſed their approbation at the zeal of the 15th battalion, in voluntarily undertaking ſervice which was left to their option to accept or decline. Convenient ſhips were prepared for their accommodation, and every precaution was uſed to provide wood and water, under the inſpection of officers and men ſelected and deputed by the ſaid battalion, to ſuperintend the proviſions. After many days, to the aſtoniſhment of government, the battalion, without any reaſon whatever, retracted the acquieſcence which they had voluntarily and deliberately given; this was conſidered as a deſertion of their duty as ſoldiers; but their ſubſequent conduct was ſuch as to leave them without any title to forgiveneſs. They were for many days in a ſtate of actual outrageous mutiny; and when required by colonel Erſkine to lay down their arms, had the audacity to fire on the 29th battalion. For this conduct, the council at Calcutta order it to be declared, that the 15th battalion of native ſepoys has been broken with infamy, and its colours burned, and that their caſe ſhould be publiſhed in the Perſian language and diſperſed.

Died.—In Berkeley county, Virginia, on the 17th of February, Mr. Charles Roberts, at the uncommon age of one hundred and ſixteen. He was a native of Oxfordſhire in England, but had reſided in America nearly eighty years. He ſeemed to retain all his faculties in perfect exerciſe to the end of his exiſtence, and two years before his death rode to church alone. During his long life he knew not ſickneſs, and his death was not preceded by indiſpoſition; it was ſudden, as he was eating his ſupper.

Mr. Chriſtopher Pivett, carver and gilder, in York, aged ninety-three. He was formerly in the retinue of his royal highneſs William duke of Cumberland; he fought under the earl of Stair at the battle of Dettingen, and under the duke of Cumberland in the battle of Fontenoy; was at the ſiege of Carliſle, and the battle of Culloden; he went to York the latter end of the year 1746. His habitation having been burnt down, he took the ſingular reſolution of not lying in a bed, which he had not done for the laſt thirty-eight years of his life: He uſed to ſleep upon the floor, or upon a chair or chairs with his cloaths on. During the whole of this period he lived alone, cooked his victuals, and ſeldom admitted any perſon into his habitation, carefully concealing the place of his birth, or to whom he was related. It is ſuppoſed that he was born in or near London, and that his relations reſide there. He appeared to have had a liberal education; was fond of having receipts for money in the name of Sir Chriſtopher Pivett, and was remarkable for many ſingularities: Amongſt other uncommon articles which compoſed the furniture of his apartment, were a human ſkull, ſome old ſwords and armour, on 8th.

which he ſet great value. He retained his faculties to the laſt, declined to be indulged with a bed or even a mattraſs, and refuſed all medical aſſiſtance. He was an ingenious artiſt, and an honeſt man.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. *Scarborough.*—On Sunday laſt, three gentlemen from Horſforth, in the Weſt Riding, went on the water with a pleaſure-boat, rowed by a man named Laycock; and, in returning, the ſtrength of the wind, and violence of the waves, driving them amongſt the breakers, threw them near ten yards from the veſſel; and, unable to regain either the boat or ſhore, they all periſhed in ſight of a great multitude of ſpectators, who exerted themſelves in vain for their relief. The bodies of the three former have been found; the latter has left a wife and child.

5th. A large altar-piece has juſt been placed in the church of St. John's, Southwark, repreſenting the patron ſaint of the church, under the influence of divine inſpiration, compoſing his revelations. The figure of St. John is very finely conceived, and admirably expreſſes the holy enthuſiaſm ſuited to the occaſion. The attendant figures are ſtriking and appropriate. The colouring is chaſte, beautiful, and harmonious. This picture is the work of Mr. Peters, and is in the higheſt degree creditable to his truly maſterly pencil.

16th. A dreadful fire happened at a ſmall village called Eaſt Whitton, on the eſtate of the earl of Ayleſbury, in the North Riding of the county of York. The flames broke out at the workhouſe, in the middle of the day, when moſt of the inhabitants were in the fields reaping. The buildings being chiefly covered with thatch, and the wind ſtrong at S. W. the fire burnt with ſuch irreſiſtible fury as in the courſe of a few hours totally ruined near a dozen families, burning ſixteen dwelling-houſes and out-buildings, with a large quantity of corn and farming-utenſils, all of which were uninſured.

This day John Sellers, William Footner, and Elizabeth Jones, were put to the bar at the Old Bailey; the former upon the charge of having wilfully and maliciouſly wounded Mr. Thomas Yates, with a piſtol ball, of which wound he died, and the two latter for aiding and abetting in the ſaid murder. The evidence of the ſervant, Mary Thompſon, varied from her former depoſition before the magiſtrates, before whom ſhe ſwore that Mr. Yates puſhed away the piſtol with his hand when preſented by Sellers; but contradicted herſelf in this particular on the trial, that Mr. Yates did not touch the piſtol, nor was it poſſible for him to reach it, though on her firſt examination ſhe had ſworn that Mr. Yates had hold of it, and was ſtruggling with it at the moment it went off. It came out in evidence that Mr. Yates behaved in a vindictive quarrelſome manner in the houſe, having threatened Miſs Jones with perſonal violence. Sellers in his defence, denied all intention of killing Mr. Yates, but ſaid that the piſtol went off, owing to Yates taking hold of it; and that he had deſired to be furniſhed with the piſtols for his perſonal defence, as Mr. Yates had repeatedly threatened to bring in

ſeveral

ſeveral perſons to turn them out by force. He had only been ſhut out for the purpoſe of keeping him out till the attorney, who had been ſent for, ſhould arrive, and that his taking the piſtol was the impulſe of the moment, and was only intended to have intimidated him; and that Mr. Yates himſelf ſeized hold of the piſtol to wreſt it from him. It did not appear that Miſs Jones or Footner were at all implicated, and numerous witneſſes gave Sellers an exemplary character for humanity and mildneſs of diſpoſition. The jury found Sellers guilty of manſlaughter, and acquitted Miſs Jones and Mr. Footner.

17th. William Clarke, the driver of the Newmarket mail, was indicted for wilful murder. It appeared that the priſoner was driving the mail coach at a very furious rate along Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, where he ran over a boy and killed him on the ſpot. The priſoner drove on without knowing of the accident, but was ſoon afterwards ſtopped. He alledged in his defence, that his employers were under contract to perform the journey within a certain period, and therefore he thought it his duty to drive ſo faſt. The judge, in ſumming up the evidence, obſerved, "no contract could juſtify a man for driving in ſuch a manner as to endanger the lives of others." The jury retired, and were abſent two hours; when they returned, and found the priſoner, not guilty.

Liverpool.—This morning, a little before one o'clock, a moſt dreadful fire broke out in a large warehouſe, belonging to Mr. Hervey, in Cheapſide; which, notwithſtanding every poſſible exertion, could not be got under till the whole warehouſe, with all its valuable contents, were conſumed. The top part was occupied by Middleton, as a cotton manufactory, where the fire broke out, occaſioned, as is ſuppoſed, by the friction of one of the wheels employed in the works. In the lower part were eleven thouſand meaſures of wheat, belonging to Meſſrs. Corrie, Gladſtone, and Co. which, with a large quantity of hides, rum, brandy, and other ſpirits, were entirely deſtroyed. About three o'clock, the front part of the warehouſe fell into the ſtreet, directly upon one of the fire-engines that was then working, which occaſioned a ſcene of horror impoſſible to be deſcribed: three men were cruſhed to pieces on the ſpot; ten more were carried to the infirmary in a dreadful ſituation, two of whom died immediately; and it is thought that many more will be found among the ruins: two of the deceaſed were ſoldiers belonging to the Tay fencibles; the others are a butcher, and two of the people belonging to the engine. The fire is not yet extinguiſhed; but it is ſo far ſubdued, that there is not much danger of the flames extending to the neighbouring buildings.

William Beckford, eſq. of Fonthill, is collecting the materials for a building of wonderful grandeur and utility. It is to conſiſt of a tower, to be erected on Stops' Beacon, near Fonthill, the loftieſt ſcite in that neighbourhood; it is to have a ſquare of eighty feet clear, within the walls, at the baſe, and to be two hundred and eighty feet high, with a lantern at the top, ſo that it will command a view of near eighty miles every way, and the lantern to be ſeen by night at a greater diſtance. It is to be furniſhed as an obſervatory,

and, notwithſtanding its immenſe height, is to be ſo conſtructed as that a coach and ſix may be driven with eaſe and ſafety from the baſe to the top, and down again. This ſtupendous work will probably employ hundreds of the neighbouring poor for near ten years.

22d. *Plymouth.* — About four this afternoon the fore magazine of the Amphion, then lying alongſide the ſheer hulk in Hamoaze, refitting, by ſome accident took fire and blew up, which had ſuch an effect as to rip the upper works in the fore part of the ſhip to atoms, and ſhe almoſt immediately ſunk in ten fathoms of water. Several of her crew were blown up with her, ten or twelve of whom fell on board the hulk, mangled in a manner too dreadful to deſcribe; many others fell in the water and periſhed, and a few were taken up with but ſlight injury. The number of the ſhips company, and the viſitors (of which there were ſeveral), unfortunately on board at the time, are, from the beſt accounts, ſtated at no leſs than two hundred and fifty, out of which number, according to the moſt accurate returns that have been made, only thirty-ſeven men and two women have been ſaved, and ſome of thoſe ſeverely wounded. Capt. Pellew had ſome officers of other ſhips on board to dine, who, with his own officers, were with him in the cabin at the time of the accident, out of whom, there is reaſon to fear, only himſelf and his firſt lieutenant have eſcaped with life, both of whom are wounded, the former ſlightly, the latter, it is feared, in a much more dangerous manner. As the names of all the officers who have periſhed cannot yet be obtained with that accuracy which is neceſſary on ſo melancholy an occaſion, it is deemed prudent to mention that only of capt. William Swaffield, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Overyſſell, of ſixty-four guns, now under ſailing orders in this harbour, who was in the cabin with capt. Pellew and other officers, and is gone down in the ſhip, in conſequence of which the Overyſſel is in mourning on the melancholy event. It is alſo feared that the ſecond and third lieutenants of the Amphion had ſhared a ſimilar fate. Capt. Pellew had a very miraculous eſcape—He is ſaid to have heard a kind of rumbling noiſe immediately preceding the blowing up, which alarmed him, and he inſtantly ran into the quarter-gallery neareſt the ſheer hulk, on whoſe deck he was inſtantaneouſly thrown, whereby he received a ſevere blow on one ſide of the head, and a contuſion on his breaſt, but is in a fair way of recovery. Though the exploſion was, as may be expected, very great, yet it had but a trifling effect on ſhore, or indeed even on board the ſhips along-ſide which ſhe lay. Her maſts, yards, &c. were ſhivered almoſt to pieces, and lifted out of the ſhip (except the mizen-maſt); four of her guns, twelve pounders, were thrown in upon the hulk's deck, and ſeveral bodies, pieces of the wreck, &c. were ſeen to be thrown as high as her maintop-gallant-maſt head; in ſhort, the whole was ſuch a dreadful ſcene, as the human mind cannot dwell upon but with indeſcribable horror! The dead bodies and mangled limbs that were picked up have been conveyed to the hoſpital, in order to be interred. Apparatuſes are preparing for lifting the ſhip, which will be done as ſoon as poſſible, as ſhe lay immediately in the track

track of the men of war going into, and coming out of dock; perhaps, when this is effected, ſhe will preſent ſuch a ſpectacle, as poſſibly has been ſeldom or ſcarcely equalled, the greater part of the unfortunate ſufferers being ſtill in the ſhip's hold. The cauſe of the accident is not, and in all probability never will be, diſcovered; as there is little reaſon to doubt but the perſon, whoſe imprudence occaſioned the diſaſter, has ſhared in the melancholy fate of his unfortunate companions.

23d. This afternoon the coroner's jury ſat on the body of a lady in the neighbourhood of Holborn, who died in conſequence of a wound from her daughter, the preceding day. While the family were preparing for dinner, the young lady, in a fit of inſanity, ſeized a caſe knife lying on the table, and in a menacing manner purſued a little girl, her apprentice, round the room. On the eager calls of her helpleſs infirm mother, to forbear, ſhe renounced her firſt object, and, with loud ſhrieks, approached her parent. The child, by her cries, quickly brought up the landlord of the houſe, but too late: the dreadful ſcene preſented to him the mother lifeleſs on a chair, pierced to the heart; her daughter yet wildly ſtanding over her with the fatal knife; and the venerable old man, her father, weeping by her ſide, himſelf bleeding at the forehead, from the effects of a blow he received from one of the forks ſhe had been madly hurling about the room. For a few days prior to this, the family had diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of lunacy in her, which had ſo much increaſed on the Wedneſday evening, that her brother, early the next morning, went in queſt of Dr. Pitcairn: had that gentleman been providentially met with, the fatal cataſtrophe had, probably, been prevented. She had once before, in the earlier part of her life, been deranged, from the harraſſing fatigues of too much buſineſs. As her carriage towards her mother had been affectionate in the extreme, it is believed, that to her increaſed attentiveneſs to her, as her infirmities called for it, is to be aſcribed the loſs of her reaſon at this time. The jury, without heſitation, brought in their verdict, --Lunacy.

Died.—Lately, William Johnſon Temple, LL.B. formerly rector of Mamhead, in the county of Devon, to which he was preſented by the earl of Liſburne, and exchanged it for St. Gluvias. He was formerly of Trinity-hall, Cambridge. He was the author of an Eſſay on the Clergy. 8vo. 1774. Hiſtorical and Political Memoirs. 8vo. And "on the Abuſes of unreſtrained Power, an Hiſtorical Eſſay." He wrote alſo the Character of Mr. Gray, adopted by Mr. Maſon and Dr. Johnſon, in their reſpective lives of that author.

At Cork, of an apoplexy, James Fitzgerald, eſq. barriſter at law. Though very young, he was generally ſuppoſed to be the fatteſt man in the kingdom. His waiſtcoat has been frequently buttoned round three men together of ordinary bulk.

OCTOBER.

6th. The cotton-mills at Hunſlet, near Leeds, belonging to Meſſrs. Beverley, Croſs, and Co. were diſcovered to be on fire,

which raged with ſuch fury as to deſtroy the works and buildings in little more than forty minutes. The damage is eſtimated at £. 100,000. The premiſes and ſtock were inſured in the Sun and London inſurance offices, for only 8,000l.

8th. At the general quarter ſeſſions for York, William Swift, aged ninety-three, was convicted of aſſaulting, with intent to raviſh, Frances Gleeſon, a girl not twelve years old, and was ſentenced to be confined for two years in the houſe of correction, and kept to hard labour.

9th. About a quarter paſt ten at night a fire was diſcovered at New Mills, near Henley, which in the ſpace of an hour burnt the corn and paper mills to the ground, with one of the drying houſes, containing eight hundred reams of paper. The corn and paper mills, with the outhouſes and ſtock, were inſured; but one meal-man, who had lately come to the town, loſt corn and flour to the value of near four hundred pounds, which was not inſured. The inhabitants of Henley, and part of the 16th regiment of light dragoons, exerted themſelves very much in ſuppreſſing the fire, and by that means ſaved the dwelling-houſe and part of the premiſes from the flames.

Mr. Ingall, houſe-ſteward and butler to the dowager lady Webſter, at Battle Abbey in Suſſex, is now in his 116th year, and in the 92d of his ſervitude in that family; indeed, for ſeveral years paſt, his ſituation cannot be called ſervitude: for ſo indulging and humane is lady Webſter, that he does whatever he pleaſes; and her orders to all the ſervants are to humour him in every thing.

10th. *Plymouth.* — The court-martial which was held laſt Saturday on board the admiral's ſhip Cambridge, to enquire into the cauſe of the loſs of his majeſty's ſhip Amphion, which blew up on the 22d of laſt month, in this harbour, after an examination of all the ſurviving crew, very honourably acquitted both the captain and officers of every idea of remiſſneſs or neglect upon that occaſion. It muſt have been particularly gratifying to capt. Pellew, after the court-martial was over, at the requeſt made to him by the whole of the ſhip's company which ſurvived this unhappy affair, that he would ſuffer them to be partners of his future fortune, when he ſhould obtain a ſhip, having ſo long ſailed with him.

12th. About nine o'clock at night the houſe of Richard Timſon, of Hallaton, Leiceſterſhire, was diſcovered to be on fire, which, with four others, was entirely conſumed before any aſſiſtance could be procured: but the fury of the flames was happily checked by the activity of the inhabitants, who ſtripped off the roofs of the two adjoining houſes.

16th. This evening a very melancholy accident happened at Ilfracombe: a ſhip called the London, from St. Kitt's, having on board a conſiderable number of blacks, (French priſoners,) was driven on the rocks, near the entrance of the pier, during a violent gale of wind, by which about fifty of the priſoners were drowned; thoſe who got on ſhore exhibited a moſt wretched ſpectacle; and the ſcene altogether was too ſhocking for deſcription. The wind was blowing directly fair for the harbour.

Turin.—On the night of Thurſ-

day

day the 13th inſtant, his Sardinian majeſty was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, which for ſome time deprived him of ſpeech. The immediate application of bliſters and bleeding brought his majeſty to his ſenſes the next morning; and his ſpeech, though imperfectly, was recovered. During this interval the ſacraments were adminiſtered. Towards the evening alarming ſymptoms returned, and recourſe was had to a third bleeding in the foot, which not proving efficacious, the extreme unction was adminiſtered. His majeſty lay ſpeechleſs, and with one ſide wholly palſied, during the night. At five yeſterday morning he was pronounced to be *à l' agonie*, and it was not imagined he could outlive the day. His majeſty, however, lingered till near noon this day, when he expired, as ſincerely lamented by all his ſubjects as he had conſtantly lived beloved and reſpected by them during a reign of upwards of twenty-three years. This melancholy event has plunged all the royal family into the deepeſt affliction.

20th. Mr. Macpherſon put an end to his exiſtence on Enfield Chace. Dragged by the rude hands of a runner and a conſtable before a juſtice of peace as a French ſpy, it appeared, on a ſhort examination, that he had been an uſher in ſeveral ſchools, which was confirmed by letters and bills found in his pocket, but had for ſeveral days in vain ſolicited relief or lodging in the town and neighbourhood for want of money to pay for them. He was diſmiſſed with an order to quit the pariſh; and the conſtable having in vain applied for a lodging at the public houſes, inſtead of lodging him at the watch-houſe or work-houſe for the night, left him to ſhift for himſelf, and find his way in the dark to Barnet over the Chace, where he was next morning found hanging on a tree, and hardly cold. About three weeks before, there had been found in a wood behind Bowes Farm, in Edmonton pariſh, another unfortunate wretch hanging by his ſtockings on a tree, but in ſo putrid a ſtate that his head and feet ſeparated from his body. He had on a good coat and a kerſeymeer waiſtcoat, and in his pocket only ſixpence and ſome halfpence.

23d. This morning, about ſix o'clock, the inhabitants of Rippon were greatly alarmed by a violent concuſſion of the earth, which ſhook almoſt every houſe in the place. A mile from the town the ground, about four yards ſquare, was found to have ſunk, and water iſſued in great abundance from the aperture. On Monday afternoon nearly three roods of ground had fallen in, and the gulph was ſtill increaſing. The depth was more than nineteen fathoms; and a large aſh-tree growing upon the ſpot had ſunk out of ſight. This ſingular phænomenon excites the more alarm, as there is not any coal, or other pit, in the neighbourhood.

The univerſity of Oxford has lately printed, at its own expence, to be diſtributed gratis among the French clergy who have taken refuge in Great Britain, (ad uſum Cleri Gallicani in Angliæ exulantis, as the title ſtates) 2,000 copies of the vulgate and of the new teſtament. The marquis of Buckingham has likewiſe cauſed the ſame number of copies to be printed at his own expence for the ſame purpoſe.

DIED.—1ſt. At his houſe at Bath, in the 76th year of his age, the

the rev. James Fordyce, D.D. He was born at Aberdeen, of exemplary parents, who had a large family, and were ſolicitous to give their children a liberal education. The doctor was their fourth ſon.—He was educated at the univerſity of Aberdeen, and was early ſettled miniſter of the pariſh of Brechin, and afterwards of Alloa, ſeveral years. He was upwards of twenty years miniſter to a numerous and reſpectable congregation of diſſenters in the city of London, 'till his ill health compelled him to leave it about thirteen years ago. The Doctor will be long remembered as the author of the ingenious and elegant ſermons to young women, and addreſſes to young men, and of ſeveral other valuable publications; as well for his energetic inſtructions from the pulpit. His private character was amiable; his manners were thoſe of a gentleman and a chriſtian. He blended great chearfulneſs with a ſincere and ardent piety.—He poſſeſſed a cultivated underſtanding, a warm heart, and great liberality of ſentiment. He was a ſteady friend to civil and religious liberty, and was diſpoſed to embrace men of worth, of every perſuaſion; not from indifference to opinions, but from a ſpirit of chriſtian catholiciſm. He was a whig in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745, when he took an active part againſt the pretender's forces; and he cheriſhed the ſame principles to the laſt.

7th. In his 87th year, Thomas Reid, D.D. profeſſor of moral philoſophy at the univerſity of Glaſgow. He was a wonderful example of early proficiency in mathematics, ſince he was maſter of ſir Iſaac Newton's Principia at the age of twenty. He wrote ſome papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions on mathematical ſubjects which do him much honour. But his fame chiefly reſts on the metaphyſical writings, in which he maintains the doctrine of common ſenſe againſt ſceptics, and ſeverely arraigns the philoſophy of Locke whom he conſiders as the great promoter, though unintentionally, of modern ſcepticiſm. His works are: 1. An Enquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Senſe. 8vo. 1764. 2. Eſſays on the Intellectual Powers of Man 4to. 1785. The former of theſe was anſwered by Dr. Prieſtley, who with his uſual politeneſs, told Dr Reid, that his ignorance was a diſgrace to any univerſity.

Aged 100, Ann Keighley, of Hundet, near Leeds. She was mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, to two hundred and fifty children. She was carried to church by twelve grandchildren, and nearly one hundred of her progeny attended her funeral.

Aged 102, at Little Berkhamſtead, Herts, Jane Collins, a poor induſtrious widow, who, a very few days before her death, walked more than four miles, carrying a baſket of vegetables under her arm.

NOVEMBER.

4th. Tueſday laſt, in Lincoln's-inn-hall, the lord chancellor, after hearing the exceptions to it argued, confirmed the maſter's report in the Downing cauſe. The maſter has reported, that the preſent annual value of the eſtates deviſed to the college amounts to 4,500l. This preliminary point being at length

length obtained, after a conteſt of many years, an application will immediately be made to the crown, to grant a charter for the incorporation of Downing college, in the univerſity of Cambridge.

5th. An awful and ſingular hail-ſtorm occurred in Norwich. Two very vivid flaſhes of lightning illumined the ſouthern and northern hemiſphere, ſucceeded by heavy peals of thunder, while the hail, which fell profuſely, appeared impregnated with fire.

8th. On the evening of this day, information was given upon oath, to the magiſtrates at Boſton, that preparations were making in ſome of the neighbouring villages to obſtruct, by force, the deputy-lieutenants, in the execution of the militia-laws on the following days, expreſſes were immediately diſpatched to Joſhua Scrode, eſq. captain-commandant of the South Holland ſquadron of loyal Lincolnſhire gentlemen, and yeomen cavalry, and to Thomas Wilſon, eſq. captain of the Spalding troop, to requeſt their aſſiſtance in repelling any unlawful force, and in maintaining the public peace. Although the commanding officers received this meſſage very late in the evening, and many of the volunteers in their reſpective troops live at a great diſtance from each other, yet ſuch was the zeal and alertneſs diſplayed in collecting them, that they arrived at Boſton on Wedneſday morning about ten o'clock. A few minutes afterwards the rioters entered the town in a large body, blowing horns, and armed with ſtaves, having forced into their company a great number of ſervants and labourers in huſbandry; but, ſeeing the cavalry drawn up in the market-place in military order, they were deterred from committing any act of violence whatever. The buſineſs of the day (which was to receive and examine the liſts of perſons liable to ſerve in the preſent militia) then proceeded, and was completed, amidſt the moſt perfect tranquillity; the volunteers, headed by their reſpective officers, parading the town during the greateſt part of the day. Happily no violent meaſures were at all neceſſary, and no harm was done to any perſon.

10th. *Winchester.*—This morning, between two and three, the abbey corn-mill, in this city, occupied by Mr. Thomas Dowling, was diſcovered to be on fire. Unfortunately, the flames were not obſerved till they were at ſuch an alarming height as rendered impoſſible every endeavour to ſave that building from their fury. The ſilk-mills adjoining, belonging to Meſſrs. Shenton, and the houſes near, were for a conſiderable time in the moſt imminent danger; but the active and well-directed exertions of the Northamptonſhire militia, aided by the inhabitants, at length arreſted the farther progreſs of deſtruction, and, with the ſafety of theſe buildings, ſaved perhaps the whole neighbourhood.

11th. Laſt night, an affray took place at a public houſe, in Cowcroſs, near Smithfield, between a party of conſtables, watchmen, &c. and a number of diſorderly perſons of both ſexes, aſſembled at what is called a 'cock and hen club.' The men being moſtly armed with cutlaſſes and knives, made a deſperate reſiſtance, and wounded ſeven of the peace officers in ſo ſhocking a manner that one is ſince dead. Three of the ringleaders were

were taken into cuſtody, and underwent an examination before the magiſtrates in Hatton-garden, who committed them to Clerkenwell bridewell.

Stamford.—The newly elected member for Peterborough, French Laurence, eſq. LL.D. advocate of the court of arches, king's profeſſor in civil law in the univerſity of Oxford, and judge of the court of admiralty in the cinque-ports, made the following ſpeech to his electors in the town-hall:

"Gentlemen, I thank you. "Though, in the practice of the "profeſſion to which I belong, I "am not unaccuſtomed to public "ſpeaking, yet I now find that I "have acquired the habit of ex-"preſſing only the feelings of others, "not my own: I want language "to thank you as I ought. It "ſhall be my ſtudy, therefore, in "future, to manifeſt, by my actions, "that gratitude which I am unable "to declare in words. You know, "gentlemen, what you have com-"mitted to my care. Your repre-"ſentative is to watch over the "intereſts, not only of this antient "city, not only of this kingdom, "not only of Great Britain, in her "connection, ſuch as it now exiſts, "with Ireland, but of the whole "Britiſh empire; of an empire "ſtretching forth its mighty "branches to every quarter of the "globe, and overſhadowing, with "its protection, diſtant nations of "various languages, manners, laws, "and religions: he is to maintain, "in all our relations to them and "the whole world, the honour and "dignity of the Britiſh name; "above all, he is to preſerve invio-"late for our poſterity, as we have "received it from our anceſtors, "that which is the foundation and "ſupport of all, of our power and "glory abroad, no leſs than of our "proſperity and happineſs at "home—our moſt excellent con-"ſtitution. For the diſcharge of "theſe momentous duties you might "have found many more able, none "more zealous than myſelf. To "the beſt of my poor abilities, I "will conſcientiouſly do what my "own principles, as well as my "obligations to you, require at "my hands. I will ever firmly "reſiſt thoſe reſtleſs innovators "who, diſſatisfied, they know not "why, with the form of parliament "under which this country has ſo "long flouriſhed great and free, "would ſubſtitute, they know not "what, ſomething or any thing "on which no two of them could "ever agree; who ſtigmatize you "as unworthy to be truſted with "the choice of repreſentatives; who "to purify you, as they call it, "would pour in upon you half the "Soke, which for centuries has "depended, and is ſtill willing to "depend, upon this its proper "capital. I will ever firmly reſiſt "thoſe narrow-minded theoriſts "who acknowledge no lawful "authority in any government but "the wildeſt democracy, ſuch as "they can perpetually agitate by "their intrigues; who would anni-"hilate that peerage which you "cannot but revere, when you have "here for ever in your eyes ſuch "illuſtrious patterns, leſs amiable in "rank, that in every private and "public virtue; who with the nobi-"lity would deſtroy the monarchy "the fountain of all grace and "favour to the ſubjects of theſe "realms, from which you have "derived and enjoy all your high

"loca

"local privileges, immunities, and "jurisdictions. I will ever resist, "still more firmly if possible, those "enemies of God and man, who, "under the false name of philoso-"phy, would take from us the "comforts of our holy religion in "sickness, in penury, in affliction, "in death; who, as may best suit "their impious purposes, now ridi-"cule, or revile, that they may "hereafter persecute, the ministers "of her altars; who, if they "can prevail, will make it their "idle pastime to deface and demo-"lish, after they shall have ex-"hausted their wantonness of in-"vention, in profaning and polluting "that beautiful fabric, which has "defied the beating storms of so "many winters, the pride and "ornament of this venerable place. "—Yes, gentlemen, whilst many "of you, in pursuance of your late "gallant offer, may be braving the "incommodities and perils of the "field, to combat under the leader "you love, for your laws, your "liberties, your king, your country, "and your God; my feeble efforts "in the same righteous cause, "under the same leader, whom it "will be the boast of my life to "have followed, shall not be want-"ing in that warfare to which you "send me. It is an awful moment. "The whole frame of your govern-"ment in church and state, the "whole order of civil society, have "been and still are, in danger. The "blackest cloud that ever lowered "over Europe hangs in gloomy "suspence, and saddens all the "prospect around us. May the "ray, which, breaking through "the darkness of this morning, "now shines upon us from above, "be a propitious omen! If I shall "have any distant share, however "humble, in averting the enor-"mous evil that threatens us, you, "I am certain, will think it the "best acquittal of my debt to you. "With the blessing of God, I will "at least endeavour to deserve "your approbation. In the mean "time, for the honour you have "done me, and the confidence you "have reposed in me, once more, "gentlemen, accept my thanks."

17th. Whitton.

This day, at noon, two more powder-mills, near Whitton, on Hounslow-heath, blew up, and five men belonging to them unfortunately lost their lives by the explosion. Another man driving a cart was killed by the broken pieces of timber. The shock was so tremendous that it shook the houses in the villages to a consider-able distance, and broke a great number of windows two miles off.

On Monday night last, a riot, very little inferior to that which oc-curred at Cow-cross, took place in Broad-street, St. Giles's: a number of people were desperately wounded, some of whom now lie dangerously ill. The affray originated at the house of one Stack, a publican, whose house for many years has been the resort of the lower and most abandoned class of Irishmen. They were all taken before Mr. Bond at the public-office in Bow-street, where they underwent an examination.—The publican was committed, and, as a farther punishment, will be deprived of his licence.

30th.

The following letter was this day transmitted to all admirals and captains, whose names were mentioned in the Gazette by earl Howe, as having signalized themselves in the action of the 1st of June,

June, 1794, accompanying the medal which has been preſented to them.

"My Lord, (or Sir),

"The king having been pleaſed "to order a certain number of "gold medals to be ſtruck, in commemoration of the victory obtained "by his majeſty's fleet under the "command of earl Howe over that "of the enemy, in the actions of "the 28th and 29th of May, and 1ſt "of June, 1794, I am commanded "by his majeſty to preſent to "your lordſhip one of the medals "above-mentioned; and to ſignify "his majeſty's pleaſure that you "ſhould wear it when in your "uniform, in the manner deſcribed "by the directions which (together "with the medal and ribband "belonging to it) I have the honour "to tranſmit to you. I am alſo "commanded by his majeſty to "acquaint your lordſhip, that, had "it been poſſible for all the officers "on whom his majeſty is pleaſed to "confer this mark of his approbation, to attend perſonally in "London, his majeſty would have "preſented the medal to each of "them in perſon; but that being, "from various cauſes, at this time "impoſſible, his majeſty, in order "to obviate all further delay, has "therefore been pleaſed to direct "them to be forwarded in this "manner. Allow me to expreſs "the great ſatisfaction I feel in "being made the channel of communicating to your lordſhip ſo "diſtinguiſhed a mark of his majeſty's approbation. I have the "honour to be my lord, (or Sir),

"Your lordſhip's moſt obedient "humble ſervant,

"SPENCER."

[The admirals to wear the medal ſuſpended by a ribband round their necks. The captains to wear the medals ſuſpended to a ribband, but faſtened through the third and fourth button hole, on the left ſide. The colour of the ribband blue and white.]

This morning, about four o'clock, a fire broke out at a ſugar-baker's, at Cole Stairs, Shadwell, which conſumed the whole of the premiſes, together with near twenty other houſes. Five or ſix firemen were dug out of the ruins, three of them ſo dangerouſly bruiſed that their lives are deſpaired of.

In Lord Grenville's grounds at Dropmore, Bucks, ſome labourers, in digging for a fiſh-pond, have found a great number of oaks buried in the earth, twelve or fourteen feet deep; they are uncommonly large, ſome of them fifty feet long, and the greater part perfectly ſound. They were all laid cloſe together, and nearly in one direction. If they have been depoſited there by ſome great inundation, which is the general conjecture, it is rather ſingular; for the place where they have been found is by far the higheſt ſpot in Buckinghamſhire.

Five Moſaic pavements have been lately diſcovered, in a field called Nunnery Meadow, in the pariſh of Maiden Newton, in Dorſetſhire. One of them meaſures twenty feet by thirty, another twenty by ſixteen, and a third fifteen by ſixteen, connected with the two former by means of a Moſaic paſſage one hundred feet long, and eight wide. The largeſt appears to have been the floor of a Roman temple, erected about the time of the emperor Conſtantine. All the pavements are enriched with figures of a maſterly deſign, chiefly relating

to

to the god Neptune: on one of them have been diſcovered three legible Latin inſcriptions.

Laſt year, a gentleman, of Kendal, planted a potatoe which weighed ſeventeen ounces, and from which he gathered an increaſe of upwards of twenty-nine pounds; theſe he carefully reſerved, and had ſince planted in the ſpring of this year; the increaſe has been twenty-two ſtone and ten pounds, of prime quality,

DIED.—27th. Mary Jefferies, a poor woman, aged one hundred and fifteen years, in Old Pye-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

Lately, at Bridgnorth, David Caldwell, at the advanced age of one hundred and ſeven years. He was born in the army in Ayrſhire in Scotland, was a drummer in king William's reign, and a ſoldier in queen Anne's. For the laſt ſeventy years he reſided at Bridgnorth.

DECEMBER.

3d. This day the tide in every part of the Thames was very high. In Tooley-ſtreet the inhabitants were taken out in boats; and a large quantity of foreign wheat, upon the ground floors of the warehouſes, was much damaged.

5th. The following mode of raiſing the loan of eighteen millions was propoſed and recommended by the Bank directors on Wedneſday laſt. One million was ſubſcribed by the bank in their corporate capacity, and four hundred thouſand pounds by the directors individually; and before the cloſe of the books the firſt day, five millions were ſubſcribed by different merchants and others. At ten o'clock this morning the parlour doors at the Bank were opened, before which time the lobby was crowded. Numbers could not get near the books at all; while others, to teſtify their zeal, called to the perſons at the books then ſigning, to put down their names for them, as they were fearful of being ſhut out. At about twenty minutes paſt eleven the ſubſcription was declared to be completely full, and hundreds in the room were reluctantly obliged to go away. By the poſt, innumerable orders came from the country for ſubſcriptions to be put down, ſcarcely one of which could be executed. And long after the ſubſcription was cloſed, perſons continued coming, and were obliged to depart diſappointed. It is a curious fact, and well worth ſtating, that the ſubſcription completely filled in fifteen hours and twenty minutes.

Two hours on	Thurſday,
Six ditto on	Friday,
Six ditto on	Saturday,
One ditto, 20 min.	Monday,

Fifteen hours, twenty minutes. The duke of Bridgewater actually tendered a draft at ſight on his banker for the 100,000l. which he ſubſcribed to the new loan! which of courſe could not be accepted, as the Act is not yet paſſed.

Such quantities of ice came down the river this day with the land-waters on the ebb-tide, as to block up ſome of the arches of London-bridge. The navigation of the river above bridge is already much impeded thereby. Such an accumulation, on ſo ſhort a froſt, is rather rare in this country.

Liverpool.—A ſingular circumſtance occurred lately to 6th. a veſſel

a veſſel juſt arrived here from the Weſt Indies.—On the paſſage ſhe was ſtruck by a fiſh, whoſe horn or beak perforated the bottom, through a ſound three-inch oak plank.—About five inches of this inſtrument broke ſhort off and lodged in a timber, which it ſplit in ſuch a manner, as to admit a conſiderable quantity of water;—it was even found neceſſary to keep one pump conſtantly going till the veſſel arrived at the neareſt port, whither ſhe was obliged to bear.

By a late deciſion of the court of Exchequer, Mr. Fiſke, of Stowmarket, obtained a verdict (with all coſts in law and equity) againſt the rev. W. Aldrich, vicar, who inſtituted the ſuit, to compel Mr. Fiſke to pay tythes for an eſtate of abbey land, and to ſet aſide a modus eſtabliſhed from time immemorial in the pariſh of Stownpland. This was one of the moſt vexatious ſuits ever known, and has coſt large ſums of money, although the land, the ſubject of conteſt, only conſiſted of fifteen acres!

At a recent exhibition of wild beaſts at Stafford, a young woman incautiouſly venturing too near them, a tyger caught hold of a child ſhe had in her arms, and lacerated its face in a horrid manner; it was not without difficulty that the child was extricated from his claws.

9th. Francis Dunn was indicted for the wilful murder of David Brewer, by giving him ſeveral wounds on the head, and in the ſide, with a claſp knife, on Thurſday the 10th of November, and William Arnold and Willliam Ryan, for aiding and abetting him in the ſaid murder. On the night of Wedneſday the 9th of November, the patroles obſerved two men go up Pipe-maker's alley, near Cow Croſs, and, following them up, obſerved one of them, which proved to be Dunn, with a knife in his hand. They interrogated him as to what he was doing with it; but he refuſing to ſatisfy them, they took him to the watch-houſe, of which the deceaſed Mr. Brewer was the keeper; however, as they had no charge againſt them, and a publican appearing in their behalf, they were diſcharged. The next night there was a club held at the Sun, Cow Croſs, at which, among others, was a witneſs of the name of Toombs, who ſtated that, on his refuſing to ſing, ſeveral perſons inſulted him; and that the priſoner Dunn even went ſo far as to tear his coat, on which he went down, and brought up three watchmen. On their coming into the room, and one of them propoſing to ſecure the door, they all, to the amount of twenty-five or twenty-ſix, began to attack the watchmen. Dunn knocked one of them down, and they were glad to get out of the houſe, in doing which they were followed by the whole that were in the room.

From one Harris, another of the club, it appeared, that when they got into the ſtreet, they miſſed one of their party, whereupon they returned to the Sun, and, finding the door faſtened, Dunn and Ryan got in at the window, and then opened the door for the reſt; but not finding their companion, one of them ſuggeſted he might be taken to the watch-houſe, to which Dunn went firſt, Williams next, then Arnold, and the reſt followed. Another witneſs and the deceaſed Brewer, ſeeing them coming, ſhut to the upper part of the door, it

ſhutting with a hatch; this they ſoon forced open, and three of them entered; when two women ſwore to ſeeing one of them ſtrike Mr. Brewer over the head, and another punching him on the ſide. They then came out, and being met by another party, Dunn ſaid to them, "Damn him, I've cut his bloody eyes out." Dunn at this time had a knife in his hand, which, as he came out of the watch-houſe, he was noticed to wipe on his coat; Arnold alſo had a knife in his hand; and it was proved by ſeveral witneſſes, and two accomplices, that the whole party proceeded in a riotous manner, knocking down ſeveral watchmen, and that Dunn in particular kept his knife in his hand, and ſeeing one of the patrole at the corner of the ſtreet in their way, he ran up to him, and cut him under the chin, and his coat behind; and after this he made a thruſt at a gentleman whom they met as he was turning up Saffron-hill.

After they left the watch-houſe, Mr. Brewer came to the door, wiping his face, and ſtanding, as the witneſſes termed it, in his blood; he was afterwards taken to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, and on the Saturday evening he expired; previous to which, however, he ſaid to one Willey, and to Coleman, that he was a dead man, and that he believed the man whom they brought to the watch-houſe the night before with a knife, was one of them that had cut him, and the cutting drover another.—On being aſked if they meant Arnold, they ſaid yes. The ſurgeon deſcribed Mr. Brewer to have received three wounds, one at the top of the head through the ſkull; another in the left temple down to the chin, which went the whole length to the bone; and a third under the blade-bone of the right ſhoulder, three inches long, and one inch deep; theſe wounds brought on an inflammation, that inflammation a fever, and were conſequently the cauſe of his death. Arnold was taken the next day in Smithfield, Ryan a few days after on board the Sans-Pareil at Spithead, and Dunn in the neighbourhood of Cow Croſs. Being called upon for their defence, Ryan ſaid, conſcious of his own innocence with reſpect to the murder, he ſhould leave it with his counſel.

Mr. juſtice Groſe then ſummed up the evidence, and explained the law upon the caſe, particularizing the different points as far as they were corroborated againſt either or all the priſoners; obſerving alſo the difference, as it appeared to him, there was in the guilt of the priſoners. The jury, after remaining out of court about twenty minutes, brought in their verdict—Dunn and Arnold, guilty—Ryan, not guilty.

As the recorder was proceeding to paſs ſentence on them, Dunn ſaid he had a favour to beg of the court, which was, that as but one life had been loſt, the law would be ſatisfied with one as an atonement. He ſought not to ſave his own life, for he had unfortunately for the laſt ten years committed innumerable offences; and therefore, if mercy could be ſhewn, his fellow-ſufferer was more deſerving of it than himſelf: all he could hope for was the indulgence of a little more time than was commonly allowed in theſe caſes, to make his peace with God. The

recorder declared that it was not in his power to grant either, and then pronounced the ſentence to be, that they be executed on Monday following, and that their bodies be delivered to the ſurgeons for diſſection; which was executed accordingly.

21ſt. This morning, when the turnkeys of Newgate were preparing to remove the convicts ſentenced to Botany Bay, among whom was the celebrated Major Semple, who, it ſeems, had flattered himſelf with the hopes of pardon, he requeſted permiſſion to return to his cell, which was granted. Under pretence of ſearching for ſome neceſſaries, in the preſence of Mr. Kirby, jun. he ſuddenly drew a knife, and ſtabbed himſelf in the body. He now lies extremely ill, refuſes every kind of ſuſtenance, and declares he is determined to put an end to his exiſtence.

It is a curious fact aſcertained by Dr. Heberden the younger, in a paper preſented to the Royal Society, that the exceſs of the mortality in January 1795, above that of January 1796, was not leſs than one thouſand three hundred and fifty-two perſons. "A number," ſays the doctor, "ſufficient ſurely "to awaken the attention of the "moſt prejudiced admirers of a "froſty winter." The January of 1795 was a very ſevere month, and that of the preſent year ſo remarkably mild, that moſt people complained of the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather, and apprehended dreadful effects relative to health; apprehenſions which this intereſting fact ſeems to reſolve into mere vulgar prejudice.—What renders this fact more ſtriking, is this following remark, to uſe the doctor's own words: "Though I have only "ſtated the evidence of two years, "the ſame concluſion may univer- "ſally be drawn; as I have learned "from an examination of the "weekly bills of mortality for many "years. Theſe two ſeaſons were "choſen as being each of them "very remarkable, and in imme- "diate ſucceſſion one to the other, "and in every body's recollection."

Groſs produce of the revenue of the poſt-office for three years, to April 5, 1795;—The year

	£.	s.	d.
ending April 5, 1793,	627,592	12	0
1794, - -	691,268	11	0
1795, - -	705,319	10	9

The groſs produce for the year ending April 5, 1796, as near as can be taken, amounts to 787,304l.

The Norwich bills of mortality for the laſt year ſtand thus: chriſtened males 467, females 430; buried, males 477, females 570. Thirty-one fewer births than in the year 1795, and a decreaſe in burials of fifty-one.

The hop duty of the laſt year, rough puffing, amounts only to 77,241l. as appears by the following correct returns from the ſeveral diſtricts; viz.

Kent - - -	45,563
Suſſex - - -	13,100
Worceſter - -	10,050
Farnham - -	4,501
Eſſex, North Clays, &c.	4,027
Total -	£.77,241.

The exports of Britiſh and foreign manufactures and merchandize from this country in the year 1795 amounted to 27,123,338l.—and in 1796, to 29,904,635l.—Majority in favour of the laſt year 1,781,297l.

Th

The quantity of porter, brewed by the firſt twelve houſes in the London porter brewery, for the laſt two years, ending on the 5th inſtant each year, is as follows:

	1795. Barrels.	1796. Barrels.
Whitbread	158,800	202,000
Thrale	122,300	137,800
Shum	101,700	110,700
Hanbury	99,000	109,100
Goodwin	70,500	97,500
Calvert (F)	83,400	97,900
Meux	121,000	96,600
Calvert (J)	56,600	67,000
Elliot	46,700	58,200
Clowes	40,000	55,700
Stevenſon	39,400	45,800
Phillips	38,800	42,600

The increaſe of the quantity of porter, brewed ſince the beginning of the preſent reign, is immenſe.

During the year ending in 1761, the quantity brewed in London amounted to 975,217 barrels of thirty-ſix gallons each. The number of brewers was then fifty-two. But in the year ending July, 1795, the quantity brewed by only twelve brewers exceeded the above by 1,890 barrels.

The number of bankrupts ſince the commencement of the preſent war, is nearly as great as during the whole period of the American war. From 1775 to 1782 inclu-ſive, there were 3,742; from 1793 to 1796 incluſive, 3,608. The dif-ference is therefore only 134.

Naval officers.—The number of officers of his majeſty's fleet, under the deſcription of admirals, captains, maſters and commanders, and lieutenants, made up to the end of this year, and juſt publiſhed under the direction of the admiralty board, is,

Admirals of different ranks -	97
Captains - - -	494
Maſters and commanders -	289
Lieutenants - -	1,960
Total - -	2,840.

There has been no promotion of admirals ſince June 1795; fifty-two poſt captains have been made in the courſe of the laſt year, ninety-two maſters and commanders, and two hundred and twenty-five lieu-tenants.

The following is a liſt of veſſels of different nations, that have paid the Sound duties, from December 31, 1795, to December 31, 1796:—

Britiſh - - -	4,455
Daniſh - -	2,157
Swediſh - -	2,505
Pruſſians - -	1,773
Pappenburgers -	232
Dantzic - -	249
Hamburgh - -	40
Oldenburgh - -	120
Bremen - - -	93
Roſtock - - -	193
Lubeck - - -	70
Courland - -	10
Ruſſia - - -	7
America - - -	169
Portugueſe - -	14
Spaniards - -	25
Dutch - - -	1
Total - - -	12,113 ſhips.

From the Sound liſt for the years 1792,-3,-4,-5, and 6, it appears that the commerce of Europe to the northern ſtates has fluctuated every year for theſe five years paſt; but at laſt ſeems to have ſo far recovered itſelf, that in 1795, it has arrived to the ſame pitch as in 1772, there being only one ſhip more in the latter period than the former. It alſo appears that the

commerce of Europe to thoſe ſtates was leſs by three hundred ſhips in 1795 than in any former year ſince 1792, which muſt be attributed to the hard winter and long froſt, which muſt be ſeverely felt in the northern ſeas. The Britiſh commerce has ſtill kept up its proſperity, and all the five years is at the head of the liſt; while that of the Dutch, which uſed to be next, has dwindled from 2,181 to none in 1795, and only one in 1796; and the French, from 128 in 1790, to 25 in 1792, and not one ſhip any year after.

DIED.—Aged 103, —— Holmes, a poor woman, of Quare common, near Derby.

11th. At the Scar, near Bromyard, Herefordſhire, aged 120, Jeremiah Atkins. He was a ſoldier at the taking of the Havannah and Martinico, and very near being ſcalped by the Indians, from whom he was reſcued at the moment of the operation. He was likewiſe at the taking of Crown Point, in America, and in the battle of Fontenoy with the duke of Cumberland, and fought againſt the rebels in Scotland. He was at the taking of Quebec, when General Wolfe was killed, and afterwards at the battle of Tournay, in Flanders. This extraordinary man retained all his faculties but that of hearing to the period of his death.

17th. In Weymouth-ſtreet, Portland-place, William Pickett, eſq. He was elected alderman of Cornhill ward in May, 1783, and filled the office of ſheriff in 1784, and lord mayor in 1789. To his ſpirited and inceſſant exertions, the public is indebted for the great improvements at Temple Bar, and Snow-hill.

BIRTHS *for the Year* 1796.

Jan. 4. Counteſs of Aboyne, a daughter.
7. Princeſs of Wales, a princeſs.
14. Lady of Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq. M.P. a ſon.
Lady of colonel Gerard Noel Edwards, M.P. a daughter.
Feb. 16. Lady of Samuel Whitbread, jun. eſq. M.P. a ſon.
Hon. Mrs. Leigh, of Addelſtrop, Oxfordſhire, a daughter.
The Lady of Robert Smith, eſq. M.P. a ſon.
18. Lady Brownlow, a daughter.
19. Lady of ſir William Elliot, of Stobbs, bart. a ſon.
27. Lady Le Deſpencer, a daughter.
28. Lady of lord Kilmaine, a daughter.
Mar. 1. Lady of ſir James Bland Burges, bart. a ſon.
18. Lady Elizabeth Spencer, a ſon.
Lady of William Cunliffe Shawe, eſq. M.P. a ſon.
Hon. Mrs. Vaughan, lady of Dr. Vaughan, a daughter.
22. Counteſs of Oxford, a daughter.
25. Viſcounteſs Fielding, a ſon and heir.
27. Lady of ſir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a ſon.
30. Lady of George Sumner, eſq. M.P. a ſon.
31. Ducheſs of Leinſter, a ſon.
April 4. Lady of John Pardoe, jun. eſq. M.P. a ſon.

Lady

Lady of ſir John Turner, a ſon.
Lady of ſir John Dryden, bart. a ſon.
9. Lady of the hon. lt. col. Forbes, a ſon.
12. Lady of ſir William Smith, bart. a daughter.
Lately, lady of Reginald Pole Carew, eſq. M.P. a daughter.
May 6. Lady of Alexander Allardyce, eſq. M.P. a daughter.
9. Counteſs of Caſſilis, a daughter.
15. Lady of ſir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a daughter.
18. Marchioneſs of Blandford, a ſon.
31. Counteſs of Darnley, a daughter.
June 11. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
16. Lady of Sir John Sinclair, bart. of Ulbſter, a daughter.
21. Lady Suſan Ryder, a daughter.
July 1. Lady of the hon. Laurence Dundas, a daughter.
5. Lady Mary Drummond, a ſon.
13. The lady of the hon. Henry Laſcelles, a ſon.
25. The lady of ſir Frederic Eden, bart. a ſon.
29. Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a ſon.
Counteſs Paulett, a ſon.
Lady of Charles Duncombe, eſq. M. P. a ſon and heir.
Aug. 1. Lady Rous, a ſon.
5. Viſcounteſs Milſintown, a ſon.
The lady of ſir Digby Mackworth, a daughter.
10. Lady Sondes, a ſon.
11. Lady of ſir William Rowley, bart. a ſon.
16. Counteſs of Dalkeith, a daughter.
21. Marchioneſs of Titchfield, a ſon and heir.
25. Lady of ſir Thomas Turton, bart. a daughter.
31. Lady Cuningham, a daughter.
Hon. Mrs. Temple, a ſon.
The wife of Henry Peters, eſq. M. P. a daughter.
Sept. 13. Lady Auguſta Clavering, a ſon.
20. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a ſon.
22. Lady Cathcart, a daughter.
30. Lady of ſir James Sanderſon, bart. a daughter.
Dowager counteſs Winterton, a daughter.
Oct. 2. Lady George Murray, a ſon.
3. Lady of Thomas Anſon, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
8. Lady Mary Martin, a ſon.
14. Lady Calthorpe, a ſon.
16. Lady of ſir Montague Burgoyne, bart. a ſon and heir.
26. Counteſs of Breadalbane, a ſon.
Nov. 3. Lady of the right hon. Henry Addington, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, a daughter.
7. Lady of William Manning, eſq. M. P. a ſon.
Lady Georgina Buckley, a ſon.
9. Lady of ſir Charles Oakley, bart. a ſon.
15. Lady of ſir Samuel Egerton Leigh, a ſon.
29. Lady Ann Hope, a ſon.
Dec. 11. Lady Charlotte Curzon, a daughter.
19. Lady Robert Fitzgerald, a ſon.
25. Lady Arden, a ſon.
31. Counteſs of Exeter, a daughter.

MARRIAGES *for the Year* 1796.

Jan. 6. George Henry Roſe, eſq. M. P. for Southampton, and ſon of George Roſe, eſq. ſecretary of the treaſury, and M.P. for Chriſtchurch, to miſs Duncombe, daughter and coheireſs of the late Thomas Duncombe, eſq.

10. Lady Wilſon, relict of the late judge Wilſon, to captain Griffiths, of the navy.

Feb. 6. Thomas Gardiner Bramſton, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Thomas Berney Bramſton, eſq. M. P. for Eſſex, to miſs Blaauw, daughter of William Blaauw, eſq.

9. Earl of Powerſcourt, to miſs Brownlow.

Robert Liſton, eſq. ambaſſador to the Sublime Porte, to miſs Henrietta Marchant, of Antigua.

13. Alexander Hamilton, eſq. M. P. for Carrickfergus, to miſs Catherine Burgh.

22. Rev. dr. Knox, ſon of lord Northland, to miſs Anna Heſketh, grand-daughter of ſir Robert Juxon, of Rufford-hall, county of Lancaſter.

28. Earl of Guilford, to miſs Coutts, daughter of Thomas Coutts, eſq. banker, in the Strand.

Mar. 1. Henry Thornton, eſq. M.P. to miſs Sykes, daughter of Joſeph Sykes, eſq. of Weſt Ella, Yorkſhire.

Lately, James Dalrymple, eſq. to the counteſs dowager of Haddington.

16. Hon. Thomas Parker, brother to the earl of Macclesfield, to miſs Edwards, daughter of Lewis Edwards, eſq. of Talgerth, Merionethſhire.

29. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to miſs Grimſton, daughter of the late Robert Grimſton, eſq. of Neſwick, Yorkſhire.

April 16. Earl Temple, to lady Anne Elizabeth Brydges, daughter of the late duke of Chandos.

19. Edward Wilbraham Bootle, eſq. M. P. to miſs Taylor, daughter of the rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Kent.

27. Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, bart. to miſs Maria Simpſon, daughter of the late John Simpſon, eſq. of Bradley.

26. Mr. Taylor, ſurgeon, at Sevenoaks, to lady Louiſa Stanhope, daughter of earl Stanhope.

Lord Porcheſter, ſon of the earl of Carnarvon, to miſs Ackland, daughter of Lady Harriet Ackland.

28. Samuel Young, eſq. eldeſt ſon of admiral ſir George Young, to miſs Emily Baring.

Lately, captain Talbot, to lady Elizabeth Strangeways, daughter of the earl of Ilcheſter.

May 3. Hon. and right rev. dr. William Stuart, biſhop of St. David's, to miſs Penn

Penn, daughter of the late hon. Thomas Penn, proprietor of Pennſylvania.

11. Sir Edmund Head, bart. to miſs Weſtern, of Cokethorpe, Oxfordſhire.

Thomas Sherlock Gooch, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Thomas Gooch, bart. to miſs Whittaker, ſiſter of Abraham Whittaker, eſq. of Lyſton-houſe, Herefordſhire.

14. Hugh Dillon Maſſey, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Hugh Maſſey, bart. to miſs S. Hankey, daughter of the late Thomas Hankey, eſq.

June 3. George Wright, eſq. only ſon of ſir James Wright, bart. to miſs Maclane, only daughter and heireſs to the late Charles Maclane, eſq. of Okingham.

11. Sir George Glynn, bart. to miſs Catherine Powell, daughter and co-heireſs of the late rev. Gervas Powell, of Lanhara, in Glamorganſhire.

14. Captain John Campbell, of the 3d guards, to lady Charlotte Campbell.

25. Sir Richard Gamon, bart. M. P. to lady Amelia Cooke.

Sir Nigel Bowyer Greſley, bart. to miſs Garway of Worceſter.

27. Rev. Charles Talbot, ſecond ſon of the hon. and rev. Charles Talbot, to lady Elizabeth Somerſet, daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

30. Hon. William Leeſon, brother of the earl of Miltown, to miſs Buchanan.

July 4. Lord Andover, to miſs Coke, daughter of Thomas William Coke, eſq. of Holkham, Norfolk, M.P.

Lieutenant Sloper, ſon of general ſir Robert Sloper, K. B. to miſs Kent, daughter of Thomas Kent, eſq. Ipſwich.

5. Lord Blayney, to the hon. miſs Alexander, daughter of Lord Caledon.

16. Dr. Spencer Madan, biſhop of Peterborough, to miſs Vyſe, ſiſter of general Vyſe.

18. Sir Gilbert Affleck, to miſs Vaſſal.

25. Lieutenant-colonel Pigott, to miſs Mary Monckton, daughter of the hon. John Monckton.

26. William Wingfield, eſq. to lady Charlotte Digby, ſiſter of the earl of Digby.

Aug. 3. Hon. William Hay Carr, brother to the earl of Errol, to miſs Elliot, daughter of Samuel Elliot, eſq. of Antigua.

6. Lieutenant-colonel Denzil Onſlow, to the hon. miſs Petre, daughter of lord Petre.

9. Joſeph Mawbey, eſq. ſon of ſir Joſeph Mawbey, bart. to miſs Henchman, daughter of Thomas Henchman, eſq. of New Burlington-ſtreet.

11. Francis John Brown, eſq. M. P. for Dorſet, to miſs Frances Richards, daughter of the rev. John Richards,

chards, of Lanbridge, Dorſet.

12. Sir William Ramſey, of Banff, bart. to miſs Biſcoe, of Edward-ſtreet, Portman ſquare.

30. Robert Dundas, eſq. ſon of the right hon. Henry Dundas, to miſs Saunders, daughter of the late admiral ſir Charles Saunders.

Sept. 2. Sir Thomas Parkins, bart. to miſs Boultkees of Leiceſter.

Sir Charles Turner, M. P. to miſs Newcomen, daughter of Sir W. G. Newcomen, bart. Ireland.

6. Sir John Davies, bart. to miſs Leman, daughter of ſir William Leman, bart.

10. James Adam, eſq. M. P. to miſs Hammond, ſiſter in law of the right. hon. H. Addington.

22. Edmund Hornby, eſq. to lady Catherine Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

29. Sir Thomas Gage, bart. to miſs Charlotte Campbell, couſin to lord Cawdor.

Oct. 1. Rev. Samuel Wilſon Warneford, of Broughton, Oxfordſhire, to miſs Loveden, daughter of Edward Loveden Loveden, eſq. of Buſcot Park, Berks.

7. Lord Templetown, to lady Mary Montagu, daughter of the earl of Sandwich.

11. John Thomas Stanley, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir John Stanley, bart. to the hon. miſs Holroyd, daughter of lord Sheffield.

Nov. 18. John Wodehouſe, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir John Wodehouſe, bart. to miſs Norris, only daughter of the late John Norris, eſq. of Wilton Park, Norfolk.

23. The Hon. Auguſtus Cavendiſh Bradſhaw, to Ann Jeffrys, late counteſs of Westmeath.

24. His excellency count de Bruhl, to miſs Chowne, heireſs of the late Thomas Chowne, eſq.

Dec. 10. Hon. Cropley Aſhley, brother to the earl of Shafteſbury, to lady Ann Spencer, daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1796.

January 16. Major-general prince Edward to be a lieutenant-general.

February 27. John earl of Bute to be viſcount Mountjoy, earl of Windſor, and marquis of the county of Bute.

20. Walter Farquhar, M. D. to be a bart.

Rear-admiral Hugh Cloberry Chriſtian to be K. B.

27. David Smyth, eſq. of Methven to be one of the commiſſioners of juſticiary in Scotland.

Allan Machononchies, eſq. to be one of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland.

March 10. Robert Liſton, eſq. ambaſſador to the Sublime Porte to be envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the United States of America.

Edward Thornton, eſq. to be ſecretary

cretary of legation to the ſaid United States.

12. Earl Howe to be admiral of the fleet and general of marines.

Lord Bridport to be vice-admiral of Great Britain.

Hon. William Cornwallis to be rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Capt. ſir Edward Pellew, knt. to be a baronet.

18. Captain Charles Mitchel to be a knt.

21. William Bellingham, eſq. to be a bart.

23. William Watſon, eſq. to be a knt.

24. Samuel lord Hood to be maſter of Greenwich hoſpital, and one of the commiſſioners or governors thereof.

April 6. George Pownall, eſq. to be a knt.

16. George earl of Stamford to be baron Delamere and earl of Warrington.

29. Earl of Kinnoul and ſir Grey Cooper, bart. to be privy-counſellors.

30. John Coxe Hippiſley, Wharton Amcotts, Edmund Cradock Hartopp, Thomas Turton, and Robert Baker, eſqrs. to be baronets.

May 3. Earl of Leven and Melville to be his majeſty's commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

11. Francis d'Ivernois, eſq. to be a knt.

18. Charles earl of Northampton to be lord-lieutenant of Northamptonſhire.

14. Lieutenant-generals ſir D. Lindſay, bart. E. Maxwell Brown, Eyre Maſſey, George Warde, Flower Mocher, ſir R. Sloper, K. B. Staates Long Morris, Ralph earl of Roſs, ſir R. Pigott, bart, ſir J. Dalling, bart. Ruſſel Manners, Thomas Hall, James Grant, ſir W. Fawcett, K. B. William marquis of Lothian, K. T. ſir C. Grey, K. B. ſir Thomas Spencer Wilſon, bart. George Morriſon, Thomas Clarke, and Charles Rainsford, to be generals in the army.

Major-generals Anthony George Martin, Benjamin Gordon, hon. Thomas Bruce, George Ainſlie, James Adeane, Edward Smith, Thomas Bland, Felix Buckley, Charles William Lyon, Henry Watſon Powell, Thomas Stirling, George Garth and Richard Grenville, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels George Bernard, of the 84th foot, George Nugent, of the 85th foot, John Bowater, of the marines, Thomas Averne, of the marines, Thomas Duval, half-pay of the marines, James Barker, half-pay of the 56th foot, John Campbell, of the marines, Charles Tarrant, of the engineers in Ireland, William Lewis, of the marines, John Barclay, of the marines, William Macarmick, half pay, William Maddox Richardſon, of the 64th foot, John Freke, half pay of the 39th foot, Richard England, of the 24th foot, William Keppel, of a Weſt India regiment, John H. Hutchinſon, of the 94th foot, John Hamilton, of the late 81ſt foot, Alexander Hay, of the 109th foot, Thomas Goldie, of the late 82d foot, Robert Douglas, of the 47th foot, Simon Fraſer, of the 133d foot, Thomas Davies, of the artillery, Robert Manners, of the 3d foot guards, William Loftus, of the 24th dragoons, William Myers, of a Weſt India regiment, Frederick George Mulcaſter, of the engineers, Oliver Nicols, of a West India regiment, Alexander Mercer, of the engineers, George Hewitt,

of

of the 92d foot, and James Hartley, of the 75th foot, to be major-generals in the army.

Colonels Patrick Roſs, John Erſkine, Robert Stuart, Thomas Geils, Joſeph Bilcliffe, Edward Ellerker, Gabriel Johnſton, George Deare, William Sydenham, Edward Rawſtorne, James Nichol, Charles Ware, and George Conyngham, to be major-generals in the Eaſt Indies only.

28. Charles lord Hawkeſbury, to be earl of Liverpool.

Samuel baron Hood, of Ireland, to be viſcount Hood of Great Britain.

31. Francis earl of Moray, of Ireland, to be baron Stuart of Caſtle Stuart, in Inverneſsſhire.

John earl of Galloway, to be baron Stewart of Garlies, in the ſtewartry of Kirkcudbright.

James earl of Courtown, of Ireland, to be baron Saltersford, in Cheſhire.

George earl of Macartney, in Ireland, to be baron Macartney of Parkhurſt, in Surry.

John Chriſtian Burton, viſcount Downe of Ireland, to be baron Dawnay of Cowick, Yorkſhire.

George viſcount Middleton, of Ireland, to be baron Brodrick, of Peppes Harrow, Surry.

Alexander baron Bridport of Ireland, to be baron Bridport of Great Britain.

Sir John Rous, bart. to be baron Rous.

Sir Henry Gough Calthorpe, bart. to be baron Calthorpe.

Sir Peter Burrell, bart. to be baron Gwydir.

Sir Francis Baſſet, bart. to be baron De Dunſtanville.

Edward Laſcelles, eſq. to be baron Harewood.

John Rolle, eſq. to be baron Rolle.

John Campbell, Eſq. to be lord Cawdor.

June 1. William Campbell, Eſq. to be governor of the Bermuda Iſlands.

6. Edward Cooke, esq. to be under-ſecretary in the military department of the chief ſecretary's office in Ireland.

William Elliot, eſq. to be under-ſecretary in the civil department.

Barry earl of Farnham and Sackville Hamilton, eſq. to be privy-counſellors of Ireland.

July 12. Lady Willoughby de Ereſby, to be lady of the bedchamber to the princeſs of Wales.

13. Captain Thomas Williams of the royal navy, to be a knt.

16. Sir Joſhua Vanneck, bart. to be baron Huntingfield, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Robert Smith, eſq. to be baron Carrington, of the kingdom of Ireland.

Major-general Henry lord Mulgrave, to be governor of Scarborough Caſtle.

Major-general Thomas Muſgrave to be governor of Graveſend and Tilbury.

Colonel William Goodday Strutt to be deputy-governor of Stirling Caſtle.

20. Sir John Morſhead, bart. to be ſurveyor-general to the prince of Wales.

Sir William Cuningham, bart. to be one of the ſtate council to the prince of Wales, for the principality of Wales.

Thomas Tyrwhitt, eſq. private ſecretary to the prince of Wales, to be privy-ſeal and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall.

23. Francis James Jackſon, eſq. t

to be ambaſſador to the Ottoman Port.

Charles Medows Pierrepont, to be baron Pierrepont and viſcount Newark.

Charles earl of Liverpool, to bear the arms of Liverpool, together with his family arms, by the expreſs deſire of the corporation of Liverpool.

Hon. John Rodney, to be commiſſioner of the victualling-office.

Marquis Townſhend, to be governor of Jerſey.

General ſir William Fawcett, K. B. to be governor of Chelſea Hoſpital.

Robert Cullen, eſq. to be lord of the ſeſſion in Scotland.

The prince of Wales, to be colonel of the 10th regiment of dragoons.

Auguſt 2. Generals John duke of Argyll, Jeffery lord Amherſt, Studholme Hodgſon, George marquis Townſhend, lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and Charles duke of Richmond, to be field-marſhals.

20. Robert viſcount Caſtlereagh, to be earl of Londonderry.

Sept. 1. Hon. Arthur Paget, to be ſecretary of embaſſy to the court of Madrid.

Benjamin Garlike, eſq. to be ſecretary of legation to the court of Berlin.

21. John earl of Chatham, to be preſident of the council.

30. Earl of Kinnoul, and lord Dupplin, his ſon, to be lord Lyon king at arms for Scotland.

Oct. 10. General Henry Lawes earl of Carhampton, to be commander in chief of the forces in Ireland.

Nov. 3. Major-general ſir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. to be colonel of the 2d regiment of dragoons.

Major-general Welbore Ellis Doyle, to be colonel of the 53d regiment of foot.

Major-general Gerard Lake, to be colonel of the 73d regiment of foot.

General lord Adam Gordon, to be governor of Edinburgh Caſtle.

Lieutenant-general Charles Rainſford, to be governor of Tinmouth Caſtle.

30. John duke of Roxburgh, to be a privy-counſellor.

Lieutenant-colonel Charles Green, to be governor of Grenada.

Dec. 3. Major-general John Graves Simcoe, to be governor of ſuch parts of St. Domingo as are in the Britiſh poſſeſſion.

Major-general the honourable Charles Stuart, to be general in Portugal only.

Major-general Simon Fraſer, to be lieutenant-general in Portugal only.

Colonel ſir James St. Clair Erſkine, bart. to be brigadier and adjutant-general in Portugal only.

Colonel William Anne Villettes, to be brigadier-general in Portugal only.

Brevet-major Robert Stuart, to be deputy adjutant-general and lieutenant-colonel in Portugal only.

Lieutenant-colonel Hildebrand Oakes, to be quarter-maſter general, with the rank of colonel in Portugal only.

15. William Elliot, eſq. to be miniſter plenipotentiary to the elector palatine, and miniſter to the diet of Ratiſbon.

DEATHS *for the Year* 1796.

January 5. The hon. Richard Fitzpatrick.

7. Frances viſcounteſs Kenmare.

10. George lord Hervey, ſon of the

the earl of Briſtol, (biſhop of Derry) and captain of the Zealous of 74 guns.

16. In his 56th year, Henry William Portman, eſq. of Bryanſtone-place, co. Dorſet; whoſe large eſtates in the weſt of England, and in the county of Middleſex, compriſing the ground-rents of Portman-ſquare, and ſeveral ſtreets in its neighbourhood, devolve to his only ſon, Henry Berkeley P. eſq. M. P. for the city of Wells.

Sir Charles Leving, bart.

18. Hon. Robert Fitzmaurice Deane, eldeſt ſon of Lord Muſkerry.

19. William, lord Belhaven, a major in the army.

20. Sir William Burrell, bart. LL.D. chancellor to the biſhop of Worceſter, 1764; F. R. and A. SS. 1754; and commiſſioner of exciſe, 1774. He was third ſon of Peter Burrell, eſq. of Beckenham, Kent; admitted of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he ſtudied the civil law, and proceeded LL.B. 1775, and LL.D. 1780. He married, April 13, 1773, Sophia, daughter of Charles Raymond, eſq. of Valentine-houſe, Eſſex, who was created a baronet May 3, 1774, with remainder, in default of male-iſſue, to William Burrell, eſq. of Beckenham, and his heirs-male by Sophia his wife, by whom he has left two ſons and two daughters.

27. Sophia Maria Joſepha, viſcounteſs Southwell of Ireland.

29. Dowager lady Throckmorton, relict of ſir Robert Throckmorton, bart. of Buckland, Berks.

February 7. At Oxheath in Kent, in his 87th year, ſir Francis Geary, bart. admiral of the white. He was appointed poſt-captain 30 June, 1742, commodore at the Nore 1757, rear-admiral of the white 1759, vice-admiral of the blue 1760, vice-admiral of the red 1770 admiral of the blue 1776, and admiral of the white 1778.

9. Viſcounteſs Landaff of Ireland

13. In Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet after a ſevere illneſs, to the grief o her family and friends, Elizabeth lady of ſir John Smyth, bart. o Sydling St. Nicholas, in Dorſetſhire; by whom ſhe had ſevera children, three only ſurviving her She was the daughter and ſole heireſs of Robert Curtis, eſq. of Willſthorpe, co. Lincoln, barriſter at law and niece of Mathew Wyldbore eſq. of Peterborough, member fo that city; and ſhe was, what is above all other conſiderations, in the trueſt light, a moſt ſincere Chriſtian and one of the beſt of women.

15. At his houſe at Standen, near Clithero, co. York, Thomas Arthur lord Southwell, of the kingdom of Ireland, having ſurvived his lady but three weeks.

17. James Macpherſon, eſq. M.P.

20. Aged 81, his ſerene highneſs Henry Auguſtus, reigning prince of Hohenhoe Ingelfingen, chief of the illuſtrious houſe of that name. He was born July 11, 1715.

March 8. Sir William Chambers, knight of the polar ſtar.

9. At Shrewſbury, lady Knowles widow of the late ſir Charles Knowles, bart.

10. The hon. John Forbes, aged 82. the oldeſt officer in the navy and general of marines. He was appointed poſt-captain in 1736, rear admiral in 1747, and admiral in 1758. In 1781 he was appointed admiral of the fleet.

He was remarkable, above all other men, for his extenſive and univerſal knowledge of naval affairs having ſtudied them in all their branches, with a perſeverance, and obſerved

obſerved upon them with an accurateneſs and judgment altogether unparalleled. His mind was capable of embracing the greateſt and moſt complicated objects; and, having bent it towards the ſtudy of that profeſſion of which he was allowed, by the univerſal voice of his cotemporaries, to be a principal ornament; he attained ſuch a ſummit of nautical ſkill as rendered him the oracle of all thoſe who were moſt eminent, whether in the direction of the fleets of this nation, or in the equally arduous taſk of ſuperintending the civil departments of the different branches of the marine. In the earlier part of his life, he was peculiarly noticed as an able, enterpriſing, and intrepid officer. He ſerved with much reputation under ſir John Norris, and was no leſs diſtinguiſhed as captain of the Norfolk, of 80 guns, in the action of Matthews and Leſtock with the combined fleets of France and Spain, when his gallantry contributed in a high degree to ſave his brave friend admiral Matthews, whoſe ſecond he was in that engagement. So bright was his honour, and ſo clear his reputation in thoſe turbulent days, that though his evidence on the trial of the admirals went wholly againſt admiral Leſtock, yet that officer was often heard to declare, "that Mr. Forbes's teſtimony was given like an officer and a gentleman." In lord Chatham's glorious war, admiral Forbes was ſelected as the ableſt aſſiſtant the firſt lord could have in the management of the admiralty, and conducted himſelf in a manner highly creditable to his abilities, and eminently ſerviceable to his country.

When the warrant for executing the unfortunate admiral Byng was offered for ſignature at the admiralty board, admiral Forbes refuſed to ſign it, at the ſame time humbly laying at his late majeſty's feet his objections. A copy of the paper given by the admiral to his majeſty on that occaſion, may be ſeen in Smollet's Hiſtory of England: it *is* well worthy the attention of all men of honour, as it contains, perhaps, the beſt ſpecimen of an upright and independent mind, and honeſt and benevolent heart, that is to be found in any language. To detail the meritorious deeds of the venerable character before us, would lead to a diſcuſſion too extenſive; but the writer of this tribute to departed greatneſs cannot conclude it without inſerting an anecdote well known in the naval and political circles, and which, it is believed, even majeſty itſelf will recollect with ſuch feelings as are excited in benevolent minds by acts of genuine ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs. During a late adminiſtration it was thought expedient to offer a noble lord, very high in the naval profeſſion, and very deſervedly a favourite of his ſovereign and his country, the office of general of the marines, held by admiral Forbes, and ſpontaneouſly conferred upon him by his majeſty as a reward for his many and long ſervices. A meſſage was ſent by the miniſters, to ſay it would forward the king's ſervice if he would reſign; and that he ſhould be no loſer by his accommodating the government, as they propoſed recommending to the king to give him a penſion in Ireland of 3000l. per ann. and a peerage, to deſcend to his daughter. To this admiral Forbes ſent an immediate anſwer: he told the miniſters, the generalſhip of the marines was a military employment, given him by his

his majeſty as a reward for his ſervices; that he thanked God he had never been a burthen to his country, which he had ſerved during a long life to the beſt of his ability; and that he would not condeſcend to accept of a penſion, or bargain for a peerage. He concluded by laying his generalſhip of the marines, together with his rank in the navy, at the king's feet, entreating him to take both away if they could forward his ſervice; and, at the ſame time, aſſuring his majeſty, he would never prove himſelf unworthy of the former honours he had received, by ending the remainder of a long life as a penſioner, or accepting of a peerage obtained by political arrangement. His gracious maſter applauded his manly ſpirit, ever after continued him in his high military honours, and, to the day of his death, condeſcended to ſhew him ſtrong remarks of his regard.

11. At her houſe in Dublin, in her 90th year, the counteſs dowager of Aldborough.

13. At her houſe in Great Cumberland-ſtreet, lady Bridget Tollemache, relict of Mr. T. (brother to the earl of Dyſart,) and mother of major Tollemache, who loſt his life in the ſervice of his country, at the ſiege of Valenciennes. Lady Bridget was a daughter of chancellor earl Northington, and ſucceſſively the wife of Mr. George Fox Lane and the hon. Mr. Tollemache, who was a captain in the navy, and fell in an unfortunate rencontre at New York, with major-general, then captain, Pennington, of the guards. By Mr. Tollemache ſhe had an only ſon, Lionel Robert, who fell honourably in the trenches before Valenciennes. Lady Bridget ſtruggled under this ſevere ſtroke nearly two years, with all the fortitude that a great mind could call forth, and at length expired the victim of her parental affections. The character of this accompliſhed woman naturally took its various colouring from the ſtrange viciſſitudes of her fortune. Her mind, however, was always elevated and commanding; and, though ſhe ſacrificed ſomewhat to faſhionable life, ſhe ever kept aloof from thoſe vices which have ſo long diſgraced it. To a ſtrength of intellect, which ſhe derived from her noble ſire, ſhe added a delicacy of imagination and a brilliancy of wit peculiar to herſelf.

15. Counteſs of Ludlow.

17. The marchioneſs of Wincheſter, wife of George Poulett, eſq. who, on the death of the late duke of Bolton, ſucceeded to the title of marquis of Wincheſter.

19. In his 75th year, at his ſeat in Buckinghamſhire, after a ſevere illneſs of five months, occaſioned by a fall, ſir Hugh Palliſer, bart. admiral of the white, maſter and governor of Greenwich hoſpital, governor of Scarborough caſtle, and one of the elder brethren of the trinity houſe.

21. In his 77th year, ſir Thomas Rookwood Gage, bart. of Hengrave, co. Suffolk, and of Coldhamhall. He was the eldeſt of the two ſons of John, ſecond ſon of ſir William Gage bart. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Rookwood, eſq. of Coldhamhall. On the death of his father ſhe became ſole heireſs of all his eſtates. Sir Thomas married 1747, Lucy, daughter of William Knight, of Kingſbey, co. Lincoln eſq. by whom he has iſſue a ſon Thomas, his ſucceſſor, and three daughters.

22. Lad

22. Lady of ſir Thomas Parkyns, bart.

25. At Ranelagh the counteſs of Crequy Canaples, widow of Hugues comte de Crequy Canaples, of Orville, in the province of Artois. She was daughter of Edward Comerford, of Leeds, Yorkſhire, M. D.

28. Lady Mildmay.

At Berne, in Switzerland, where he had long been retired from motives of œconomy, after conſiderable expenditure on parliamentary elections, and afterwards, by preference of ſituation, for health, Spencer Compton, eighth earl of Northampton, in which title he ſucceeded his brother, in 1763. He married firſt Jane, daughter of Henry Lawton, eſq. of Northamptonſhire, who died in 1767, leaving iſſue a ſon Charles, born 1760, and a daughter Frances, born 1758. His ſecond lady was miſs Ann Hougham. His lordſhip was appointed one of the grooms of his majeſty's bedchamber, Nov. 25, 1760; elected recorder of Northampton, Nov. 1, 1763; and conſtituted lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Northampton, July 19, 1771; and preſident of the general hoſpital and preſervative ſociety of the county. He is ſucceeded by his only ſon, Charles, ninth earl.

April 3. At the Hague, counteſs de Welderen, ſiſter to lord Howard, and Mrs. Parker, the wife of comte de Welderen, many years miniſter from Holland to this country.

8. In his 51ſt year, the hon. Thomas Francis Wenman, LL.D. only brother to the late lord viſcount Wenman, and fellow of All Souls college, Oxford; where he proceeded B.C.L. Jan. 24, 1771, and LL.D. July 7, 1780; was elected Regius profeſſor of civil law, 1781, and cuſtos archivorum, 1788. He went out in the morning, as uſual, to add to his valuable collections in natural hiſtory; in the eagerneſs of which purſuit he unfortunately fell into the river Cherwell near Water-Eaton.

10. Sir Archibald Edmonſtone, bart.

12. At the George inn at Bridgewater, on her way to the Hotwells, aged 19, lady Anne Maria Montague, daughter of the late and ſiſter of the preſent duke of Mancheſter.

13. At his ſeat at Whitwell, co. York, aged 31, ſir Bellingham Graham, bart. He was ſon of the late ſir Bellingham, and has a ſiſter married, abroad, to colonel Greville.

Lady of the hon. Everard Arundel.

16. Suddenly, James, tenth lord Somerville, one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland. He ſucceeded his father, James, 1766; and is ſucceeded in titles and eſtates by his nephew, ſon of his brother Hugh.

At Woolwich, general Broome, of the artillery. He roſe from the ſituation of a private to the high rank of a general officer, merely by his perſonal merit. He was a captain of artillery at the time of the trial of Lord George Sackville, in which he appeared as a principal evidence againſt his lordſhip.

26. At his houſe in Bedford-row, John Pardoe, eſq. jun. M. P. for Weſt Looe, Cornwall. The death of his lady on the 19th overwhelmed him with melancholy.

May 3. The right hon. lady Gertrude Cromie.

At Hampton-court palace, in her 71ſt year, Anna Catharina Rumpsfoon Warmenhuyen, dowager baroneſs du Tour, mother-in-law to baron Nagel.

13. At Drumſheugh, near Edinburgh, the hon. James Erſkine, of Alva,

Alva, one of the ſenators of the college of juſtice. He was admitted an advocate, Dec. 4, 1743, appointed one of the barons of the exchequer, May 27, 1754, and on the 20th May 1761 was appointed one of the lords of the ſeſſion, and took the title of lord Barjarg, which title he afterwards altered to lord Alva.

19. At her houſe in Hereford-ſtreet, lady Charlotte Finch, eldeſt daughter of Daniel ſeventh earl of Winchelſea and third earl of Nottingham.

21. The lady of ſir Edward Harrington.

22. At the White Lion inn at Bath, Henry Thomas Cary, viſcount Falkland, and baron Cary in Scotland. He had reached Melkſham, on his way to London, but being too ill to proceed, returned to Bath. He was born in 1766, and ſucceeded his grandfather, the late viſcount, in 1785. Dying without iſſue, his brother, the hon. Charles John Cary, ſucceeds him.

23. Primroſe, lady Lovat.

27. Lord Charles Patrick Thomas Townſhend, youngeſt ſon of the marquis Townſhend. He was born at Leixlip in Ireland, Jan. 6, 1768.

31. Aged 64, in Harcourt-place, Dublin, the right hon. William Burton Conyngham, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, teller of the exchequer, and one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of high treaſurer in Ireland, treaſurer of the Royal Iriſh academy, F. A. S. Lond. brother of the late Francis Pierrepont Burton, baron Conyngham (father of the preſent viſcount C.), and nephew of Henry earl C. in compliance with whoſe will he took the name of Conyngham; and uncle to the preſent lord, to whom his eſtates devolve. Ireland will feel herſelf indebted to Mr. C. for the inſtitution of a ſociety of Antiquaries, 1780, conſiſting of himſelf as preſident, Mr. Archdall, author of the Iriſh Monaſticon and Peerage, Mr. O'Connor the diſſertator, colonel Vallancey the etymologiſt, dr. Ellis, a phyſician, who created a ſociety of Natural Hiſtory, Mr. Ledwich, and Mr. Beauford. Things went on very well till gov. Pownall addreſſed a letter to them, which Mr. Ledwich anſwered in the "Collectanea Hibernia," No. XI.; and by the lively, jocular way in which he then wrote, offended colonel V. who expatriated him from his Collectanea, and from a ſociety which immediately ceaſed. Had this ſociety held together, we might have expected it to have engraved and illuſtrated that fund of drawings of Iriſh antiquities from the time of the druids to the reformation, which Mr. C. was then making at a great expence, which he was ready to communicate to every perſon whoſe purſuits were congenial with his own, and which we hope he has taken ſome meaſures to render perpetual.

June 6. At her houſe in Sloane-ſtreet, Knightſbridge, of a cancer in her breaſt, the counteſs of Suſſex, ſecond wife to the preſent earl, and daughter of John Vaughan, eſq. of Briſtol.

11. Samuel Whitbread, eſq. M.P. of Bedwell Park, Herts.

12. The lady of ſir Henry Hay Macdougall, bart. of Mackerſtone.

Of the yellow fever, at ſea, on board the Majeſtic, of 74 guns, in which he was coming home from the Weſt Indies, two days before ſhe made the land, ſir John Laforey, admiral of the blue. He was made a poſt-captain in 1758; a rear-admiral in 1789; a vice-admiral in

1793; a baronet in 1794; and an admiral in 1795. On the 21ſt his remains were interred at Portſmouth with grand military honours.

16. At the houſe of her father-in-law, ſir George Howard, K. B. in North Audley-ſtreet, aged 41, of a lingering illneſs, lady Frances Howard, the youngeſt daughter of Thomas, late earl of Effingham, and Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Beckford, eſq. She was buried on the 24th inſtant at Bookham, near Leatherhead, in Surrey.

July 4. John Scudamore, eſq. M. P.

Lady Hay, widow of ſir Thomas Hay, of Park, Scotland.

5. Dowager viſcounteſs Strathallan.

11. At Madrid, much lamented, the counteſs of Traquaire.

16. In Upper Brook-ſtreet, in his 69th year, the right hon. William Gerrard Hamilton, formerly ſecretary in Ireland. By his death there lapſes an Iriſh penſion of 2000l. a year; and the bulk of his fortune goes to William Hamilton, eſq. of Lincoln's-inn-fields. He was uſually denominated Single-ſpeech Hamilton.

At his houſe in Groſvenor-ſquare, after a long and painful illneſs, ſincerely regretted by all his friends, and particularly by thoſe of the profeſſion he belonged to, for which he had always ſtood forward a zealous advocate and ſincere friend, field-marſhal the right hon. ſir George Howard, K. B. one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, colonel of the firſt or king's regiment of dragoon-guards, governor of Jerſey, and M. P. for Stamford.

21. At Southampton, admiral Carteret. He had long been afflicted with the loſs of his ſpeech.

26. At Moſtyn-hall, Flintſhire, much regretted and eſteemed for his many public and private virtues, Sir Roger Moſtyn, bart. member for the county of Flint, which he had faithfully repreſented in eight parliaments. He was choſen the ninth time at the laſt general election. He was one of the vice-preſidents of the Welſh-charity-ſchool, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Flint. His ſiſter was the ſecond wife of Thomas Pennant, eſq. of Downing, the well-known naturaliſt and traveller.

Auguſt 1. Mrs. Burrow, lady of Edward Burrow, eſq. of Bromley, M. P.

2. After a long and painful illneſs, in his 77th year, at his ſeat at Patſhull, co. Stafford, general ſir Robert Pigot, bart. He is ſucceeded in title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, lieutenant-colonel George Pigot.

Edward Blackett, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Edward Blackett, bart.

5. At Little Chelſea, lady Gordon, daughter of Thomas Alſop, of Loughborough, gent. and ſecond wife of Samuel Philips, of Gerendon-hall, co. Leiceſter, eſq. Mr. Philips, who concluded the too ſhort-lived race of a moſt reſpectable and worthy family, March 16, 1774, at the age of 65, left his noble manſion at Gerendon, with an income of 7000l. a year, to his widow; who was afterwards married to ſir William Gordon, K. B.; but, on the death of this lady the eſtates deſcend, agreeably to the will of Mr. Philips, to Thomas March, eſq. of More Critchell, co. Dorſet, his maternal couſin, who has juſt obtained the royal licence to aſſume the ſurname and arms of Philips, in addition to thoſe of March.

8. At Bexley-houſe, in Kent, in her 76th year, the honourable Mrs. Marſham, ſiſter of the late lord Romney.

11. At Gibraltar, Delves Broughton, eſq. eldeſt ſon of the rev. ſir Thomas B. bart. of Doddington-hall, Cheſhire.

22. At Engleſield-houſe, Berks, of the gout in his ſtomach, in his 51ſt year, Richard Benyon, eſq. of that place, and of Giddyhall, Eſſex, M. P. for Peterborough, ſon of the late governor B. He married a daughter of ſir Edward Hulſe, by whom he has left nine children, and eſtates in Eſſex and Berks, amounting to 8000l. a year.

31. After a long illneſs, at the Bell inn, Northfield, being then on his way to Abergavenny, in Wales, ſir Joſeph Brooke, bart. of Seaton, in Yorkſhire. His brother, Samuel Brooke, eſq. of the city of Dublin, ſucceeds to the title and eſtates. Sir Richard, the late baronet, died in his 38th year, at Norton priory, in Cheſhire, March 11, 1795.

September 1. At Brighthelmſtone, in the 68th year of his age, the right hon. David Murray, earl of Mansfield, preſident of the council, juſtice-general of Scotland, keeper of Scone, chancellor of Mareſchal college, Aberdeen, joint clerk of the court of king's bench, LL.D. and K. T. and formerly a member of the univerſity of Oxford. His lordſhip was the only ſon of lord viſcount Stormont (elder brother to that diſtinguiſhed character the firſt earl of Mansfield), and bore that title till his late uncle's death, when he ſucceeded to his fortune and the earldom. He had reſigned the office of lord juſtice general of Scotland, on being appointed lord preſident of the council. His eſtates in Scotland do not exceed 6000l. a year, but the property he inherited from the great earl, and the accumulations ariſing from rigid economy in his own expences, are immenſe. A green ribband becomes vacant by his death; he was, except the duke of Queenſbury, the oldeſt knight of the moſt ancient order of the thiſtle. He was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, and from the college there was elected, in 1744, ſtudent of Chriſt Church, Oxford. His proficiency in claſſical knowledge at both thoſe ſeminaries of learning, and his diſtinguiſhed reputation as a ſcholar, are well known to his contemporaries. Many of his Latin compoſitions ſtill remain, and prove his taſte and maſtery in that language. He continued through life, notwithſtanding his conſtant employment in buſineſs, to cultivate at his leiſure hours the learned languages, and with ſuch diligence, that it is thought he has left few better, or more critical, Greek ſcholars behind him. Upon the death of his father, in 1748, which happened not very long after he had finiſhed his ſtudies at Oxford, he travelled abroad for ſeveral years; and, ſoon after his return, was elected one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland. In 1756, he was appointed envoy to the court of Dreſden, and remained at that court during its reſidence at Warſaw, and till he was named one of the three ambaſſadors for the intended congreſs of Augſbourg. He returned to England in 1762, and the next year was appointed ambaſſador to the court of Vienna, where he continued till 1772. In 1772, he was appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, where he continued till the

war.

war. In 1779, his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to name him ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. He held the ſeals till the change in adminiſtration in 1782; and in 1783 returned into office, with a part of the adminiſtration he had acted with before, as preſident of the council. He quitted, with his friends, at the end of the ſame year, and again returned with them into power in 1784, in his former ſituation of preſident of the council. He had been one of the repreſentatives of the Scots peers in the higher houſe of parliament ever ſince 1754, and was the only one alive of the ſixteen who were then elected, except lord Findlater; and, what is ſingular, in the laſt parliament he ſat in a double capacity, and was entitled to two votes, as viſcount Stormont, repreſenting the Scots peers, and as a Britiſh earl by the title of earl of Mansfield; and every time the roll was called muſt have been named by both titles. His remains were brought in funeral ſtate, and, on the 9th, according to his own expreſs deſire, privately interred in the ſame vault with his uncle and aunt, the late earl and counteſs of Mansfield, in the north aile of Weſtminſter-abbey. His heart is carried to Kumlington, the family ſeat of his lordſhip, in the county of Dumfries.—On the arrival of the cavalcade at the church, two of the bearers having got the coffin on their ſhoulders, the horſes of the hearſe took fright by the preſſure of the multitude; by which means, the other men not being prepared, the weight became too preponderant for thoſe in front, and the coffin fell with great violence on the ground; the foot part of which bilged, part fell out with a number of the nails and embelliſhments, and the concuſſion was ſo great that the leaded receptacle was much ſhattered, and a quantity of water iſſued from it.—His lordſhip was twice married; firſt to a Saxon lady, Henrietta, counteſs of Bunan, at Warſaw, in 1759, by whom there is now no iſſue living but lady Elizabeth, married to George Finch Hatton, eſq. in 1785; ſecondly, to Louiſa, third daughter to the late lord Cathcart, in 1766, by whom he has left four ſons and a daughter. He is ſucceeded in his honours and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon, David William, born March 7, 1777, the preſent earl, who but lately ſet out on his travels, and is now at the univerſity of Leipſic.

13. Vice-admiral John Ford.

14. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, of Coul, bart.

20. At Bincheſter, aged 55, the hon. Thomas Lyon, of Hetton-houſe, in the county of Durham, brother to the late, and uncle to the preſent, earl of Strathmore.

21. At Bath, ſir John Danvers, of Swithland, in the county of Leiceſter, bart. He has bequeathed his immenſe landed eſtates and perſonal property to his only child, the hon. Mrs. Butler, wife of the hon. Auguſtus Butler (ſecond ſon of the counteſs of Laneſborough) who has taken the name of Danvers. Sir John's real eſtates in Leiceſterſhire and other counties amount in old rents to near 10,000l. per ann. in which the property of timber is immenſe: the perſonal eſtate conſiſts of near 200,000l. in funded money, caſh, and bank bills. By a former will, the family of the male branch of the Danvers were made ſole heirs; but this was lately revoked ſoon

after the birth of his daughter's ſon.

22. At Fareham, the right hon. lord Cranſton. He was lately appointed governor of Grenada, to which place he was about to take his departure.

24. At Coates, near Edinburgh, the rev. and right hon. John earl of Glencairn, in the 46th year of his age. The title devolves to ſir Adam Ferguſon.

27. Miſs Emilia Lawſon, only daughter of the late ſir Gilbert Lawſon.

30. Sir Archibald Grant, of Monymuſk, bart.

October 1. At Kincardine-lodge, ſir Edward Bannerman, bart.

6. In Albemarle-ſtreet, after a long and ſevere illneſs, lady Daſhwood, the lady of ſir Henry D. bart. of Kirtlington Park, co. Oxford, lady of the bedchamber to the princeſſes, and governeſs of the royal nurſery, Carlton-houſe. She was the eldeſt daughter of the late Mr. Graham, formerly a member of the council in Bengal, and niece to the late lord Newhaven; and married at Gatton-park, July 17, 1780, ſir Henry Daſhwood, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt was appointed a page at court.

7. At Caroline Park, Scotland, in his 82d year, ſir John Stuart, of Allanbank, bart.

10. Juliana Maria, dowager queen of Denmark.

14. At Snareſbrook, in a very advanced age, ſir John Hopkins, knt. alderman of the ward of Caſtle Baynard. Having formerly been in the common-council, he was the father of the corporation. He was elected alderman in 1782, ſheriff in 1784, and lord-mayor in 1792.

16. At Turin, in his 70th year, and 23d of his reign, Victor Amadeus Maria, of Savoy, king of Sardinia. He was born June 26, 1726; and married Maria Antoinetta Ferdinanda, of Spain, ſiſter to the preſent emperor, who died 1785.

19. At Weſthill, the hon. Alice Ballenden, daughter of the late John lord B.

20. At Edinburgh, John, fifth lord Ballenden, heritable uſher of the court of exchequer in Scotland. He was preſumptive heir to the dukedom of Roxburgh, and the extenſive poſſeſſions belonging to his grace the preſent duke, who has no iſſue.

Sir Michael Stewart, of Blackall, bart.

26. Sir Benjamin Sinclair, of Dunbeath, bart.

27. Counteſs of Abergavenny.

30. At Eglintoun-caſtle, in Ayrſhire, Archibald Montgomery, 11th earl of Eglintoun, a general in the army, colonel of the ſecond regiment of dragoons, or royal Scots greys, and governor of Edinburgh caſtle. His lordſhip was third ſon of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglintoun, who died 1729, and ſucceeded his brother Alexander, the tenth earl (killed by Mungo Campbell, Oct. 24, 1769) in his title and very extenſive poſſeſſions. He married, firſt, March 20, 1772, lady Jean Lindſay, eldeſt daughter of George, 18th earl of Crawford; but by her, who died Jan. 22, 1778, had no iſſue: and, ſecondly, Auguſt 9, 1783, Frances, daughter of ſir William Twyſden, of Eaſt Peckham, co. Kent, bart. By this lady, who was divorced, his lordſhip had two daughters, to the eldeſt of whom he has bequeathed a large perſonal fortune, and an eſtate of about 400l. a year. His other property, conſiſting of extenſive

tenſive eſtates in Ayrſhire, and other parts of Scotland, goes, with the title, to his kinſman, Hugh Montgomery, of Coylsfield, colonel of a regiment of fencibles, lately elected (after a keen conteſt with colonel William Fullerton, of Fullerton) member of parliament for Ayrſhire.

November 2. Lady Ogle, wife of ſir Chaloner Ogle.

5. At Goodwood, Suſſex, Mary, ducheſs of Richmond; a woman whom neither titles could dazzle nor pains depreſs; who bore her honours ſo modeſtly upon her, that, while her dignity enforced reſpect, her gentleneſs inſpired love. She was only daughter of Charles Bruce, third earl of Ayleſbury, by his wife Caroline, daughter of general John Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyll. She was married 1747, but had no iſſue. She was interred in the family-vault in the cathedral at Chicheſter, on Tueſday, November 14.

11. At Durham, ſir William Appleby, in his 54th year.

16. Thomas Somers Cocks, eſq. brother to lord Somers.

17. Her imperial majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia. She was born 1729, and aſcended the throne in 1762.

20. At the George inn, Northampton, on his journey from Buxton to London, that reſpectable veteran of the bar, Edward Bearcroft, eſq. M. P. for Saltaſh, chief-juſtice of Cheſter, and a king's counſel.

The hon. Mrs. Southwell.

Mrs. North, lady of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

In Arlington-ſtreet, the moſt noble Thomas Thynne, marquis of Bath, knight of the garter, groom of his majeſty's ſtole, a member of the moſt hon. privy-council, high-ſteward of Tamworth, an elder brother of the trinity-houſe, a governor of the charter-houſe, &c. He was born Sept. 24, 1734, and married, in 1759, to the lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh Bentinck, ſiſter to the preſent duke of Portland. He has left by her ladyſhip, who ſurvives him, three ſons and five daughters; and is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon, Thomas, lord viſcount Weymouth, M. P. in the preſent and late parliament for Bath.

21. In Lincoln's-inn-fields, ſir Edmund Head, bart.

Sir William Dick, bart.

Hon. Mrs. Murray, mother to lord Elibank.

22. At Richmond, lady Wood, relict of ſir Francis Wood, bart.

December 9. At Edinburgh, the hon. miſs Cranſtoun, daughter of lord Cranſtoun.

12. After a tedious indiſpoſition, heightened by ſevere domeſtic afflictions, which terminated in the dropſy in the cheſt, the right rev. dr. William Buller, lord biſhop of Exeter. Beſides the gallant colonel Buller, who was ſlain on the Continent, he loſt two ſons by conſumption. He was of Oriel college, Oxford, where he proceeded A. M. 1759; thence removed to Chriſt-church, where he took the degrees of B. and D.D. 1781; was appointed dean of Exeter; and, on the promotion of dr. Horne, dean of Canterbury, in which he was inſtalled June 22, 1790. On the death of dr. John Roſs, 1793, he was advanced to the biſhoprick of Exeter, and was conſecrated Dec. 2, that year. His remains were privately interred on the 17th in Exeter cathedral.

15. At her apartments in Bath, lady Cooke, wife of ſir George C. bart. of Wheatly, co. York, and ſiſter of the late ſir Wm. Middleton, bart.

17. At his brother's houſe, at Twickenham, the right hon. lord John Cavendiſh, uncle to his grace the duke of Devonſhire, and M. P. for Derbyſhire.

27. Sir Robert Heſketh Juxon, bart. of Rufford-hall, Lancaſhire.

28. Prince Lewis, ſecond ſon of the king of Pruſſia.

29. At Dublin, aged 60, the right hon. baron Trimelstown. His lordſhip was ſecond baron of the kingdom of Ireland.—He was, we believe, the 14th who held that title in lineal deſcent from Robert Barnewall, created baron Trimelstown, 1461, by Edward IV. for his good and faithful ſervices in Ireland; and whoſe grandſon John was chancellor of Ireland in 1534. Mr. Archdall's Peerage, publiſhed 1789, does not mention the late lord, ending with his predeceſſor Thomas, 13th lord, who inrolled himſelf in the Iriſh volunteer army on the alarm of invaſion in 1779 and 1780.

31. At his apartments in Newgate, the right hon. lord William Murray, 2d brother of his grace the duke of Athol.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1796.

Berks, Michael Anthony, of Shippon.

Bedfordſhire, George Brooks, of Flitwick.

Bucks, Thomas Hibbert, of Chalfont-houſe.

Cumberland, James Graham, of Barrock-lodge, eſqrs.

Cheſhire, the hon. Booth Grey, of Wincham.

Cambridge and *Huntingdon*, J. Gardener, of Chatteris.

Devonſhire, ſir Bouchier Wray, of Tawſtock, bart.

Dorſetſhire, Thomas Bowyer Bowyer, of Iwern-minſter, eſq.

Derbyſhire, ſir Robert Wilmot, of Oſmaſton, bart.

Eſſex, Jackſon Barwis, of Marſhalls.

Glouceſterſhire, Samuel Peach Peach, of Upper Torkington.

Hertfordſhire, John Sowerby, of Lilley.

Herefordſhire, Abraham Whitaker, of Liſton.

Kent, John Mumford, of Sutton at Hone.

Leiceſterſhire, James Richards, of Aſhby de la Zouch.

Lincolnſhire, William earl Welby, of Denton.

Monmouthſhire, Henry Barnes, of Monmouth.

Northumberland, Adam Manſfield Lawſon Decardonnell, of Chirton.

Northamptonſhire, Allen Edward Young the younger, of Orlingbury.

Norfolk, Thomas Brown Evans, of Kirby Bedon.

Nottinghamſhire, J. Wright, of Nottingham.

Oxfordſhire, William Lowndes Stone, of Brightwell.

Rutlandſhire, R. Tomlin, of Edith Weſton.

Shropſhire, Ralph Leake, of Longford.

Somerſetſhire, John Tyndale Warre, of Heſtercombe.

Staffordſhire, Henry Vernon, of Hilton.

Suffolk, John Clayton, of Sibton.

Southampton, H. Maxwell, of Ewſhot-houſe.

Surry, Thomas Sutton, of Moulſey.

Suſſex, John Fuller, of Roſehill.

Warwick-

Warwickſhire, Edward Croxall, of Shuſtock.

Worceſterſhire, T. Hill the younger, of Broom.

Wilts, Gilbert Trowe Beckett Turner, of Penleigh.

Yorkſhire, Godfrey Wentworth Wentworth, of Hickleton;—eſqrs.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, J. William Hughes, of Tregyth.

Pembroke, Nathaniel Philips, of Slebetch.

Cardigan, Edward Warren Jones, of Llanina.

Glamorgan, Hebert Hurſt, of Gabalva.

Brecon, P. Champion Creſpigny, of Tallyllyr.

Radnor, John Pritchard, of Dolyvelin, eſqrs.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth, Thomas Lloyd, of Cumhuſion.

Anlgeſea, J. Morris Conway, of Celleniog.

Carnarvon, J. William Lenthall, of Mainan.

Montgomery, John Dickin, of Welch Pool.

Denbighſhire, J. Hughes, of Horſely-hall, eſqrs.

Flint, Sir E. Pryce Lloyd, of Pengwern-place, bart.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council, for the year* 1796.

County of Cornwall, John Enys, of Enys, eſq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

GAZETTES *relative to* AMERICA *and the* WEST-INDIES.

From the London Gazette.

Letter from major-general Whyte, to ſir R. Abercromby.

SIR, *Demerary.*

IN obedience to your excellency's commands, I left Barbadoes on the 15th inſtant, with a detachment of the artillery, and part of the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, amounting to 1200 men, eſcorted by the Malabar, Undaunted, La Picque, and Babet frigates, with the Granada tranſport, and five ſchooners and ſloops, and on the 21ſt made the land, when the Scipio joined the fleet. That evening, when the tide made, the Babet and La Picque frigates, with the Granada tranſport, paſſed the bar, with the ſchooners and boats of the fleet, and came to anchor, within random ſhot of the fort, at the entrance of the river; and having, during the night, prepared every thing for attack, at day-light appeared in force, when I ſent a flag of truce by lieutenant-colonel Hiſlop, of the 39th regiment, ſummoning the governor to ſurrender the colony and its dependencies to his Britannic majeſty's forces, agreeable to the terms which I have the honour to incloſe, and which the governor and council accepted. The unanimity with which the ſervice was carried on between the fleet and army was pleaſing to all concerned, and Mr. Higgins acquitted himſelf with much propriety and utility. Captain Parr, who commanded the fleet, has aſſiſted and ſupplied us from the fleet liberally: and I have the ſatisfaction to inform your excellency, that from every information I have received, and from above ſeventy ſhips being actually loaded with the produce of the country, now in the river, (moſt of which will be ſent to England,) and from every account of the fertility of the ſoil, it is a moſt important acquiſition to Great Britain.

The colony of Berbice, adjoining to this, being a ſeparate government, I ſhall direct my attention to it without delay; and I ſhall leave lieutenant-colonel Hiſlop in the command here, agreeable to your excellency's directions.

The Thetis, a Dutch frigate of 24 guns, and a cutter of 12 guns, are added to the fleet; and captain Parr has given directions for deſtroying

ſtroying or bringing down the river a French brig privateer of force.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B.

&c. &c. &c.

By major-general John Whyte, commander of his Britannic majeſty's land forces, &c. &c. &c. and captain Thomas Parr, commander of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips, &c. &c. &c.

Theſe are requiring you, the governor and council, military and naval forces, of the colony of Demerary and its dependencies, to ſurrender the ſaid colony to his Britannic majeſty's forces under our command, and to place the ſaid colony under his majeſty's protection, and quietly and peaceably to ſubmit to his majeſty's government.

In which caſe the inhabitants ſhall enjoy full ſecurity to their perſons, and the free exerciſe of their religion, with the full and immediate enjoyment of all private property, whether on ſhore or afloat, (excepting ſuch as may appear to belong to the ſubjects of the French republic,) according to their ancient laws and uſages, or ſuch other as may be determined upon previous to the colony's being placed under his majeſty's government, upon the moſt liberal and beneficial terms.

That in the event of the colony's remaining under the Britiſh government at the concluſion of a general peace, it ſhall enjoy ſuch commercial rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies. With regard to the military and naval forces, that the officers and men of the land forces ſhall, if agreeable to themſelves, be received into the Britiſh pay, with leave, at the reſtoration of the Stadtholder, to return into his ſervice. Each non-commiſſioned officer and ſoldier ſhall receive, upon taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty to ſerve him faithfully during the war, where it may be thought proper to employ him, the ſum of one hundred guilders.

The officers to receive, under the ſame conditions, the allowance of two hundred days bat, baggage, and forage money, as paid to the Britiſh officers.

The officers and men of the marine forces cannot be taken into the Britiſh ſervice until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be known, but ſhall receive pay according to their rank, and every indulgence that can be allowed.

That the governor and all civil officers, after having taken the oaths of allegiance to his majeſty, which will be adminiſtered by major-general Whyte, are (if they chooſe) to remain in their reſpective ſituations, (excepting thoſe who have ſhewn a decided partiality to the French intereſt,) the governor only reſigning the military command. Should ſuch liberal terms be refuſed, the governor, council, and all concerned, muſt be anſwerable for the conſequences, as an immediate attack will be made by the land and ſea forces, which will render every reſiſtance vain.

Major-general Whyte and capt. Parr give the governor one hour, and no more, from the delivery of this by lieutenant-colonel Hiſlop, to accept or not.

(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.

THOMAS PARR, captain royal navy.

Dated

Dated on board his majesty's ship Babet, off the river Demerary, April 20, 1796.

A true copy, JOHN WHYTE.

GENTLEMEN,

It is out of my power as yet to give a decisive answer to your summons, demanding the surrender of this colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, as my duty requires me to lay it before the council, to whom it is also addressed, but which is not assembled at this moment. I will, however, call the members present together, and return about twelve o'clock an answer.

I have the honour to remain, &c.
(Signed) ANTHONY BEAUJON.
governor of Demerary.

Demerary, 22d April, 1796.

To their excellencies general Whyte and commodore Parr.

On board the Babet frigate,
Sir, *April 22, 1796.*

We have been honoured with your letter in answer to our's of yesterday's date, summoning the colony of Demerary to surrender to his Britannic majesty's arms, requesting, for the reasons therein mentioned, to have until twelve o'clock this forenoon to assemble the council to assist you in the determination.

The reasonableness of the request induces us to grant it; but you will be aware, that if an answer is not returned on or before that time no further delay can be made, and you alone must be answerable for the consequences; and you will please also to observe, that from the very liberal terms offered, no deviation whatever can be admitted.

We have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WHYTE, maj. gen.
THOMAS PARR, captain royal navy.

To his excellency the governor of Demerary.

Fort William Frederick, Demerary, 22d April, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

We, the governors, members of the council, and commanders of the military and naval forces of the colony, in council of war assembled, having attentively perused the summons, dated of yesterday, and addressed to us by your excellencies, demanding the surrender of said colony to his Britannic majesty's forces, also the terms thereunto annexed; have, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept said terms, and on them to surrender said colony and its dependencies as demanded, whereof we hereby give you notice; also that our colours will be struck on the landing of your forces: It will depend on the several officers and troops to decide for themselves as to the offers made them, and we have the honour to subscribe ourselves, &c.

(Signed) ANTHONY BEAUJON, governor.
J. FRAN. WELL, maj.
C. FIZJCHER, com.
P. P. LUYHEN.
THOMAS CUMING.
A. MEEXTENS.

By order of the council,
M. SINNÉ, sec. ad int.

To their excellencies general Whyte and commodore Parr, commanders of his Britannic majesty's forces off Demerary.

The

The London Gazette, July 2.

Articles of Capitulation of the Iſland of St. Lucia.

Art. I. The Iſland of St. Lucia, the Morne Fortune, and its dependencies, together with all the effects belonging to the French Republic, ſhall be faithfully delivered to the generals of the Britiſh forces.

Anſ. Agreed to.

Art. II. Property and perſons of every deſcription ſhall be placed under the protection of the law; and paſſports ſhall be granted to ſuch perſons as may wiſh to leave the iſland.

Anſ. All property and inhabitants will be ſubject to and under the protection of the Engliſh laws. Perſons wiſhing to quit the iſland muſt obtain permiſſion of the governor or commander of the iſland.

Art. III. No inhabitant ſhall be diſturbed, moleſted, or baniſhed, on account of his opinions, or for having held any place under the French Republic.

Anſ. Agreed to, as anſwered in the ſecond article.

Art. IV. The agent general, the commander in chief, and the forces of the Republic, who have defended the iſland, ſhall march out with the honours of war, and deliver their arms; the officers only being allowed to keep their ſwords: they ſhall be treated as priſoners of war, and ſent back to France as ſoon as poſſible.

Anſ. The firſt part of this article granted, but the troops muſt remain priſoners of war until exchanged.

Art V. The Britiſh forces ſhall take poſſeſſion of the Morne Fortune at the hour which may be appointed for that purpoſe, and the French garriſon ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying.

Anſ. The fort to be put into the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops tomorrow at noon; the garriſon to march out of the fort in the manner deſired. The garriſon to occupy houſes in the neighbourhood of the fort, until veſſels ſhall be provided for their reception.

Art. VI. The garriſon ſhall pile their arms at the place which may be appointed for that purpoſe, and ſhall immediately be ſent to France. The officers ſhall be allowed to take with them their wives and children.

Anſ. The arms to be piled on the glacis without the fort. Anſwer has already been given as to the diſpoſal of the garriſon. The officers may diſpoſe of their wives and children as they pleaſe.

Art. VII. The agent general of the executive directory, his aides-de-camp, ſecretary, and other perſons attached to him, ſhall be allowed to keep all papers and effects belonging to his office. The ſame favour ſhall be granted to the commander in chief and all the officers of the garriſon.

Anſ. Agreed to; but all papers relating to the ſtate of the iſland, public works, and all plans and maps, to be given up.

Art. VIII. The volunteers ſerving with the French forces ſhall be allowed to keep their knapſacks.

Anſ. Agreed to, according to the return given in by the commander in chief.

Art. IX. No perſon ſhall be plundered or inſulted, on account of the opinions he has hitherto profeſſed.

Anſ. Agreed to.

Art. X. Two veſſels of the republic lying in the harbour, ſhall be granted

granted to the agent of the executive directory, to ſerve as covered boats. The crews of theſe two veſſels ſhall, however, be conſidered as priſoners of war.

Anſ. Refuſed; but every accommodation that can be deſired by the agent general of the executive directory ſhall be granted.

Art. XI. The inhabitants of every colour, ſhall be allowed to return immediately to their reſpective homes, without inſult or moleſtation.

Anſ. Agreed to.

Art. XII. The ſick and wounded of the garriſon ſhall be taken care of in the ſame manner as the Engliſh, and, on their recovery, ſhall be entitled to the ſame terms as the other priſoners.

Anſ. Agreed to.

Art. XIII. All the articles of this capitulation ſhall be faithfully and ſtrictly obſerved by both parties.

Anſ. Agreed to.

Additional Article.

Proper officers to be named by the agent general and commander in chief, to take the neceſſary orders for the ſurrender of Gros Iſlets, Souffriere, and Vieux Fort, and other poſts that may be occupied in the iſland. The means of conveyance ſhall be found for the ſaid officers. Stores and proviſions of all kinds to be delivered by the French commiſſaries to the Britiſh commiſſaries authorized to receive them on the ſurrender of the different poſts.

(Signed) RALPH ABERCROMBY.
HUGH C. CHRISTIAN.
GOTTENS.
GOYRAND.

Morne Duchaſſeaux, St. Lucia, May 25, 1796.

Articles of Capitulation which lieutenant-general ſir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in the Weſt Indies, grants to the French government in St. Vincent's, the 11th of June, 1796.

Art. I. The garriſon of the Vigie and its dependencies to march out this day at twelve o'clock, and lay down their arms.

Art. II. The negroes, &c. are to return to their reſpective proprietors.

Art. III. The reſt of the garriſon become priſoners of war. The officers are allowed to retain their ſwords, and all are allowed to keep their private effects.

Art. IV. Such perſons as have been guilty of murders, or of burning houſes or eſtates, muſt be ſubject to the judgment of the laws of the iſland.

Art. V. The commandant of the French troops ſhall cauſe to be given up, as ſoon as poſſible, all the poſts which the French troops are in poſſeſſion of in this iſland; and the ſaid troops are to become priſoners, upon the conditions granted to the garriſon of the Vigie.

Art. VI. The commandant of the French troops ſhall be reſponſible that all artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, of every kind, ſhall be delivered up to the Britiſh troops in the order they are now in, and any injury or waſte committed on them from this time, will be conſidered as a breach of faith.

Art. VII. By the fourth article it is underſtood that all perſons, except ſuch as come under the meaning of that article, are for this time pardoned for having departed from their allegiance to his majeſty.

Art. VIII. In addition to the firſt article, the commander in chief conſents

conſents that the garriſon ſhould march out with the honours of war.

(Signed) R. ABERCROMBY.
T. WOLLEY.

We, the underſigned, adminiſtrators of the French army in this iſland, accept the above articles of capitulation, ſubject to the ſanction of the delegated commiſſary, and of the military committee.

(Signed) CH. SUGUE, adminiſtrator.
G. AUDIBERT. com. del. BOUNY, commandant en ſecond.
(For the commander in chief of the republican army, Marinier.)
D. VICTOR, aid de camp.

Terms of Capitulation agreed upon by major-general Oliver Nicolls, commanding his majeſty's forces in the iſland of Grenada, and captain Joſſey, commanding the troops of the French Republic in the ſame iſland.

Art. I. The poſts under the command of the above commandant Joſſey, viz. Mabonia, or Dugaldſtone, the Vigie, or the hill of Gouyave, and Dalincourt, ſhall be ſurrendered to the arms of his Britannic majeſty.

Art. II. The battalion, of which the ſaid captain Joſſey is commandant, the artillery, and the commiſſariat of the French republic, comprehending, however, no perſon not formerly free, ſhall be priſoners of war, and remain ſo till exchanged.

Art. III. The garriſon of each poſt ſhall march out with the honours of war, and lay down their arms in ſuch place as will be pointed out to them, after which they will be conducted to the moſt convenient place till they can be embarked.

Art. IV. All guns, ordnance ſtores, commiſſary's ſtores, public papers, and effects, belonging to the French republic, or actually in the poſts occupied by their troops, are to be delivered up faithfully to the proper officers who will be ſent to receive them.

Art. V. The officers will retain their ſwords, and both officers and men their baggage.

Art. VI. The poſt of Mabonia will be taken poſſeſſion of as ſoon as the capitulation is ſigned; and of Gouyave an hour afterwards; the poſt of Dalincourt at four o'clock this afternoon.

(Signed) OLIVER NICOLLS. major-gen.
JOSSEY.

GAZETTES RELATIVE TO THE EAST INDIES AND CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Articles of Capitulation of Colombo, in the iſland of Ceylon.

Preliminary Article.—John Gerand Van Angelbeck, counſellor of India, governor and director of the Dutch poſſeſſions in the iſland of Ceylon, offers to deliver up to colonel Stuart and captain Gardner, commanding the Engliſh troops, the fortreſs of Colombo, upon the following conditions, at the expiration of three days.

Anſ. Major Patrick Alexander Agnew, adjutant-general of the Britiſh troops in the iſland of Ceylon, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by colonel James Stuart, commanding the Britiſh army, and Alan Hyde Gardner, eſq. captain of his majeſty's

majeſty's ſhip Heroine, and ſenior officer of the naval force before Colombo, conſents to accept of the ſurrender of the fortreſs of Colombo, on the undermentioned terms, provided the capitulation is ſigned this evening, and the fort delivered to the Britiſh troops to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, in the manner ſtipulated in the following articles.

Art. I. In this capitulation ſhall be included the town of Gale, and the fort of Caliture, with all their dependencies, lands, domains, &c. of the hon. Dutch Eaſt India Company; and the governor ſhall iſſue orders to the commander and council of Gale, and the commandant of Caliture, for the actual ſurrender, according to the contents of this capitulation.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. II. The fort with all its dependencies, artillery, ammunition, ſtores, proviſions, and all other effects belonging to the company, with the plan and papers relative to the fortifications, ſhall *bona fide* be delivered up, without concealing or keeping back any thing.

Anſ. Granted. The ſurveys of the diſtricts of the iſland of Ceylon, and its coaſts, with all the other public plans, to be included.

Art. III. And as the banks at Colombo, as well as Gale, are two years in arrear, the delivery ſhall take place according to the balances now actually exiſting, and a reaſonable time be allotted to the commercial ſervants here, and at Gale, with their aſſiſtants, to finiſh their books; and they ſhall during that time receive the pay and emoluments fixed for their ſervices. As the ſmith, cooper, houſe-carpenter, the overſeer of the arſenal, and the brick-maker, receive every thing by indent, their accounts ſhall be examined by our accountants, and paid by the Engliſh: on the other hand, the abovementioned artificers and overſeers are reſponſible for the articles iſſued to them.

Anſ. One year, or eighteen months, if abſolutely neceſſary, ſhall be allowed, for the purpoſe of arranging the books; during which time a reaſonable ſalary ſhall be paid to the ſervants of the Dutch company neceſſarily employed in this department. The accounts of the artizans ſhall be examined and liquidated.

Art. IV. All public papers ſhall alſo be faithfully delivered over; but atteſted copies of all the public and ſecret conſultations held during his ſhort government, and which he has not had an opportunity of forwarding to Holland or Batavia, ſhall be given to governor Van Angelbeck, to enable him to anſwer for his conduct, according to the exiſting circumſtances.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. V. The returns and merchandize of the company, which are partly laden on board the ſhips Berlicum and Enſgezenheid, now lying in the roads and partly ſtored in private houſes, as well as thoſe at Gale, ſhall alſo be faithfully delivered by the commiſſaries, who ſhall be appointed by the governor, to major Agnew, who is authorized by the governor of Madras to receive them.

Anſ. All merchandize, ſtores, and public property, of every deſcription, either laden on board the ſhips now anchored under the guns of the fort, depoſited in public ſtores, or diſtributed in the houſes of individuals; as well as all public property placed in a ſimilar manner at Gale, Caliture,

Caliture, or any other part of the iſland of Ceylon, depending on theſe governments, ſhall be delivered up by the commiſſaries, who ſhall be named by the governor Van Angelbeck to major Agnew, the major appointed by the government of Madras to receive them, in three weeks from this date.

Art. VI. But as the company has of late borrowed money upon intereſt, of their ſervants and inhabitants, and, when in want of ready money, have iſſued (kredict breeven) promiſſory notes, to the amount of about five lack of rix-dollars, of which, however, at leaſt one half is in the treaſury, with a promiſe to realize the ſame; and as ſeveral ſervants have their pay and emoluments in the hands of the company, for which they have no other ſecurity but their property, the above mentioned debts ſhall be paid out of them, and the notes diſcharged, which can occaſion the leſs conſideration, as the returns alone, taking the fine cinnamon at only three rupees a pound, the pepper at one hundred rupees per candy, the cardamoms at one rupee a pound, and the piece goods and other merchandize at the invoice price, will amount to about twenty-five lacks of rupees, and all the debts, pay, and notes in circulation not above ſix lacks. The copper doodees ſhall continue current for one ſtiver.

Anſ. As Mr. Van Angelbeck has aſſured the officers commanding his majeſty's naval and land forces before Colombo, that a refuſal to comply with the demand contained in the 6th article, will be attended with the total ruin of the colony, they conſent to the following arrangements regarding the paper currency of this iſland, provided the public property of the Dutch company is found to be conformable to the ſtatement contained in this article. The Engliſh government of Ceylon will take up the promiſſory notes of the Dutch government which are ſtill in circulation, provided they do not exceed the ſum of 50,000l. ſterling, and iſſue certificates for the amount, bearing an intereſt of three per cent. per ann. payable half yearly, which certificates ſhall be in force ſo long as the diſtricts of Ceylon, extending from Matura to Chilau, ſhall be in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and no longer. Should theſe diſtricts be reſtored to the Dutch, the reſponſibility of payment will neceſſarily revert to them, in which event the original notes of the Dutch government ſhall be reſtored to the proprietors, in exchange for the certificates granted by the Britiſh government. The officers commanding the Britiſh forces are not authorized to provide for the payment of the arrears due to the ſervants of the company. This muſt be left to the future determination of his Britannic majeſty.

The copper coin of this iſland muſt find its own value in the courſe of exchange.

Art. VII. All private property, without exception, ſhall be ſecured to the proprietors.

Anſ. Granted, with the exception of all military and naval ſtores, which, in every inſtance, muſt be deemed public property.

Art. VIII. In which is expreſsly included the funds of the orphan houſe, or the college for the adminiſtration of the effects of infant children, and of the committee for managing the poor funds, as alſo the two ſhips now in the roads (Berlicum and Enſgezinheid) which be-

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long to individuals in Holland, and are chartered by the company, as ſhall be proved.

Anſ. Granted, with exception of the ſhips, which muſt be deemed public property.

Art. IX. The garriſon ſhall march out with the honours of war; pile their arms, by command of their own officers, on the eſplanade, and again return to their barracks. The officers to keep their ſide-arms; the clevangs and crees of the non-commiſſioned officers and private Malays to be locked up in cheſts, and on their departure, on being ſet on ſhore, to be returned to them.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. X. The European officers, non-commiſſioned and privates of the battalion of the Dutch troops, and the detachment of the Wirtemberg regiment, doing duty with it, as well as the artillery and ſeamen, ſhall be tranſported in Engliſh ſhips from hence to Europe or Batavia, according to their choice, with permiſſion to carry along with them their women, children, neceſſary ſervants, and baggage. None of the officers, however, ſhall be moved from hence againſt their will, as many of them are married, and have their property here; and in caſe any of them wiſhing to depart, time ſhall be allowed them to arrange their affairs to go where they pleaſe, on their parole of honour not to ſerve in this war againſt England, until they ſhall be exchanged.

Anſ. The European officers, non-commiſſioned officers and privates, as well of the Dutch battalion, of the regiment of Wirtemberg, the artillery, engineers, and marine, muſt be conſidered as priſoners of war, and as ſuch they will be treated with that attention which th Britiſh government has ever ſhew to thoſe whom the fortune of wa has placed in its power. The whol ſhall be ſent to Madras. Such o the officers as deſire to return t Ceylon, for the reaſons mentioned i this article, will have permiſſion t do ſo, on giving their parole of ho nour not to ſerve during the preſen war againſt the Engliſh. Thoſ who may deſire to return to Europ ſhall be permitted ſo to do, on th ſame conditions, but without an claim on the Britiſh governmen for pay and allowance of any de ſcription.

Art. XI. As there are ſome na tive born French in garriſon, the ſhall be tranſported to the Frenc iſlands if they chooſe it.

Anſ. The French of the garriſo will be conſidered as priſoners o war, and ſent to Madras.

Art. XII. The Malays that d not chooſe to remain here, ſhall b tranſported in Engliſh ſhips, wit their women and children, to th iſland of Java.

Anſ. The Malay troops ſhall b ſent from hence, with their wive and children, to Tutacoren, an from thence by eaſy marches t Madras. They ſhall be ſubſiſte while they remain priſoners, and i not taken into the Britiſh ſervice ſhall, at a convenient time, be ſen to the iſland of Java, at the expenc of the Britiſh government.

Art. XIII. Theſe tranſportation ſhall take place at the expence o the Engliſh, and until that time th military, Europeans as well as Ma lays, ſhall continue to enjoy thei pay, as well as emoluments, as wa cuſtomary in the company's ſervice None of the military ſhall be forced or even perſuaded, to enter into th

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ſervice of his majeſty, or the honourable Engliſh company.

Anſ. The military officers, European and native, ſhall receive the ſame pay allowed to them in the Dutch ſervice. The non-commiſſioned and privates ſhall be ſubſiſted according to the regulations of the Britiſh government for the priſoners of war. None ſhall be forced to enter the ſervice of Great Britain againſt their conſent.

Art. XIV. The Sepoys and Moormen in the ſervice ſhall have liberty to return to their birth-place.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. XV. The Chingaleeſe Laſcars, being ſoldiers, according to the nature of their ſervice, and the burghers and civil ſervants by the laws of the colony being obliged to take up arms for its defence, it ſhall not tend to prejudice thoſe people.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. XVI. The governor Van Angelbeck, the commander of Gale, Fretz, and all other political or commercial ſervants, not required in their official capacities for the purpoſes mentioned in article III. ſhall have permiſſion to remain as private individuals at Colombo, Gale, or other place on the iſland, or to betake themſelves elſewhere. In the firſt caſe, a reaſonable means of ſubſiſtence ſhall be allowed to each, according to his rank. In the laſt, they ſhall be permitted to carry their effects along with them, without payment of any tax or duty whatever, but then all allowance to ceaſe.

Anſ. Granted, with this exception, that as the commanders of the Britiſh forces before Colombo are not authoriſed to grant the ſubſiſtence required, this ſubject muſt be referred to the deciſion of the government of Fort St. George.

Art. XVII. The reſpective vendue maſters here and at Gale ſhall be maintained during the collection of the outſtanding balances, in right of the preference granted thoſe people by the company.

Anſ. Granted, for all balances now outſtanding.

Art. XVIII. The clergy and other eccleſiaſtical ſervants ſhall continue in their functions, and receive the ſame pay and emoluments as they had from the company.

Anſ. Granted under the ſame exception annexed to the 16th article.

Art. XIX. The citizens and other inhabitants ſhall be allowed to follow their employments, and enjoy all the liberties and privileges as the ſubjects of his majeſty.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. XX. The native ſervants in the different departments ſhall be continued in their employs during their good behaviour.

Anſ. Granted, ſubject to ſuch regulations as the Britiſh government may hereafter judge neceſſary.

Art. XXI. The eaſtern princes, Tommogoms, and other men of rank here as ſtate priſoners, and who receive a monthly ſubſiſtence, ſhall continue to receive it, according to the liſt which ſhall be given in.

Anſ. Granted, while they remain in Ceylon.

Art. XXII. All notarial papers, ſuch as wills, bills of purchaſe and ſales, obligations, ſecurities, bonds, &c. ſhall continue in force, and the regiſters of them be preſented by commiſſaries appointed on both ſides for that purpoſe.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. XXIII. All civil ſuits depending in the council of juſtice, ſhall be decided by the ſame council, according to our laws.

Anſ. Granted; but they muſt be

decided in twelve months from this date.

Art. XXIV. The deſerters who are here ſhall be pardoned.

Anſ. All deſerters from the Engliſh ſervice muſt be unconditionally given up.

Art. XXV. The above articles of capitulation ſhall be faithfully fulfilled and confirmed by the ſignatures of the officers commanding his majeſty's ſea and land forces, colonel James Stuart, and captain Alan Hyde Gardner; and in caſe of any thing appearing obſcure, it ſhall be faithfully cleared up; and if any doubts ſhall ariſe, it ſhall be conſtrued for the benefit of the beſieged.

Anſ. Granted.

Art. XXVI. The garriſon ſhall march out, agreeably to the 9th article, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, when the gate of Delft ſhall be delivered to a detachment of the Britiſh troops. The governor Van Angelbeck will order an officer to point out the public magazines, poſts, and public ſtores, that guards may be placed for their ſecurity, and the preſervation of order in the garriſon.

Done in Colombo, this 15th day of February, 1796.

(Signed) J. GRAN. ANGELBECK.
(Signed) P. A. AGNEW, adj. gen.

Approved and confirmed,
(Signed) J. STUART.
A. H. GARDNER.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Parliament-ſtreet, Nov. 3, 1796.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a copy, was this day received by the right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, from major-general Craig, commanding his majeſty's troops at the Cape of Good Hope, dated Camp, on the ſhore of Saldanha Bay, Auguſt 19, 1796.

Sir,

I HAVE great ſatisfaction in reporting to you the event of an attempt which has been made by the enemy, and which has terminated to the honour of his majeſty's arms, in the entire capture of the ſquadron of Dutch ſhips of war, deſtined for the purpoſe of retaking this ſettlement.

Having made every arrangement within my means, by the eſtabliſhment of a ſmall poſt, and the laying the road by a ſufficient number of the few men which I had been able to mount, for watching Saldanha Bay, I received a report on the 3d inſtant, tranſmitted in fourteen hours, that nine ſhips had appeared off that coaſt on the preceding afternoon, which I immediately conveyed to vice-admiral ſir George Keith Elphinſtone. By the ſame report there appeared to be the ſtrongeſt probability that his majeſty's brig the Hope had been captured by them; and as there was no further account of them that day, I concluded that the information which they had received, by that means, of our ſtrength here, had induced them to continue their route, and that they would ſtand far to the weſtward before they doubled the Cape, to avoid ſir George's fleet, which had put to ſea as ſoon as was poſſible after the receipt of the intelligence.

In order, however, to omit no precaution, I ſent up lieut. M'Nab with a few mounted men, to watch the Bay more narrowly; and from him I received a report, on Saturday night the 6th inſtant, at twelve o'clock, that the ſame number of ſhip

ſhips which had formerly been reported, had anchored that morning in the Bay, and that there was no doubt of their being enemies. I loſt not a moment in ſending directions to Simon's Town, from whence, by the general willingneſs and activity which prevailed amongſt all ranks, veſſels were diſpatched by nine o'clock, in queſt of the admiral, with the information.

As it fortunately happened that the 25th and 27th light dragoons, with part of the 19th, and the whole of the 33d regiments, were in Simon's Bay, I could be under no apprehenſion for the ſafety of the colony from any force which could be landed from nine ſhips of war. It became, however, an object of infinite importance to the welfare of the ſettlement, to prevent any body of the enemy from throwing themſelves into the country. At the ſame time the ſecurity of Cape Town became an object of particular attention, both from the reaſonable expectation, that the enemy would not have come with ſuch a force, without a proſpect of a junction with ſome other armament, and from the poſſibility of the admiral being prevented from doubling the Cape by the north weſterly winds which uſually prevail at this ſeaſon, and which would carry the enemy in ſix hours from Saldanha to Table Bay. It was, therefore, with particular ſatisfaction, that I found myſelf poſſeſſed of a force adequate to both theſe objects.

No time was loſt in making the neceſſary arrangements in a country totally unuſed to a movement of this nature. The troops began their march on Sunday morning, neceſſarily by diviſions, on account of ſubſiſtence. The burgher ſenate was aſſembled, to whom I expoſed my intentions, to which they expreſſed the moſt ready compliance. Waggons were every where demanded by them, and furniſhed with cheerfulneſs. Cavalry was neceſſary, but the appointments of the 28th were on board a ſhip which had ſailed in queſt of the admiral. Thoſe of the 25th were alſo on board ſhip in Simon's Bay, and we had not above fifty horſes. The appointments were brought up, and I did not ſcruple, on ſuch an occaſion, to require all ſaddle horſes, without exception, to be brought in, which were valued by two members of the court of juſtice, and two officers of the 28th dragoons, and paid for on the ſpot, to the entire ſatisfaction of the owners.

By theſe means, ſir, leaving major-general Doyle in the command of the troops at, and about Cape Town, amounting to near 4000 men, and brigadier-general Campbell in the immediate command of the town, I, on the morning of the 16th inſtant, reached Saldanha Bay, at the head of the advanced guard, conſiſting of the light infantry, a body of Hottentots, and fifty of the 25th light dragoons, aſſiſted by brigadier-general M'Kenzie, the remainder of whoſe corps, conſiſting of the grenadiers, the 75th and 80th battalions, fifty more of the 26th, and one hundred of the 28th light dragoons, in all about 2500 men, with two howitzers and nine field pieces, arrived there alſo in an hour after.

In the mean time the admiral had returned to Falſe Bay, and on there receiving the firſt accounts of the enemy being in Saldanha Bay, had put to ſea with the utmoſt expedition; and we had the ſatisfaction, from the heights from whence

we deſcended to the ſhores of the Bay, to ſee him, with all his ſails crowded, advancing with a fair wind directly to the mouth of the harbour, though ſtill at ſome diſtance. One of the enemy's frigates, which lay near the ſhore to cover their watering, cannonaded us very briſkly as we deſcended the heights, though without effect, and we returned their fire with as little, having at that time only three-pounders with us; but a howitzer being brought up, a few ſhells were thrown with great preciſion by captain Robertſon, who would probably have deſtroyed her; but perceiving that our fleet was then entering the Bay, and that there was no poſſibility of her eſcaping, I deſiſted from firing, thinking it more for his majeſty's intereſt that ſhe ſhould ſhare the fate of the remainder of the ſquadron, the capture of which appeared to me to be inevitable, than that we ſhould riſk the deſtroying her, from a vain punctilio of obliging her to ſtrike to us. We then employed ourſelves in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for affording ſuch aſſiſtance as might be in our power, in the event of the obſtinacy of the enemy obliging the admiral to attack them, as well as ſuch as would be expedient in caſe they ſhould run their ſhips on ſhore, neither of which, however, I thought probable. I was accordingly informed, by a letter from ſir George the following morning, that the whole had ſurrendered themſelves to him.

The means by which this event has been accompliſhed, ſir, have not afforded any opportunity to his majeſty's troops of diſplaying that bravery in his ſervice, which I am confident they would have ſhewn, had the occaſion preſented itſelf; but if the utmoſt alacrity and cheerfulneſs, under almoſt every privation, except that of meat, during a march of ninety miles, through ſo barren a country that there exiſt but five houſes in the whole line, have any merit, I can with truth preſent them to his majeſty's troops.

This march, ſir, has never yet, I believe, been attempted by any body of troops, however ſmall, and permit me to aſſure you, has been attended with ſuch uncommon difficulties, that it never could have been accompliſhed but by the diſplay of the qualities I have mentioned in the troops, and a union of extraordinary exertions in all the departments concerned. In theſe all have equal claim to my acknowledgements; but I cannot diſpenſe with particularizing the intelligence and activity with which, regardleſs of the uncommon fatigue which attended it, lieut. M'Nab, of the 98th regiment, with about twenty of his mounted men, performed the ſervice allotted to him of watching the enemy, and preventing any communication with them, from the firſt moment of their coming into the Bay, till our arrival.

It is, ſir, with very particular ſatisfaction, that I have further to report, that I have received, on this occaſion, every poſſible aſſiſtance from his majeſty's ſubjects of the colony.

The burgher ſenate have diſcharged the duty impoſed upon them with the greateſt readineſs, impartiality, and activity, whilſt their requiſitions and orders on the inhabitants for their waggons, cattle, and horſes, have been complied with with a cheerfulneſs which could, I am ſatisfied, only proceed from a conviction of the preference to be

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given to his majeſty's mild and paternal government over the wild ſyſtem of anarchy and confuſion from which they were furniſhing the means of being effectually defended.

This will be delivered to you, ſir, by my aide de camp, captain Baynes, who has been in this country ſince the firſt arrival of his majeſty's troops under my command, and to whoſe intelligence and active aſſiſtance I have been, on every occaſion, highly indebted. I beg leave, ſir, moſt humbly to recommend him to his majeſty's notice.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Sir, &c. &c.
J. H. CRAIG.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 3, 1796.

Diſpatches, of which the following are copies, (brought by captain John Aylmer, of his majeſty's ſhip Tremendous,) were this day received from the hon. vice-admiral ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,
Sir, *Aug.* 19, 1796.

I have the honour to incloſe a liſt of a Dutch ſquadron under the command of rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, ſent hither for the reduction of this colony, but which were compelled to ſurrender by capitulation, on the 17th inſtant, to the detachment of his majeſty's ſhips under my command, named in No. VII. on the terms alſo incloſed. For further particulars I beg leave to refer you to the accompanying detail of the proceedings of the ſquadron from the 4th to the 18th inſtant, and I hope the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty will approve the meaſures I have taken, ſo eſſential to the Britiſh commercial intereſts in the eaſt.

The ſhips are all coppered, and in good condition, excepting the Caſtor, whoſe rudder is defective.

In juſtice to the officers and men I have the honour to command, it is my duty to obſerve, that, in conſequence of the moſt violent tempeſtuous weather I ever beheld, and the very unpleaſant ſituations in which the ſquadron was at times placed, they cheerfully, and much to their credit, underwent a degree of fatigue hardly credible.

Captain Aylmer will have the honour of preſenting theſe diſpatches. I beg leave to mention him to their lordſhips, as a reſpectable gentleman and an active officer.

I have the honour to be,
With great eſteem, ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,
Sir, *Aug.* 19, 1796.

I have the honour to inform you, that intelligence was received at Cape Town, on the 3d inſtant, of a number of ſhips having been ſeen in the offing, at Saldanha Bay, which was confirmed on the 5th. In conſequence of this every preparation was made for putting to ſea immediately, with the ſquadron under my command; but from the Monarch's main-maſt being out, and the tempeſtuous weather, I was not able to quit the anchorage in Simon's Bay until the 6th, when we proceeded to ſea.

On getting under weigh, an offi-

cer from the ſhore came on board to inform me, that a number of ſails had been ſeen the preceding night in the offing, near Falſe Bay; I then reſolved to ſteer to the ſouthward and weſt, in expectation of their having taken that courſe.

The ſquadron continued cruiſing in the moſt tempeſtuous weather I have ever experienced, which damaged many of the ſhips, and at one time the Ruby had five feet water in her hold: we were joined at ſea by his majeſty's ſhip Stately, Rattleſnake and Echo ſloops. On the 12th I returned, with a freſh breeze blowing from the ſouth eaſt, and, upon anchoring in Simon's Bay, the maſter attendant came off with information that the ſhips ſeen, conſiſting of nine ſail, had put into Saldanha Bay on the 6th, the ſame day on which I had proceeded to ſea; that they remained there by the laſt advice, and that four ſhips had been diſpatched in queſt of me to communicate this welcome intelligence.

I immediately made the ſignal to ſail, but the Creſcent had got aſhore; the wind blew ſtrong, and increaſed on the following day to a perfect tempeſt, in which the Tremendous parted two cables, drove, and was in great danger of being loſt, ſo that, notwithſtanding every exertion, and the moſt anxious moments of my life, we could not get out until the 15th.

On the 16th the ſquadron arrived off Saldanha Bay at ſun-ſet, and the Creſcent, which had been ordered a-head to diſcover information and to report, made the ſignal for the enemy, conſiſting of three ſhips of the line, three frigates, and other ſhips, being moored in the Bay.

The ſquadron ſtood on into the Bay in the order of ſailing, but the night coming on, and the rear being too far extended for action, I judged it expedient to come to an anchor within ſhot of the enemy's ſhips; and, perceiving their numbers very inconſiderable in compariſon with the force under my command, I conſidered it my duty, and an incumbent act of humanity, to addreſs the Dutch officer in command, and conſequently forwarded the letter to him, of which the incloſure No. III. is a copy, by lieutenant Coffin, of the Monarch, with a flag of truce; to this I received a verbal return, that a poſitive reply ſhould be ſent in the morning at day-break. I was fearful that the enemy might attempt to injure the ſhips, and therefore ordered lieutenant Coffin to return immediately with my letter No. IV. to which he brought back the reply No. V.

On the 17th, at nine in the morning, a Dutch officer came on board with a flag, and preſented propoſals of terms for capitulation, which you will obſerve in the correſpondence, with my remarks and definitive letter: and at five P. M. the terms contained in the incloſed copy were ultimately agreed upon, but it was impoſſible to take poſſeſſion of the ſhips until the 18th, on account of the ſtormy weather.

It affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction, therefore, to communicate to my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, that a ſquadron of ſhips belonging to the United States, under the command of his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, has ſurrendered to the Britiſh force under my command, conſiſting of three ſhips of the line,

two

two fine frigates, two of 28 guns, and a ſloop of 18 guns, all completely coppered, ſtored, and victualled, together with a large ladened ſtore-ſhip, the names of which are deſcribed in the incloſure No. VI. and the Britiſh ſhips, to whom they are prizes, in the incloſure No. VII.

The conſequent joy of this fortunate event is much augmented from the conſolatory reflection on its accompliſhment without effuſion of human blood, or injury to either of the enemy's or Britiſh ſhips, not a ſingle ſhot having been fired.

I muſt, however, beg leave to obſerve, that any reſiſtance on the part of the enemy could only have occaſioned the wanton ſacrifice of a few lives; and I doubt not, that, had their numbers been adequate to the contention, their conduct would have confirmed the acknowledged merit at all times recorded of the martial ſpirit of ſubjects of the United States; and I can with ſimilar confidence aſſure you, that the officers and men under my command, would have exhibited a conduct equally creditable to themſelves.

The repeated advices communicated in your letters, reſpecting the enemy's forces deſtined to this quarter, agreed ſo correctly with the intelligence I obtained by other means, that I have long been expecting their arrival, and was thereby enabled to be perfectly prepared to receive them, and conſtantly to keep a vigilant look-out.

I have the honour to be,
With great eſteem, ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

Evan Nepean, eſq.

No. III.—To his excellency the admiral, or the officer commanding the ſhips of the United States, now lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

It is unneceſſary for me to detail the force I have the honour to command, becauſe it is in your view, and ſpeaks for itſelf; but it is for you to conſider the efficacy of a reſiſtance with the force under your command.

Humanity is an incumbent duty on all men; therefore, to ſpare an effuſion of human blood, I requeſt a ſurrender of the ſhips under your command, otherwiſe it will be my duty to embrace the earlieſt moment of making a ſerious attack on them, the iſſue of which is not difficult for you to gueſs.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

His majeſty's ſhip Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 16, 1796.

No. IV.—To his excellency the rear-admiral, commander in chief of the Dutch ſhips lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

I am this inſtant honoured with your verbal anſwer to my letter of this date, and delivered to me by lieutenant Coffin, of the monarch. If I underſtand him right, it is, that a flag of truce ſubſiſts between your excellency, on the part of the States General, and myſelf, on behalf of his Britannic majeſty, and as was demonſtrated by my diſplaying a flag of truce before I diſpatched the firſt letter delivered to you by lieutenant Coffin, and which truce is to continue until

day-light in the morning. It is, therefore, my duty to require a poſitive aſſurance, that no damage ſhall be done to any of the ſhips or veſſels of war, public ſtores, or effects, that may be placed under your command, otherwiſe I ſhall not conſider myſelf in duty bound to reſtrain an immediate attack, or to treat ſuch priſoners as may fall into my hands in a manner ſuitable to my general inclinations or his majeſty's orders in ſimilar caſes.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

His majeſty's ſhip Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 16, 1796.

No. V.—To his excellency admiral G. K. Elphinſtone, commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron.

Excellency,

The two letters delivered to me by your officer, from want of an interpreter, have taken a long time to tranſlate.

Your excellency may reſt aſſured of receiving a poſitive anſwer tomorrow morning, and that during this time no damage whatever ſhall be done to the veſſels of my ſquadron, which I promiſe you upon my honour.

This time is neceſſary to call to my aid the captains of the frigates detached at the bottom of the Bay, in order to hold a council of war, whom I am obliged to aſſemble on account of reſponſibility.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.

On board the Dortrecht, Aug. 16, 1796.

To his excellency vice-admiral ſir G. K. Elphinſtone, &c. &c. &c.

Excellency,

Agreeable to my promiſe, I ſend you a copy of terms of capitulation, which I doubt not you will grant. In this hope I am

Your excellency's obedient ſervant,
(Signed) ENGELBERTUS LUCAS.

Dortrecht, at anchor in Saldanha Bay, Aug. 17, 1796, *ſecond year of the Batavian republican liberty.*

Articles of capitulation agreed upon in Saldanha Bay, this 17*th of Auguſt*, 1796, *between his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, commander in chief of the ſquadron of the United States now lying in Saldanha Bay, and the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, knight of the moſt honourable and military order of the Bath, vice-admiral of the blue, and commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Indian ſeas, at the Cape of Good Hope, and of thoſe now lying in Saldanha Bay.*

Art. I. Rear-admiral Lucas will deliver up to vice-admiral Elphinſtone the ſquadron under his command, upon the conditions of the capitulation underwritten.

Anſ. The vice-admiral is actuated by principles of humanity to prevent the effuſion of human blood, and conſiders the ſurrender of the Dutch ſquadron as a matter of neceſſity and not of choice.

II. The Britiſh admiral ſhall appoint two ſhips as cartels, the frigates

gates the Braave and Sirene, in which the rear-admiral, his officers and midſhipmen, and ſhip's crew, ſhall be permitted to proceed, without hindrance, to Holland, and the officers ſhall keep their ſide arms.

Anſ. Inadmiſſible, by reaſon that the cartel ſhips ſent from Toulon and various other places, under ſimilar circumſtances, have been detained, and their crews impriſoned, contrary to the laws and uſage of war, and the general good faith of nations; but officers becoming priſoners ſhall be allowed to keep and wear their ſwords and ſide arms, ſo long as they behave with becoming propriety, and ſhall be treated with the reſpect due to their rank.

III. The Dutch admiral, his officers and crew, ſhall retain their private property without being ſearched, and the remainder of the crew who cannot be received on board the frigates are to be ſent to Holland in ſuch manner as the Britiſh admiral ſhall judge proper.

Anſ. Private property of every denomination will be ſecured to the proprietors to the fulleſt extent, in conſequence of Britiſh acts of parliament and his Britannic majeſty's poſitive orders, as well as from the general known diſpoſition of Britiſh officers, to treat with the utmoſt liberality thoſe who become their priſoners.

IV. They ſhall be provided with ſuch quantities of proviſions as may be neceſſary for thoſe who embark on board the two frigates, and to be ſo provided from the Dutch ſhips.

Anſ. Anſwered by ſixth article.

V. Theſe cartel ſhips, on their arrival in Holland, ſhall be ſent to England, and there delivered to his Britannic majeſty.

Anſ. Already anſwered by the ſecond article.

VI. The crew ſhall be permitted to go on ſhore for refreſhment after their long voyage.

Anſ. This muſt depend upon the major-general commanding the troops on ſhore, but the commander in chief will uſe his utmoſt exertions to render the ſituation of every individual as comfortable as poſſible, as to victualling, lodging, and every accommodation, either on board or on ſhore, as can be procured or reaſonably expected; and he will diſpoſe of ſuch as become priſoners as ſimilarly to their inclinations as his duty to his ſovereign and the intereſts of his country will admit.

The ſick ſhall be received into his majeſty's hoſpitals, and taken care of equally with the Britiſh ſick.

It is furthermore the commander in chief's duty and inclination to ſend ſuch to Europe as become priſoners, by the moſt ſpeedy and convenient conveyances.

VII. The national flags of Batavia ſhall continue to be diſplayed on the Dutch ſhips ſo long as their crews remain on board.

Anſ. The Batavian colours muſt be ſtruck as ſoon as the ſhips are taken poſſeſſion of by his Britannic majeſty's officers.

(L.S.) G. K. Elphinstone.
Engelbertus Lucas.
John Jackson, ſecretary to the Britiſh commander in chief.
Clemens Benedictus, ſecretary to the commander in chief of the Dutch ſquadron.

To his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, commander in chief of the ſquadron of the United States, now lying in Saldanha Bay.

Sir,

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your letter, with the propoſals of capitulation, and I have now the honour to incloſe you my letters and anſwers thereunto, which I hope will be acceptable. I have mentioned to captain Clariſſe my inclination to accommodate your excellency, and the other officers inclined to return to Europe upon their parole, with the Maria ſtoreſhip, or in Britiſh veſſels, of which there are many at the Cape; but any of the public armed ſhips I dare not preſume to permit to depart.

Your excellency may reſt aſſured of every good office within my reach. Should the incloſed articles not meet with your approbation, you will be pleaſed to order the flag of truce to be hauled down, as a ſignal that either party may commence hoſtilities.

I have the honour to be,
With great reſpect, ſir,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
G. K. Elphinstone.

His Britannic majeſty's ſhip Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 17, 1796.

No. VI.—A liſt of ſhips lately belonging to the United States, under the command of his excellency rear-admiral Engelbertus Lucas, which ſurrendered on the 17th of Auguſt, 1796, to a detachment of the ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips under the command of the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. in Saldanha Bay.

Dortrecht, rear-admiral Lucas, 66 guns, 370 men.

Revolution, captain Rhnebende, 66 guns, 400 men.

Admiral Tromp, captain Valkenburg, 54 guns, 280 men.

Caſtor, captain Clariſſe, 44 guns, 240 men.

Braave, captain Zoetmans, 40 guns, 234 men.

Bellona, captain Valk, 28 guns, 130 men.

Sirene, captain De Cerf, 26 guns, 130 men.

Havik, captain Bezemer, 18 guns, 76 men.

Maria (ſtoreſhip), ——, 112 men. —Total, 341 guns, and 1972 men.

N. B. Many of the guns are braſs, beſides which they are well furniſhed with caronnades.

They have four field pieces of land artillery on board. The troops are under the command of the rear-admiral; lieutenant-colonel Henri is adjutant-general, and monſieur Grandecourt, commandant of artillery.

G. K. Elphinstone.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay, Aug. 19, 1796.

No. VII.—A liſt of his majeſty's ſhips of the detachment of the ſquadron under the command of the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. to which the Dutch ſquadron, under the command of his excellency Engelbertus Lucas, ſurrendered on the 17th of Auguſt, 1796, in Saldanha Bay.

Monarch, 74 guns, 612 men, vice-admiral the hon. ſir George Keith Elphinſtone, K. B. captain John Elphinſtone.

Tremendous, 74 guns, 590 men, rear-admiral Thomas Pringle, captain John Aylmer.

America, 64 guns, 491 men, commodore John Blanket.

Stately,

Stately, 64 guns, 491 men, captain Billy Douglas.

Ruby, 64 guns, 491 men, captain Jacob Waller.

Sceptre, 64 guns, 491 men, captain W. Effington.

Trident, 64 guns, 492 men, captain E. O. Oſborne.

Jupiter, 50 guns, 343 men, captain George Loſſack.

Creſcent, 36 guns, 264 men, captain Edward Buller.

Sphynx, 24 guns, 155 men, captain Andrew Tod.

Moſelle, 16 guns, 121 men, captain Charles Briſbane.

Rattleſnake, 16 guns, 121 men, captain Edward Ramage.

Echo, 16 guns, 121 men, captain John Turner.

Hope, ſloop, captain Thomas Alexander.

Monarch, Saldanha Bay,
Aug. 19, 1796.

London Gazette, Nov. 29, 1796.

Parliament-ſtreet, Nov. 29.

A Diſpatch from the governor and council of Madras, dated Fort St. George, June 22, 1796, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the court of directors of the Eaſt India Company, and by them communicated to the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Honorable Sirs,

WE have particular ſatisfaction in offering to you our ſincere congratulations on the complete ſucceſs which has attended the operations of rear-admiral Rainier in the eaſtern ſeas; and judging that an early communication of this event might be of material uſe to his majeſty's miniſters, we have determined to forward this letter by the route of Buſſorah.

It appears by the rear-admiral's diſpatches, dated the 27th of March and 11th of April laſt, and which reached us on the 18th inſtant, by the Orpheus frigate, that the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Amboyna and Banda, with their ſeveral dependencies, compriſing, as it was thought, the whole of the Dutch iſlands, excepting Ternate, yielding cloves, nutmegs, and mace. This acquiſition has been attained without the ſmalleſt loſs on our ſide.

Amboyna and its dependencies were delivered up on the 16th of February, and Banda and its dependencies on the 8th of March. Copies of the capitulations are incloſed.

The admiral ſpeaks in the handſomeſt manner of the activity and alacrity with which every duty was performed by the forces under his command, both naval and military; and dwells particularly on the perfect harmony which all along ſubſiſted between the officers and men in both ſervices. It behoves us on this occaſion to convey to you the high ſenſe we entertain of the able and ſpirited conduct diſplayed by rear-admiral Rainier, whoſe hearty co-operation with us in every meaſure conducive to the public weal, demands our warmeſt acknowledgements; and whilſt we feel aſſured of your entire approbation of all the means employed by this government, to give effect to the arrangements framed by his majeſty's miniſters for ſecuring the Dutch ſettlements in India, it is, nevertheleſs, incumbent upon us to declare, that the accompliſhment of this

this great object has been chiefly obtained by the zealous and cheerful support which we have had the good fortune to experience from the officer entrusted with the execution of it.

We shall do ourselves the honour of transmitting, by the first sea conveyance, copies of all the papers received from the admiral, which will enable you to form an accurate opinion of the value of those islands. At present we can only give you a summary of his proceedings.

The admiral found in the treasury at Amboyna, 81,112 rix dollars, and in store 515,940 pounds weight of cloves; in the treasure at Banda 66,675 rix dollars, and in store 84,777 pounds of nutmegs, and 19,587 pounds of mace, besides merchandize and other stores at each place, upon which no value had been then put.

We are preparing to send a reinforcement of troops for the better protection of those valuable islands; and, as the admiral has advised us that he is short of provisions, and in want of a supply of naval and military stores, it is our intention to forward an adequate stock of every necessary article.

We have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the company's possessions on this coast are in a state of perfect tranquillity; and that we have no reason to believe that any designs are in agitation by the native powers hostile to your interests.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.
ALURED CLARKE.
EDW. SAUNDERS.
G. W. FALLOFIELD.

Capitulation of Amboyna, translated from the original Dutch, Feb. 16, 1796.

Not finding ourselves equal to withstand the great force with which we have been surprised, we the undersigned governor and council do hereby give up this settlement, with all its dependencies, and place the same under the protection of his Britannic majesty, upon the conditions mentioned to us in the letter of the right hon. the governor of Madras; and that is, upon condition that we keep all our private property, and be allowed a reasonable subsistence; that the inhabitants be guaranteed in the secure possession of their private properties; and that the senior and junior servants of the civil establishment, the clergy, the military, and marine, receive their usual pay.

It is upon the above conditions that we shall, to-morrow morning, give over all the guards of the fort to the troops of his Britannic majesty, after receiving the ratification of this instrument by his excellency the commodore.

Done at Amboyna, in the castle of Victoria, on the above date.

(Signed) A. CORNABE.
B. SMISSART.
(Dutch co. seal) T. OSTROWSKI.
ENEAS MACKAY.
ERON FYZABAL.

Approved of and acceded to,
(Signed) P. RAINIER.
(English seal) W. C. LENNON, secretary.

Capitulation agreed upon between his excellency Peter Rainier, esq. commodore, commanding the sea and land forces of his Britannic majesty

majeſty in theſe ſeas, and F. Van Boeckholtz, governor of Banda, &c. &c.

In conſideration of our great want of proviſions, and the great force with which the Britiſh have appeared before this ſettlement, and to reſiſt which would bring deſtruction and deſolation on the harmleſs inhabitants of this place, we therefore think it prudent, for the ſake of humanity, and from our confidence in the honour and generoſity of the Engliſh, to accept of the terms offered to us, and to deliver into their hands this fort and ſettlement, with all its dependencies, upon the following conditions, viz.

That private property be kept ſecure to every individual of this ſettlement, whether in or out of the company's ſervice; that the ſervants of the company, civil and military, be kept in their reſpective ſtations, as far as may be thought neceſſary for the adminiſtration of juſtice; and the civil government of the place, the governor alone particularly excepted, as the government muſt, of courſe, be veſted in the Engliſh; that the military continue to receive their pay, and are not to be forced into the Britiſh ſervice contrary to their wiſhes; and the civil ſervants alſo to be continued on their preſent pay; and ſuch an allowance made for the proviſion of the governor as his excellency the commander of the Britiſh forces may think adequate. The governor, however, and any other ſervants of the company, ſhall be permitted to retire from the ſervice, either to Batavia or elſewhere, whenever a convenient opportunity ſhall offer.

Upon theſe conditions we, the underſigned, conſent to deliver up Fort Naſſau, the ſettlement of Banda, and all its dependencies, to the troops of his Britannic majeſty tomorrow morning, upon receiving a copy of this capitulation, ratified and ſigned by his excellency the Britiſh commander. The keys of all the public property, and all accounts properly authenticated, ſhall be immediately delivered over to the Britiſh, and the government entirely veſted in them.

Fort Naſſau, Banda Neira, March 8, 1796.

(Signed) T. Van Boeckholtz.
A. H. Vuege.
(L.S.) E. Saigang.
E. Mazee.
(L.S.) P. D. Haan.
M. Wallrloo.

Approved and accepted of,
(Signed)
(L.S.) P. Rainier.

True copies.
(Signed) W. C. Jackson, ſec.

Trial of Mr. William Stone, for High Treaſon.

THURSDAY, Jan. 28, came on in the court of king's bench the trial of Mr. W. Stone, who has been under confinement for two years, on a charge of high treaſon. About eighty names were called over before the jury was formed as follows:

J. Leader, gent.	W. Sumner, ſilverſmith
J. Mayhew, eſq.	J. Larkin, oilman
J. Etherington, teaman	Peter Taylor, block-maker
T. Cole, brewer	W. Weſt, brewer
Cha. Minier, ſeedſman	I. Dimſdale, coach-maker.
Dan. Dyſon, eſq.	
T. Burnett, eſq.	

Mr.

Mr. Barlow read the indictment, which conſiſted of two counts, including fourteen overt acts of treaſon: charging the priſoner with traitorouſly comſpiring, with his brother John Hurford Stone, (then in France,) to deſtroy the life of the king, and to raiſe rebellion in his realms; with holding correſpondence with the perſons in power in France, and collecting the ſenſe of the people of this country, in order to aſcertain whether an invaſion might be ſucceſsfully attempted, and with ſending ſuch information to the enemy. He was further charged with traitorouſly correſponding with the rev. Mr. Jackſon, (ſome time ſince capitally convicted of high treaſon, who died before the day of execution,) in learning the probable ſucceſs of invading Ireland; and with having ſent intelligence and various uſeful articles to the enemy.

The attorney general then ſtated the circumſtances of the caſe at full length; the leading features of which appeared to be, that Stone had a brother, J. H. Stone, ſettled at Paris, who conſidered himſelf, in fact, as a Frenchman; which appeared particularly from one of his letters, in which he ſaid "*We* have declared war againſt *you*. Holland will ſoon be in *our* poſſeſſion, and England will afterwards follow." With this brother, by means of Jackſon lately convicted of high treaſon in Ireland, Stone kept up a correſpondence, and gave him all the information he could procure, to be communicated to the French government, as to the probability of ſucceſs which might attend an invaſion of England by France. In the courſe of this inquiry it appeared that Stone had communications with Mr. Sheridan, lord Lauderdale, William Smith, eſq. M. P. and others; and that from the information he obtained he became ſatisfied that from the general loyalty of the people here an invaſion was by no means likely to ſucceed. But that in Ireland ſucceſs was more probable. Jackſon was accordingly ſent there, and ſupplied with money by Stone to obtain ſuch intelligence, and to lay ſuch plans as might tend to affiſt the views of the French. It appeared that Stone communicated to his brother the little proſpect of the ſucceſs of an invaſion here, in order to diſſuade thoſe exerciſing the powers of government in France from undertaking a ſcheme likely to be ſo fatal to their intereſts.

The attorney general alluded to ſeveral letters between the priſoner under the fictitious name of Enot (Stone reverſed), his brother, Jackſon (in the name of Popkins), Horne Tooke, and others; all tending to ſhew the criminality of the priſoner: concluding a very able and argumentative ſpeech by obſerving, that the councel for the priſoner might ſay, that he had acted for the intereſt of England inaſmuch as, inſtead of promoting, he had prevented an invaſion! But how could that be ſaid? for if he knew of an intention of invaſion and had not communicated his knowledge to thoſe moſt bound and moſt competent to counteract it, he prevented his country from gaining a deciſive advantage, by the loſs that would accrue to the enemy from their failure; and by forewarning them, he proved himſelf equally their friend, and the enemy of England: if he had been for England, the way was very ſhort; but his conduct clearly ſhewed he had been for France. It therefore remained with the defendant to make

his innocence appear. His property, his honour, and his life, depended now on his conviction or his acquittal. The jury were inveſted with a very ſolemn and very important duty. They were called upon to grant equal juſtice to the defendant and to ſociety. As they muſt guard themſelves againſt any impreſſions which the miſrepreſentations of the proſecutors might make upon their minds, ſo muſt they have an equal guard againſt any falſe impreſſions made by the counſel for the defendant. In the deliverance they were to make, if the evidence was inconcluſive, they would readily acquit him; but if the proofs were ſatisfactory, the country called for his conviction.

William Smith, eſq. M. P. Mr. Sheridan, and lord Lauderdale, were called as witneſſes to relate ſome converſations they had with Stone on the ſubject of the ſtate of this country; the general reſult of which appeared to be, that they conſidered him as a weak enthuſiaſt, who was deſirous of bringing about a peace, for the ſake of favouring what he conſidered principles of freedom.

Having proved the conſpiracy between Jackſon and Stone, ſeveral letters of the former were produced, particularly one which pointed out the particular parts of Ireland moſt favourable to an invaſion by the French; and Mr. Cockayne, the evidence againſt Jackſon in Ireland, was called, and ſtated the whole of his connection with Jackſon, nearly the ſame as he did on that trial.

At half paſt ten the court, with conſent of counſel, adjourned to nine o'clock the next day. And at nine on Friday morning the court proceeded on the trial.

The firſt evidence produced was a parcel of letters from the priſoner to Mr. Pitt; in which Stone pretended to make ſome diſcoveries, as to the deſigns of the French, by garbled extracts from his brother's letters, which were themſelves produced to ſhew the unfairneſs of the priſoner's conduct in this particular. A letter from Mr. Pitt was read, expreſſing his doubts as to the authenticity of the priſoner's information.

The counſel for the crown then proved the correſpondence between the priſoner and Jackſon in Ireland; which being read, cloſed the evidence for the proſecution.

Mr. ſerjeant Adair then roſe to open the evidence for the priſoner, and to obſerve on that for the proſecution. The former conſiſted only of evidence to character—on the latter the learned ſerjeant entered into a long and accurate diſcuſſion, in a very elaborate, feeling, and intereſting manner. He began by obſerving, that the jury were called upon to diſcharge a moſt important, ſacred, and awful duty. They were entruſted, on the one hand, with the vindication of the laws of their country, and the ſafety of the community, of which they themſelves formed a part; while the fortune, the character, and the life of a fellow-ſubject, were committed to their deliberation on the other. The deareſt intereſts of the unfortunate man at the bar were in their hands! He muſt call him unfortunate, for whether guilty or innocent of the crime with which he was charged, no man in his ſituation, having ſubmitted to the ſufferings to which he had been ſubject, let the innocence of his heart be as pure as it might, could be called fortunate. The verdict of the jury might put his life

out

out of danger, and reſtore to him that liberty to which he had long been a ſtranger; but no verdict of their's could place him in the ſituation he was in on the day before he was apprehended.

After endeavouring to explain the motives which might probably actuate the priſoner, as ariſing from vanity or affectation of conſequence, Mr. ſerjeant Adair proceeded to ſtate what he conſidered as the outline of the facts of the caſe, in the following cloſe and ingenious way—"A perſon "of the name of Jackſon came over "from France by the way of Hull, "in the character of an American "merchant, with letters of recommendation from Mr. J. H. Stone, "to Mr. W. Stone, the priſoner. "Mr. Stone, during his reſidence in "London, ſhewed him ſome civilities, and advanced him money *on "his brother's account.*

"Soon after he went over to Ireland, where he was tried and "convicted of high treaſon, *and "died;* and during his reſidence in "Ireland, Mr. Stone furniſhed him "with ſome ſtatements of the internal ſituation of this kingdom. "The queſtion for the deciſion of "the jury then was, whether, under "theſe facts, they were perſuaded "from what Stone knew of Jackſon, that he gave Jackſon theſe "ſtatements as information for the "enemy, with the criminal intention ſtated in the indictment; or "for the purpoſe of averting an impending calamity from his country? The facts were clear as ſunſhine, and this was the only queſtion that aroſe upon them. He "called upon them, therefore, to conſider, whether there was ſufficient "evidence of an overt act of treaſon, and if there was, it was not "the encouraging of an invaſion, "but the prevention of that event, "from which ſo much evil would "have been conſequent. Jackſon "was convicted for high treaſon, in "perſuading the French to invade "this country; whereas the priſoner was accuſed of high treaſon, "and the overt act with which he "was charged was preventing an "invaſion. But if the motive for "cauſing an invaſion was criminal, "how could the motive for preventing an invaſion be criminal "alſo?"

The learned ſerjeant then went at length into the evidence produced; and concluded by calling ſeveral witneſſes to prove the publicity with which Mr. Stone communicated the correſpondence of his brother, not only to friends, but to ſtrangers;—a circumſtance totally incompatible with that guilt with which he was charged. He alſo called very reſpectable evidence, that ſo far from his harbouring treaſon to the country, he, on the reverſe, was loyal to his king, and a firm friend to the conſtitution. Several perſons were then called, all of whom gave evidence to the priſoner's good character, and ſome to the circumſtance of the publicity uſed relative to his correſpondence with his brother.

Mr. Erſkine then addreſſed the jury conſiderably at length on the whole of the caſe; as did alſo the ſolicitor-general in reply, on behalf of the crown; but our limits will not allow us to lay them before our readers.

Lord Kenyon ſummed up the evidence. He was for tempering juſtice with mercy; but this maxim could not ſanction the court in ſuffering a criminal to eſcape, if it were

were proved that he had groſsly offended the law. He reſted wholly on the ſecond count, which ſtated an adhering to the enemies of the crown. He quoted the opinion of the late lord Mansfield, that letters ſent to a power at war, inſtructing them how to ſhape their efforts, came under this branch of the ſtatutes, and are an overt act of high treaſon. His lordſhip read to the jury what he called the two emphatically important papers; the letters of Mr. Smith and Mr. Vaughan. There was no criminality, he admitted, in either of thoſe letters; the only guilt was in tranſmitting them to the enemy. His lordſhip went over the whole with remarks, and concluded a ſtrong and warm charge, by putting thoſe papers into the hands of the jury, leaving it to them to judge of the intention of the priſoner from the overt acts.

Mr. juſtice Lawrence remarked, it was for the conſideration of the jury, whether the information ſent through Jackſon to France, had for its object a deſign of ſerving the French, or averting an invaſion.

About eight o'clock the jury took ſome refreſhment, and then retired to conſider of their verdict.

The judges, except Mr. juſtice Aſhhurſt, who retired, took ſome refreſhment on the bench, where they remained till eleven o'clock; when the jury returned, bringing in the priſoner—*Not guilty.*

The words were ſcarcely pronounced, when an inſtantaneous and unanimous ſhout aroſe in the court, which was loudly joined by a numerous crowd in the hall. A gentleman named Richard Thomſon, was obſerved to have joined in the ſhout, and was immediately ordered by his lordſhip into the cuſtody of Mr. Kirby. Mr. Thomſon apologiſed to the court, by ſaying, that his feelings on the joyful occaſion were ſuch, that if he had not given utterance to the joy which aroſe within his breaſt, he ſhould have died on the ſpot.

Lord Kenyon replied, that it was his duty to ſuppreſs the emotions of ſuch tumultuous joy, which drew contempt on the dignity of the court. His lordſhip ordered that he ſhould pay a fine of 20l. for his miſconduct, and remain in cuſtody till payment.

Mr. Thomſon tendered his check for the ſum, but this was refuſed, and he was taken into cuſtody.

The crowd without caught the ſpirit of thoſe within; and the hall, as the judges retired, was filled with acclamations of joy.

Trial of Kyd Wake, Feb. 20.

Sittings before Lord Kenyon and a Special Jury.

THE KING *v.* KYD WAKE.

THE indictment charged, that on the 29th of October laſt, as the king went in the ſtate coach to the houſe of peers, to meet his parliament, Kyd Wake and a number of other diſorderly perſons made a great noiſe by ſhouting, hiſſing, hooting, and groaning, and uſing indecent geſtures about the king's coach, in contempt of his majeſty, and called out, "No war! Down "with him! Down with George! "&c."

There was another count, charging the ſame treſpaſs, riot, and miſdemeanor, as his majeſty returned from the houſe to St. James's.

Mr. Attorney General.—" Gentlemen of the jury, unleſs I am " extremely miſinſtructed in this " buſineſs, it cannot be neceſſary " that I ſhould requeſt at preſent, " nor indeed in any future ſtage of " this buſineſs, any conſiderable " portion of your time or attention. " The circumſtances of this caſe " are pretty much detailed in the " indictment, the ſubſtance of which " has been already ſtated, and will " be more particularly related by " the witneſſes who will be called. " The extremely indecent and cri- " minal outrages which took place " on his majeſty's paſſing to the " houſe of peers on the firſt day of " the ſeſſion, and on his return from " the houſe to St. James's, is the " ſubject to which you are to di- " rect your attention. If I am not " much miſinſtructed, one of the " moſt active perſons on that occa- " ſion was the preſent defendant.

" Gentlemen, if the caſe ſhould " be proved as the indictment has " ſtated it, and as I am inſtructed " now thus ſhortly to open it, it will " be my bounden duty to demand, " and it will be your bounden duty " to give, a verdict of guilty;—if the " charge is not proved, the intereſts " of the country require that you " ſhould give a different verdict. But " it does not appear at preſent, that " the defendant is in a ſituation to " ſtate any thing which can reſcue " him from the conſequences of a " verdict of guilty."

Mr. Walford and Mr. Stockdale were called on the part of the crown, and proved, in the cleareſt manner, the charge laid in the indictment,

Mr. Erſkine, as counſel for Mr. Wake, obſerved, that it was very eaſy to ſee it was impoſſible for the defendant to traverſe that evidence. He certainly did not wiſh to take up the time of his lordſhip and the jury. The defendant was very anxious to call witneſſes to his general character, which, if his inſtructions were true, put him at a very great diſtance from the end and intention ſtated in that indictment. He ſaid, he was ſenſible that character could not reſiſt poſitive facts. At the ſame time, the anxiety of his client would lead him at another ſeaſon to lay thoſe materials before the court, when it would be done with more propriety and advantage. He ſhould be ſorry to put more weight on character than the rules and principles of the law of England would juſtify. At the ſame time, the evidence the defendant had to produce was of ſo ſtrong a nature, and had made ſuch an impreſſion on him, that had it not been for the evidence it had to encounter, he ſhould certainly have laid it before the jury.

Lord Chief Juſtice.—" Gentlemen, I have nothing to ſum up " to you. The queſtion is, Whether " the law, which protects every " ſubject under the king's govern- " ment, is ſufficient to protect the " king?"—*Guilty.*

Attorney General—" My lord, I " feel it my duty, in a caſe in which " it now appears, by the verdict of " a jury, that the ſovereign of the " country has, in an unparalleled " and criminal manner, been in- " ſulted, to ſubmit to your lordſhip's " conſideration, whether the defen- " dant, being in court, muſt not be " committed?"

Lord Chief Juſtice—" He muſt " be committed. If the facts are " true, this is a moſt merciful pro- " ſecution."

Judgment

Judgment was paſſed on the 7th of May. *See Chronicle.*

The Trial of Vice Admiral Cornwallis for Diſobedience of Orders, April 17.

A court-martial was held on board the Orion, in Portſmouth harbour, upon vice-admiral the hon. William Cornwallis.

The members of the court were,
Preſident, earl Howe, admiral of the fleet.
Sir Peter Parker, bart. admiral of the white.
Lord Bridport, ditto.
G. Vandeput, eſq. vice-admiral of the white.
Sir Alan Gardner, bart. ditto.
J. Colpoys, eſq. vice-admiral of the blue.
Sir Roger Curtis, bart. rear-admiral of the red.
H. Harvey, eſq. ditto.
R. R. Bligh, eſq. ditto.
C. M. Pole, eſq. rear-admiral of the blue.
E. E. Nugent, eſq.
Ch. Powel Hamilton, eſq.
Edmund Dodd, eſq.
} Captains.
Judge-advocate, ſir George Jackſon, bart.

No proſecutor appeared perſonally before the court, as a trial took place in conſequence of an order from the board of admiralty, which was firſt of all read.

The next paper that was read was a copy of the orders that had been given to vice-admiral Cornwallis in the month of February laſt, by the board of admiralty, to proceed in his majeſty's ſhip the Royal Sovereign, until he ſhould arrive at Barbadoes; and, with the ſquadron under his command, to convoy the ſeveral tranſports, victuallers, &c. which were then deſtined for the Weſt-Indies. The admiral's letter, informing the board of admiralty of his return, in conſequence of the damages ſuſtained by the Royal Sovereign, was then read; and after that, the ſecond order of the board to admiral Cornwallis to proceed to the Weſt Indies in the Aſtræa frigate, together with his anſwer, giving his reaſons why he could not obey that order.

The charges being three in number, were then read. The ſubſtance of them is as follows: firſt, that admiral Cornwallis, after having ſailed from England for the Weſt Indies, and proceeded a conſiderable way in his voyage, did return, contrary to the orders he had received. Secondly, that not having a ſufficient regard to the importance of the ſituation of a commander in chief, he omitted to ſhift his flag on board of ſome other ſhip of his ſquadron, after the Royal Sovereign had been diſabled, in order to proceed, as he ought to have done, to the place of his deſtination; but that, inſtead of doing ſo, he gave his inſtructions and the command of the convoy to another officer. And, thirdly, that after his return, he had diſobeyed another order of the board of admiralty, by not hoiſting his flag on board the Aſtræa frigate, and proceeding to the Weſt Indies, as he had been ordered by their lordſhips.

The charges being read, the firſt evidence produced was the correſpondence that had paſſed between admiral Cornwallis and the board of admiralty, by which it appeared, that the admiral had proceeded to ſea, as above ſtated, in the Royal

Sovereign, which in the night had come athwart hawſe of, and became entangled with, the Beliſarius tranſport, by which accident the Royal Sovereign had the copper near her rudder torn off, and was otherwiſe ſo damaged as to be unable to proceed to the Weſt Indies. This circumſtance was ſtated in the letter ſent by the admiral to the board on his return, which was dated March 14, in which he ſaid he could not proceed in any other ſhip where he could not have the accommodation and comfort he enjoyed in his own, and which the precarious ſtate of his health rendered neceſſary. It alſo ſtated, that he did not wiſh to delay the convoy, and he had ſent it on under the command of another officer. His other letter, in anſwer to the order of the board of admiralty to proceed in the Aſtræa frigate, ſtated, that his health would be endangered by going in a frigate, and requeſted that the board would permit him to wait until the Royal Sovereign ſhould be ready. This letter was produced to ſupport the charge of diſobedience.

Sir Charles Cotton was called as the firſt witneſs. He had ſailed in the ſquadron of admiral Cornwallis, and, upon arriving in a certain latitude, had delivered certain orders from the lords of the admiralty to him on board the Royal Sovereign.

The maſter carpenter of the ſhip was then called, to give an account of the damages ſuſtained by the Royal Sovereign, in conſequence of the accident with the Beliſarius. He ſaid, that as ſoon as the weather permitted him, he had examined the ſhip; the damages were ſuch as to prevent him from proceeding to the Weſt Indies. They could not be repaired at ſea, becauſe it would be neceſſary to heave the ſhip down; nor could they be repaired, unleſs the ſhip was taken into dock. The repairs, therefore, could not be made in the Weſt Indies, after ſhe ſhould arrive there.

The Defence.

Admiral Cornwallis then requeſted leave of the court for his friend to read his addreſs for him; which being granted, Mr. Erſkine, as counſel for the admiral, read a long and able ſpeech, of which the following is a ſketch:—After expreſſing his concern, that ſuch heavy charges ſhould be made againſt him, who had ſo often diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, he proceeded to ſtate, that on the 1ſt of February he had received his commiſſion to go to the Weſt Indies. This ſtation was not impoſed on him, he took it voluntarily; therefore, if his health had been ſo bad at that time as to make him deſirous to decline the ſervice, he might have done ſo. He thought, therefore, that he could quit the ſervice at a ſubſequent period, when his health was ſo bad as to make it neceſſary; and particularly ſo, as his ſervices in the Weſt Indies could be only of a ſecondary nature, there being an admiral (ſir John Laforey) already there, who was ſuperior to him in command; and he did not know whether that officer was to give up the command to him or not. With reſpect to the duty which he (admiral Cornwallis) thought himſelf obliged to perform, he conceived it to be no more than that of convoying thoſe ſhips which the Vengeance had left behind; but he thought it would be preſumption in him to ſuppoſe that his perſonal

ſervices

ſervices were neceſſary in the Weſt Indies. He thought his only buſineſs was to guard the convoy. While he was proceeding to the Weſt Indies, the Beliſarius tranſport ran againſt the Royal Sovereign, and was intangled with her for an hour. The weather was at the time ſo bad, and the night ſo dark, that he could not ſpeak with the Beliſarius, nor could he hold any communication with any of the convoy, which, however, he was determined to puſh forward. On the 5th of March, he examined the ſhip, and found he could not proceed in her to the Weſt Indies; and as he had no other ſhip to go in, and did not wiſh to delay the convoy, he delivered it over to the care of captain Lewis. He could not go in the Mars, the Minotaur, or the Quebec, for they had their private orders; and he did not even know that they were to accompany him, until ſir Charles Cotton came and delivered his orders on board the Royal Sovereign. He thought, if he had gone in any of them, he ſhould have been liable to a court-martial. The ſituation he then was in, was one in which he conceived he might exerciſe his own diſcretion. It was not an action, nor any thing that required his perſonal attendance; and if he had at the time gone on board any other ſhip, he muſt have endangered his health to ſuch a degree, as to render ſuch conduct an unneceſſary zeal, which could not benefit the ſervice. He was not in a ſtate to go to a ſtrange place, where he ſhould have no comfort or accommodation. Beſides, the court muſt ſee how difficult it would have been, and how great a delay it would cauſe the expedition, if he had ſhifted his flag. They muſt know what a time muſt be taken up in removing ſtores, ammunition, &c. from one ſhip to another. Beſides, he did not think the ſervice required ſuch a change, nor that there was ſuch a preſſing urgency as required his preſence with the convoy. If, therefore, he had not done that which was beſt to be done, he lamented it much; but he did what in his judgment was the beſt: no diſadvantage happened in conſequence of that; and had that been the firſt command he ever was entruſted with, ſuch an exerciſe of his judgment could not be aſcribed to the abandonment of his duty. It was well known that he had, on a former occaſion, exerted himſelf in the ſervice of his country. He could not conceive that the board of admiralty would apply to his conduct any baſe or criminal purpoſe; but that it was at moſt only an error in judgment, for which every deſcription of courts in this country had always made ample allowance, and puniſhed nothing but wilful miſconduct. He had received a letter, upon his return, from the firſt lord of the admiralty, lamenting the diſaſter which had cauſed him to come back, and, without making any complaint againſt him, deſiring that he would continue the command of the Royal Sovereign; therefore he was at a loſs to know at what time his conduct had aſſumed the criminal ſhape in which it came forward that day. So far he had vindicated his conduct againſt the two firſt charges. As to the third charge, which was certainly the heavieſt of all, he would not, in the defence he was going to make againſt it, attempt to ſap the foundation of diſcipline, by ſaying any thing like a juſtification of it; but he would ſay at once, that he

did not diſobey any order. His ſtate of health was ſo bad, that when he ſhould arrive at the Weſt Indies, he ſhould only be fit for an hoſpital, inſtead of an arduous command. He ſaid in his letter to the lords of the admiralty ſuch was the caſe, and as it might be highly injurious to him to go out in a frigate, he was ready, he ſaid, to go out in the Royal Sovereign, when ſhe ſhould be repaired. This letter was no more than a propoſition to the board; and how, then, could it be called diſobedience? If the lords of the admiralty had repeated the order, he ſhould have gone: but they did not; and the firſt anſwer he had to the propoſition which he made, was the order for that court-martial which was then inquiring into his conduct. He had ſubmitted his reaſons for not being able to go in the Aſtræa, and he received an order to remain in his ſhip at Spithead. He was written to by the firſt lord of the admiralty, as one who was declining a particular ſervice. It was very difficult to lay down a fixed rule for perſons in a high command; they were to act by the beſt of their judgment and diſcretion; and if they were to be charged with the conſequences of ſuch conduct, there was an end of all that confidence that ought to be placed in officers of high rank.

Captain Whitby, of the Royal Sovereign, was then called in behalf of admiral Cornwallis, who deſired him to relate to the court the account of the accident that happened to the ſhip, and what he (the admiral) felt on the occaſion; becauſe it had been inſinuated that he was glad the accident happened, inaſmuch as it furniſhed him with a pretext for returning to England.

Captain Whitby ſaid, that the order to ſail had come down to the admiral on the 25th, at Portſmouth, and that he ſailed on the 28th; and as there was 100 ſail of merchantmen ordered to go, it was impoſſible that any perſon could have uſed more expedition in ſetting out than he did; nor did he ever ſee more zeal diſplayed on any occaſion. The admiral expreſſed great concern and anxiety on the melancholy accident that happened to the ſhip, though it was not uſual for him to be dejected by diſaſters. He appeared, by his words and actions, to be ſtruck with real regret; and he thought it beſt for his majeſty's ſervice to return to Great Britain. He wiſhed to ſtop at ſome port where the damages could be repaired, and for that purpoſe he repeatedly examined the charts, but could find none fit for the ſhip to go into. With reſpect to the admiral's health, he was frequently very ill. He would get up of a morning apparently well; in the courſe of the day he would catch cold from ſome unknown cauſe, and in the evening be dangerouſly ill in bed.

Mr. Alexander, maſter of the Royal Sovereign, confirmed the evidence of the laſt witneſs, as to the regret which the admiral expreſſed in being retarded in his voyage.

Mr. Thomas Kain, the ſurgeon of the Royal Sovereign, called to give evidence as to the admiral's health, ſaid it was very precarious. He had frequent complaints in his bowels, and was ſo ill at times, that he uſed to be obliged to ſit up with him almoſt the whole night. He had many ſudden and great changes of the gout.

Admiral Cornwallis then inform-

ed the court that he had no more witneſſes to call, nor any more evidence, except ſome letters which had paſſed between him and the lords of the admiralty.

Earl Howe informed him, that the court would hear thoſe letters read, but could not receive them as evidence, nor lay them on the table as documents.

The firſt letter was then read: it came from the ſecretary of the board of admiralty, deſiring him to continue on board the Royal Sovereign till further orders, as he had declined going out in the Aſtræa. This letter was dated the 16th of March; another was read which the admiral had written on the 17th.

Admiral Cornwallis ſaid, he had a great many more letters, but did not wiſh to take up the time of the court by reading them.

Earl Howe deſired him to take his time, and ſaid, the court was ready to hear every thing which he might deem neceſſary for his defence.

One was then read from earl Spencer, in which he cenſured the admiral for declining to go out, and ſaid he could not continue him in command without injuring the ſervice.

Earl Howe ſaid, that lord Spencer had deſired every uſe to be made of his letter that might be thought neceſſary; but, at the ſame time, theſe letters coming as from a private perſon, and not from the board, had nothing to do with the queſtion.

After the reading of ſome other papers, the trial was cloſed a little before one. The court was then cleared, and the members remained there till four o'clock, when they broke up without determining their ſentence.

On Friday, at nine o'clock, the court aſſembled, and remained deliberating from that time until one, when the court was opened, and ſtrangers were admitted.

The judge advocate then proceeded to deliver

THE SENTENCE:

'That the court having heard 'the evidence in ſupport of the 'charges exhibited againſt the ho- 'nourable William Cornwallis, vice- 'admiral of the red; and having 'heard his defence, and the evidence 'in his behalf; and having maturely 'weighed and conſidered the ſame, 'were of opinion,

'That, with reſpect to the two 'firſt charges, of his returning with- 'out leave, after having been order- 'ed to proceed to Barbadoes, and of 'his diſobeying the orders he had 'received, *miſconduct was imputable 'to him*, for not having ſhifted his 'flag on board the Mars or Mino- 'taur, and proceeded in either of 'them to the Weſt Indies—But in 'conſideration of other circum- 'ſtances, the court *acquitted him of 'any diſobedience* in his conduct on 'that occaſion.

'With reſpect to the third charge, 'of his having after his return diſ- 'obeyed the orders of the board of 'admiralty, in not going out to the 'Weſt Indies in the Aſtræa frigate, 'the court were of opinion that the 'charge *was not proved*; and there- 'fore *acquitted* admiral Cornwallis 'upon that charge.'

Admiral Cornwallis heard the ſentence read without any emotion: and then, making a ſlight bow to the court, retired with Mr. Erſkine and ſome other friends.

As ſoon as the ſentence was communicated to the people on board the Royal Sovereign, which lay at

a ſhort diſtance from the Orion, they all got upon deck, and gave three cheers.

The Trial of Richard Thomas Croſsfield, for High Treaſon, May 11.

At nine o'clock in the morning, Richard Thomas Croſsfield, Paul Thomas Le Maitre, George Higgins, and John Smith, charged with conſpiring to compaſs the death of the king, were put to the bar at the Old Bailey. The indictment was then read: it contained ſix overt acts of conſpiring to kill and put to death our ſovereign lord the king, with a poiſoned arrow, to be thrown by the means of a braſs tube. The jury being ſworn, the three priſoners, Le Maitre, Smith, and Higgins, were ordered to withdraw, and the trial of Croſsfield commenced.

Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, opened the caſe for the crown; and, after explaining the law of treaſon, ſaid, he forbore commenting upon the evidence to be adduced, as it might tend to prejudice the jury. He called

John Dowling, a workman with Mr. Fenton, a braſs-founder, in New-ſtreet-ſquare, who ſwore, that in September 1794, three perſons called at his maſter's ſhop; one of them he particularly remarked was lame, that he afterward underſtood that his name was Upton (ſince dead). The lame man aſked him, if he could make a tube three feet long, one eighth inch thick, made ſmooth in the inſide as a cylinder. The witneſs aſked him, what it was intended for, and was anſwered, that it was a ſecret. They, however, obtained a tube (but not from the witneſs) which was afterward returned, not being uſeful. The counſel for the crown preſſed the witneſs hard, to know whether he could recollect the two perſons who came into the ſhop with the ſame man (Upton); but he had not the leaſt recollection of either of them.

Mr. John Fenton, the employer of the above witneſs, gave a ſimilar teſtimony.

James Bland Wood, braſs founder, in Shoe-lane, was next called.—In September 1794, two men came into his ſhop, one of them aſked for a tube, or barrel, the witneſs ſaid, it was out of his way, and adviſed them to go to a clock-maker. The two perſons left the ſhop, and then a third came in, and aſked, if two perſons had not been in the ſhop. The witneſs replied, they were juſt gone out.—He knew nothing more of the circumſtance.

David Cuthbert, a mathematical inſtrument-maker, of Arundel-ſtreet, ſwore, that he knew the late Mr. Upton, he was a watch-maker; he ſaw him about the middle of September, and ſhewed him an air-gun.

Peregrine Palmer ſwore, that he knew the priſoner. They were both members of the London Correſponding Society. Being queſtioned by Mr. Garrow, whether he was not acquainted with the priſoner's hand writing, he poſitively denied that he knew any thing of his writing, but that of his ſignature.—The witneſs then gave the ſame deſcription of calling at the ſeveral braſs-founders' houſes, and deſcribed the buſineſs in a very ſimilar manner. He was ſhewn a drawing, which was laid before the privy-council, and deſired to recollect, whether that was the ſame he ſaw there?—He could not recollect.

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The lord chief juſtice interfered, obſerving, that the evaſive manner in which this evidence was given entirely deſtroyed the credit of it. Upon the whole, the witneſs could not, from his memory, bring any charge home to the priſoner.

John Hill, turner, in Bartholomew-cloſe, ſwore, that in September 1794, Upton, Palmer, and another man, came to his houſe; and Upton aſked him, if he could turn a model in wood, according to a plan which was produced. Upton produced a ſketch. A drawing was ſhewn, and the witneſs thought it was the ſame that was then produced. It was drawn in his preſence; the paper was very particular on which the draft was made, having at the back the words, "A "houſe to be let, enquire within." The whole of the three had a ſhare in the drawing, and ſeemed to be active in the buſineſs.—The witneſs was informed by Upton, he ſhould be paid for his model.

A very long argument took place, whether the remaining evidence, namely, the confeſſional evidence of the priſoner himſelf, ſhould be admitted. Mr. Adam contended, that no overt act of treaſon had been proved by two witneſſes.—The court determined, that the confeſſional evidence ought to be taken, in order that the jury might diſcover the intent of the priſoner's mind, and, of courſe, bring the overt act home to him.

Jonathan Le Briton ſtated himſelf to be a boatſteerer to the Pomona South Whaler, and that they ſailed from Portſmouth on the 29th of January 1794. About a fortnight before that time, the priſoner came on board as their ſurgeon, and, as was uſual for gentlemen in that capacity, was generally called doctor. They went round to Falmouth, whence they ſailed February 13, and were captured on the 15th, by a French corvette, La Vengeance, by whom they were carried into Breſt. The priſoner then wrote his name R. T. Croſsfield, and on his being put on board another ſhip, he wiſhed the witneſs good-bye; ſaid that he was happy he was going to France, and that he would much rather be there than in England. They were ſoon after put into the ſame priſon ſhip, where they remained until a cartel was ready for their exchange. On the day after they ſailed from Portſmouth, he told the witneſs, that he was one of thoſe who invented the air-gun to ſhoot, or aſſaſſinate his majeſty; and deſcribed that it was to be done by an arrow, barbed like their harpoons, through a kind of a tube, by inflammable air. When the cartel was ready, the priſoner ſet himſelf down in the liſt, by the deſcription of H. Wilſon, of the Hope brig, which was alſo taken by the ſame ſhip as they had been.—In his croſs-examination, he ſaid, he knew nothing of the muſter liſt; that their crew conſiſted of twenty-three men, and that captain Charles Clarke came back with them, who had not, however, attended the privy-council, though he had ſeen him at Mr. White's, the ſolicitor's; at his lodgings; and at Mr. Smith's, at Wapping; but denied he had ever converſed with him on this ſubject. He admitted, that after they were taken, they had a ſcheme to ſeize the French ſhip, in which Croſsfield, as well as the reſt, was engaged. He remembered, that they were allowed to take out ſome of the private trade, but denied that

he

he and the priſoner had ever quarrelled.

Thomas Dennis, mate of the Pomona, ſtated, that the priſoner, the night after they ſailed from Falmouth, ſaid to him, that Pitt would ſend a frigate after him, if he knew where he was; that his majeſty was to have been aſſaſſinated by a dart, blown through a tube, at the playhouſe, and that he knew how it was conſtructed.—The other part of his teſtimony was ſimilar to that of the former witneſs. In his croſs-examination, he acknowledged he had written a certificate to the conſul, that he was an American; he believed, the priſoner had ſtated himſelf a naturaliſed Hollander. He had heard that the priſoner charged the loſs of his ſhip to his negligence, but they never quarrelled.

James Winter deſcribed himſelf to be the owner of the Suſanna, a Newfoundland veſſel, which was captured and carried into Breſt: after being confined ſome time in the caſtle, he was put on board the priſon ſhip where he was introduced to the priſoner, by a capt. Yallerley, by the name of Croſsfield; but he ſaid, No; his name was Tom Paine; they lived in habits of intimacy for five months, conſtantly ſupping and dining together; during which, he frequently ſaid, he had ſhot at his majeſty between Buckingham-houſe and the palace, but unluckily miſſed: he afterwards ſhewed the witneſs a hollow piece of iron, about a foot and a half long, as a ſimilar inſtrument to that with which he had made the attempt; that he had ſhot a cat through it, with a poiſoned dart, and that ſhe had died immediately after. Another day he ſaid, he hoped he ſhould live to ſee the day that the ſtreets of London would be up to his ancles in the blood of the king and his party. Interrogating him about his ſhooting at his majeſty, he ſaid, that, after he had ſhot at him, he was purſued by two king's meſſengers; but that he eſcaped to Portſmouth, got aboard a South whaler, was a few days after luckily taken, and brought into Breſt. One day, after dinner, a capt. Collins, who was a priſoner with them, ſaid, he wiſhed, he had the cutting off the heads of the king, Pitt, and the parliament; the priſoner replied, "Have patience, I "hope to have the cutting off of "ſome of them myſelf."

When the cartel ſhip was ready, the priſoner went into the cabin with the French commodore, and when he came out, ſaid, "Now "every thing is ſettled to my ſatis-"faction;" having, previouſly to this, often boaſted that the French had offered him great encouragement. They were three days on their paſſage, but immediately, on their arrival at a port near Fowey in Cornwall, the witneſs ſought out a magiſtrate, gave information againſt the priſoner, and had him taken into cuſtody.

Richard Penny, maſter of arms of his majeſty's ſhip Active, was a priſoner at the ſame time, and gave teſtimony of ſimilar expreſſions.

Walter Colmer and Edward Stoker, two conſtables of Fowey, gave an account of the apprehending of the priſoner, and that, as they were taking him to Bodmyn, he offered to give them two guineas a-piece, to let him go; and on their aſking, what was to become of the poſtboy? he ſaid, lend me one of your piſtols, and I will ſoon pop him out of the way.

Elizabeth Upton ſwore, that ſhe had

had not ſeen her huſband for ſome time. He had ſuddenly diſappeared, and was ſuppoſed to be dead.

Two other witneſſes were called to prove that Upton had been ſeen at one of the meetings of the correſponding ſociety, with a tube like that which was taken in his houſe.

Mr. Mortimer, the gunſmith, believed, what was ſhewn him, and the drawings, to be intended for parts of an air-pump.

Mr. Wood, a barriſter, ſaw one of theſe drawings in the poſſeſſion of Upton, at his own houſe, in September 1794. He went to Mr. Pitt, the next day, to give him information. And here ended the evidence for the crown.

Mr. Adam, counſel for the priſoner, wiſhed to be allowed ſome little reſt before he entered upon the defence.

On Thurſday, May 10, the court ſat at eight. The chief juſtice Eyre and the recorder conſulted for a few minutes, when it was ordered, that the trials of the three other perſons, indicted for treaſon, ſhould be adjourned to Thurſday next.

Mr. Croſsfield came to the bar, and was indulged, as on the firſt day, with a chair.

Mr. Adam then entered upon the priſoner's defence. He firſt of all called ſome witneſſes to prove that Upton was a very bad character, and was actuated by motives of reſentment againſt the parties implicated in this charge. Then reviewing the evidence that had been adduced againſt the priſoner, he called witneſſes to contradict the confeſſional part, which was depoſed by Le Briton and Dennis. He called William Cleveling, who was going out as agent to the Canaries, and was a priſoner with Mr. Croſsfield in Breſt harbour; he meſſed with him four months; he never heard him make any declarations reſpecting attacking the king. He was always known by his real name, Croſsfield. He never heard him mention any plot againſt the king. The priſoner was of a turn of mind inclining to mirth, and frequently ſung jolly ſongs. Upon croſs-examination, the witneſs had twice heard him ſing highly republican ſongs.

He next called capt. Anthony Collins, who ſwore, that he Croſsfield, when a priſoner in Breſt water, was invited to go on board the veſſels that had the ſick people; that he behaved very well; and by his ſkill and application, he had ſaved, at leaſt, fifty or ſixty lives. He meſſed with the priſoner many months; and during that time, he never heard him ſpeak any diſreſpectful words of the king, or any confeſſion reſpecting a plot to deſtroy his ſovereign; on the contrary, he ſeemed to be much pleaſed when he was certain of returning to England in the cartel. The priſoner had alſo refuſed a very advantageous offer to be inſpector-general of the hoſpital-priſons at Breſt. Upon croſs-examination, he acknowledged, that there was a levity about him that might give cauſe of ſuſpicion.

Several reſpectable witneſſes were called, who gave the priſoner an excellent character for humanity and kindneſs.

Mr. Gurney made an excellent and moſt energetic ſpeech, in which he ſummed up the evidence.

The lord chief juſtice.—"Mr. "Croſsfield, you have been heard "by your counſel very fully; but "you are allowed the right of being "heard yourſelf: now is your time, "and

" and the court will liſten to you " with attention."—The priſoner replied, " My lord, I have only one " circumſtance to add, that from " my inmoſt ſoul I have ever de- " teſted any acts of cruelty, much " more premeditated aſſaſſination of " my ſovereign.—I am fully ſatis- " fied with the great exertions of " my counſel, and rely upon your " lordſhip's candid conſideration of " my caſe, and the honour and juſ- " tice of an Engliſh jury."

The attorney-general then took a review of the whole of the evidence, and the arguments which had been uſed by the priſoner's counſel, and obſerved, that he had full conviction in his own mind, he was entitled to a verdict of guilty; but, if the jury felt otherwiſe, he ſhould be fully ſatisfied that the priſoner ought to be acquitted.

The lord chief juſtice Eyre ſummed up the evidence, and declared, that, in his mind, the ſecond overt act had been ſufficiently proved to be left to the jury; the firſt reſpecting the poiſoned dart, certainly had not, as that had been ſpoken to only by Dennis. The caſe, however, reſted very much upon the priſoner's own declaration, as without that, no purpoſe could be aſſigned for the inſtrument, which had been ordered, and intended to be made. The jury retired for an hour and forty minutes, and then gave their verdict, *Not guilty*.—Higgins and Le Maitre were not put upon their trial.

Interesting Law Reports.

Operation of the Bankrupt Laws on Property Abroad, belonging to Bankrupts reſident in England.

A queſtion which has been long depending, and frequently agitated in the different courts of Weſtminſter Hall, of very material importance to the trading part of the community, has lately received the deciſion of the court of Exchequer chamber, on a writ of error on a judgment of the court of King's Bench.

Blanchard and Lewis, reſident in England, previous to the year 1784, contracted a debt with the houſe of Phillips and Crammond, carrying on trade and commerce at Manchester, under the firm of Phillips and Co. Previous to the 23d of October, 1784, Blanchard and Lewis became bankrupts. Previous to the bankruptcy, William Crammond, one of the partners in the houſe of Phillips and Co. went to America, for the purpoſe of tranſacting in that country the commercial concerns of that houſe, and continued there till after the bankruptcy; on hearing of it, he commenced an action in the court of common pleas in Philadelphia, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, againſt the bankrupts in England, for the recovery of the debt due to himſelf and partners; and, on the 23d of October, 1784, which was after the proviſional aſſignment of the effects of the bankrupts, cauſed to be attached, by proceſs out of that court, property which had belonged to the bankrupts, in the hands of ſeveral perſons reſident in Pennſylvania; and, on the 1ſt of June, 1786, recovered judgment againſt the bankrupts, for the debt and damages demanded in the action, the ſum of 2,639l. 18s. 3d. currency; being equal to 1,403l. os. 6d. ſterling; and alſo coſts of ſuit; and by virtue of ſuch attachment and judgment, received the ſum recovered of the garniſhees, that

that is, of the perſons in whoſe hands the property was attached.

Hunter and others, who were appointed aſſignees of Blanchard and Lewis, brought an action in the court of King's Bench, againſt Phillips and Co. to recover this money, as ſo much money had and received to their uſe. The jury found a ſpecial verdict, ſtating the circumſtances above-mentioned. The ſame queſtion, on a ſimilar ſtate of facts, having ſome time before occurred in a caſe ariſing out of the ſame bankruptcy, and the court having in that caſe, after full conſideration, given judgment in favour of the aſſignees, decided in the ſame manner now, without argument; on which a writ of error was brought in the Exchequer chamber, where, after ſolemn argument, the judgment was affirmed, the chief juſtice of the common pleas alone diſſenting.

Independently of the reference to deciſions in former caſes, as authorities in the preſent, the reaſoning of the judges, who thought the judgment right, was to the following effect:—

The general queſtion, they ſaid, ariſing on the facts which appeared on the record, was, whether a perſon becoming in England a creditor of a bankrupt alſo in England, and having recovered in a foreign country by proceſs of attachment, a debt due to the bankrupt there, was entitled to retain the money ſo recovered to his own uſe, or whether he had not received it to the uſe of the aſſignees? It was found by the ſpecial verdict, that the bankrupts were Engliſh traders, that the defendants were partners in an Engliſh houſe; that the debt from the bankrupts to the defendants was contracted in England; that the bankrupts as well as the defendants, were reſident in England, and that Crammond, who on this verdict muſt alſo be taken to be an Engliſh ſubject, went from this kingdom to America for the ſpecial and temporary purpoſe of tranſacting buſineſs for the Engliſh houſe at Mancheſter, in which he continued to be a partner. The caſe, therefore, muſt be conſidered as ariſing between Engliſh ſubjects upon Engliſh property. When the debt was contracted, all the parties were as much ſubject to the bankrupt laws, as to the other laws of England, under which they lived. It could not be diſputed that previous to the bankruptcy, the bankrupts themſelves might have transferred or aſſigned this property, though abroad, as abſolutely as if it had been in their own tangible poſſeſſion in this country; and it ſeemed that the aſſignees under the commiſſion were entitled, by operation of law, to do with it after the bankruptcy, what the bankrupts themſelves might have done before. The great principle of the bankrupt laws was, that no creditor ſhould be permitted to acquire an undue preference, and by ſo doing prevent an equal diſtribution among all the creditors. It followed from hence that the whole property of the bankrupt muſt be under their controul, without regard to the locality of that property, except in caſes which directly militated againſt the particular laws of the country in which it happened to be ſituated. No creditor, whoſe debt was contracted within the ſphere of operation of thoſe laws, and who had notice of the inſolvency of the debtor, could recover any part of the common fund for his own particular advantage; after an aſſignment had

taken

taken place, his intereſt was transferred to the aſſignees, and if he did recover, he muſt account to the other creditors for the ſum received. If the bankrupt laws were circumſcribed by the local ſituation of the property, a door would be open to all the partiality and undue preference which they were framed to prevent; property might be ſent abroad with that unjuſt view, immediately previous to an act of bankruptcy, and in contemplation of it. If the perſonal property of merchants employed in the courſe of their dealings in foreign countries, were to be taken by an individual creditor going from hence for that purpoſe, and not to be diſtributable among the creditors at large, ſuch merchants would be materially affected in their credit at home. The laws of the country, indeed, where the property was ſituated, had the immediate controul over it, in reſpect to its locality, and the immediate protection afforded it; yet the country where the proprietor reſided, in reſpect to another ſpecies of protection afforded to him and his property, had a right to regulate his conduct relating to that property. This protection afforded to the property of a reſident ſubject, which was ſituated in a foreign country, was not imaginary, but real. The property which this country protected, it had a right to regulate; and, in fact, our bankrupt laws had made ſuch regulations. The ſtat. 13 El. c. 7, enabled the commiſſioners to take the bankrupt's money, goods, &c. and debts, *whereſoever they may be found or known.* This expreſſion ſeemed to extend beyond the debts and effects of a trader locally confined within this kingdom. In a country, a great part of whoſe commercial capital was employed abroad, it was peculiarly proper that ſuch capital, over which the trader had a diſpoſing power, though ſituated out of the kingdom, ſhould be conſidered as referable to the place of reſidence of the owner. The ſtat. 1 J. I, c. 15. ſ. 13, which enables the commiſſioners to aſſign debts due to the bankrupts, directed that the ſame ſhould not be *attached as the debt of the bankrupt*, according to the cuſtom of the city of London, or *otherwiſe*. The aſſignment being made by the authority of parliament, every ſubject of the kingdom was a party to it, inaſmuch as he was *a party and conſenting to an act of parliament;* and having joined in the aſſignment, he could not be permitted to controvert it, by attaching the debt in the hands of the debtor; and if by means of an attachment he received the money, it was received to the uſe of the aſſignees. The words of the ſtatute extended to all foreign attachments, both at home and abroad, in countries whether ſubject to the crown of Great Britain, or independent on it. As debts due to the bankrupts from the ſubjects of foreign countries paſſed under the aſſignment, the attachments muſt be conſidered as coextenſive with the debts mentioned in the ſtatute. It had been objected, that the judgment in Pennſylvania was final and concluſive, and bound the property. That it muſt be ſo underſtood between the debtor, of whom the debt was recovered by the attachment, and the original creditor, that is, the bankrupt and his aſſignees, was not to be diſputed. But as the recovery of the plaintiffs in error, otherwiſe than for the uſe of the defendants, the aſſignees, would be in violation of an act of

parliament,

parliament, ſuch recovery muſt be taken to be for the uſe of the latter. In the preſent action, indeed, the judgment of the court in Pennſylvania was affirmed; and another objection had been made, that the reſidence of Crammond in America enabled him to recover his debt, without accounting for it to the aſſignees. To this the anſwer was, that no reſidence in foreign parts could exempt a Britiſh ſubject from the operation of an act of parliament, much leſs an *occaſional* reſidence. It was alſo objected to the aſſignees, that they did not ſtate their claim in the foreign court, which they ought to have done, inſtead of bringing their action here. It was not, however, ſtated in the verdict that they had notice of the proceedings there. No Engliſh ſubject could be affected by the proceedings in a foreign court, without clear and direct notice; for however, from a *preſumption* of notice, they were bound by the proceedings in our *own* courts, no ſuch preſumption could be raiſed with reſpect to *foreign* courts. To the objection, that in many inſtances the bankrupt laws of this country did not operate in another; it might be anſwered, that though to ſome purpoſes they did not, yet to all civil purpoſes they did, when ſuch purpoſes were neither repugnant to the law of the particular ſtate, nor to the general law of nations: and it was on wiſe principles that foreign ſtates acknowledged, and acted according to the different civil relations which ſubſiſted between men in their own country. If, then, there were no law of the particular ſtate, nor any law of nations which forbade the operation of the Engliſh bankrupt laws on the perſonal property of an Engliſh ſubject, wherever it was found, there was nothing to reſtrict the comprehenſive words of the ſtatutes 13 El. and 1 J. I, but an implied power in a foreign country, to declare that an Engliſh ſubject becoming bankrupt, ſhould, notwithſtanding, continue to be inveſted with all his rights, and in the enjoyment of all his property, in defiance of thoſe laws to which he owed ſubmiſſion. But ſuch a power could not be aſſumed by any foreign ſtate, nor ought this country to make, to any, ſo important a ſurrender.

Right of the Editors of Newſpapers to publiſh the Proceedings of Courts of Juſtice.

SOME time ago an application was made to the court of King's Bench, for an information againſt a magiſtrate of the name of Curry.—The affidavit on which this application was founded, contained matter of an offenſive nature to Mr. Curry. An account of what paſſed in court on the occaſion was publiſhed in the Times: Mr. Curry, ſuppoſing this account to be a libel againſt him, brought an action in the Common Pleas, againſt Mr. Walter, the editor and proprietor of the paper.—The cauſe having been brought before a jury, and both parties having gone through their caſe, chief juſtice Eyre ſummed up to the following effect:—"I take the "queſtion, ſaid he, to be reduced to "this: Whether there has been a "publication of libellous matter "which can be made the ſubject of "an action? To make it the ſub-

"ject

" ject of an action, the publica-
" tion muſt be in itſelf unlawful.
" This matter certainly imputes,
" in a general view, ſcandal to the
" party; but the publication of
" what paſſed in the court of King's
" Bench, in a judicial cauſe, can
" never in itſelf be conſidered as
" an unlawful publication which
" can bear an action. Let us go
" one ſtep farther, and ſuppoſe that
" any man were to write the tranſ-
" actions of the court of King's
" Bench of that day, which would
" include an account of this motion:
" on the ſame principle that it was
" not an unlawful publication in the
" court of King's Bench, I think it
" muſt be ſaid, that ſuch a written
" account would not be an unlawful
" publication, becauſe this motion
" in the court of King's Bench, was
" what all the world did or might
" hear and know; and therefore I
" imagine a repreſentation of it in
" writing could hardly be deemed
" an unlawful publication; a more
" general repreſentation of it in a
" newſpaper is but carrying it one
" ſtep farther; and as at preſent
" adviſed, it appears to me on that
" principle, that a true repreſenta-
" tion in a newſpaper of that which
" has paſſed in a court of juſtice,
" cannot be deemed an unlawful
" publication; and I think that
" will go to the ground of this action.
" But for the ſake of a ſubject
" touched on by the counſel on both
" ſides (how far a malicious inten-
" tion is neceſſary to ſupport an
" action for a libel?) I will go one
" ſtep farther; I have ſaid, if a
" true repreſentation of what paſſed
" in a court of juſtice be made in a
" newſpaper, it will hardly be con-
" ſidered as an unlawful publica-
" tion. But let thoſe who under-
" take to inform the public of what
" paſſes in courts of juſtice, beware
" of miſrepreſentation. For if, in
" order to gratify the curioſity and
" avidity of the public, they will
" load their papers with accounts
" which they collect from courts of
" juſtice; if they will write curi-
" ouſly, if they will ſtate, as mat-
" ters of fact, what was only ſtated
" hypothetically, or ſtate more than
" really did paſs in court, I am of
" opinion the publication will be
" criminal, and the editor muſt an-
" ſwer in damages without being
" allowed to ſay, he did not intend
" to abuſe or ſcandalize the party.
" A man who publiſhes a falſehood
" of another, does by that means
" ſcandalize him, does him an in-
" jury, and muſt make ſatisfaction
" for it, becauſe he has done it;
" and he cannot ſhelter himſelf
" under any intent he had upon
" which he may inſiſt he is inno-
" cent. It is not ſufficient for him
" to ſay, I did this in the courſe of
" my trade and buſineſs, and I had
" no perſonal knowledge of the
" party complaining: I employed
" my printers to print it, and other
" perſons I employed to diſperſe it,
" and all this has happened with-
" out any intention of mine.

" The man, who employs ſuch
" people, employs them at his pe-
" ril, and if they do not collect what
" is true, and he publiſhes it, he
" muſt anſwer to every man who
" is ſcandalized by ſuch a publica-
" tion.

" The peace and good order of
" ſociety, and the general ſtate of
" the law, require that it ſhould be
" ſo underſtood. He may ſay he is
" innocent, but he has inflicted the
" wrong

" wrong, and having done that, " he muſt make ſatisfaction. That " this is ſo, with regard to all civil " conſequences and civil purpoſes, " is the cleareſt thing in the world. " This will alſo go a good way into " the criminal law: a man who has " plainly and directly broken the " law, is not to ſhelter himſelf under " the idea that his mind was inno- " cent, and did not intend the in- " jury; he has done it, and muſt " therefore make atonement: a man " might commit murder, and think " he was ſerving God in the doing " of it, and if this plea were to " avail, he might ſay, any intentions " were pure and upright."

Copy of a circular Letter to the Lieutenants of Counties on the Sea Coaſt; dated Whitehall, November 5, 1796.

My Lord,

AS it would materially add to the difficulties which already oppoſe themſelves to any attempts, which it is poſſible the enemy may be induced to make upon our coaſt, if the live and dead ſtock of individuals reſiding near the ſea-coaſt was capable of being inſtantly removed and ſecured, for the benefit of the proprietors, I am commanded to recommend it to your lordſhip to exert your influence in cauſing to be made out, as ſpeedily as poſſible, an account of live and dead ſtock, in ſuch of the pariſhes of the county of Suſſex as are within ten or twelve miles of the ſea.

With reſpect to the mode of making out the account required, I take this opportunity of tranſmitting to your lordſhip the form in which it has been executed by the voluntary exertions of the gentlemen of the county of Dorſet; and ſhall beg to ſubmit it for your lordſhip's conſideration and adoption, unleſs where it may be found neceſſary to deviate from it, in conſequence of local circumſtances and ſituations.

With reſpect to the mode in which it is propoſed to remove ſuch live and dead ſtock, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary, your lordſhip will communicate with the commander in chief of the diſtrict in which the county of Suſſex lies, and will concert with him ſuch previous meaſures for this purpoſe as may be judged requiſite.

The meeting which I have deſired your lordſhip to call on the ſubject of my circular letter of this day's date, will afford you an opportunity of ſubmitting this letter to the conſideration of the deputy-lieutenants and the magiſtracy of the county of Suſſex, and will conſequently lead to the immediate adoption of ſuch meaſures as ſhall be neceſſary to enable the return to be made, which I am perſuaded your lordſhip will be of opinion is ſo much to be wiſhed for.

I am further to inform your lordſhip, that the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury have received his majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould take ſuch previous meaſures as may be neceſſary for defraying any expences which may ariſe, in conſequence of ſuch poſſible removal of live and dead ſtock as I have ſuppoſed, as well as of any particular loſſes which may eventually be occaſioned thereby.

Although this circumſtance is ſuch as muſt obviate every poſſible objection to the meaſure, I am nevertheleſs confident, that all thoſe whom

whom it may concern would, exclusively of every personal consideration or motive, join with the utmost alacrity in the execution of a measure which has for its object the general safety of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PORTLAND.

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Lord Mayor.

Downing-street, 1st Dec.

My Lord,

I TAKE the liberty of transmitting to your lordship a copy of a letter which I have thought it my duty to write to the governor and deputy governor of the bank, and of the memorandum therein referred to, which it is their intention to lay before a court of proprietors this day. I have the satisfaction of thinking that the plan therein suggested is likely to receive the greatest countenance from many great mercantile bodies and respectable houses in the metropolis.

The repeated proofs which the citizens of London have given of their zeal and public spirit, leave me no doubt, that, if it appears likely to promote the interests of the country at this important crisis, it will receive their cheerful support in their individual capacity, as well as that of the corporate body, and of the different public companies. It is unnecessary for me to state the effect which such an example would produce throughout the kingdom. With this view I would request your lordship, if you see no impropriety in the measure, to take as speedily as possible such steps as you may think most adv sable for bringing the subject u der the consideration of the comm council, and of the different publ companies, and for ascertaining what extent they may be inclined contribute to the success of t plan, in the event of its receivi the approbation of parliament.

I have the honour, &c.

W. PIT

Copy of the Chancellor of the E chequer's Letter read at the Bank

THAT under the present ci cumstances it seemed peculiarly n cessary that provision should be ma for the services of the ensuing yea without having recourse to the a customed way of raising money by loan, at the present price of t funds. It was therefore in conte plation to propose to parliame that one-fourth of the income of i dividuals of a certain class should applied to that purpose, to be r paid according to the terms spe fied in the inclosed memorandu There were strong reasons to belie that many gentlemen would volu tarily subscribe a larger proporti than what might be required them, but the extent of contributi greatly depended on the exampl that might be given, particular on that which might be held o by the bank of England. He ther fore earnestly hoped that the cou of directors of the governor a company of the bank of Englan and the proprietors, impressed wi that zeal which they had alwa manifested for the public good, a convinced of the importance of t present crisis, would be induced take the lead in a measure so high conducive to the maintenance

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public credit, and which would ſtrongly tend to the acceleration of a permanent and honourable peace.

Petition of Sir Francis Blake *to the Houſe of Commons, preſented by Mr.* Grey, *8th February*, 1796.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled.

The humble Petition of the ſubſcribing party,

Prayeth,

THAT your petitioner may be permitted by this honourable houſe to ſketch, for their conſideration, the outline of an arrangement, which takes for its aim the political ſalvation of this country, the happineſs of the community at large, and of every individual, and which propoſes to work its effect by means, which are apparently, both eaſy, certain, ſafe, and honourable. And your petitioner further prayeth, that it may be permitted him to ſtate to this honourable houſe, for the purpoſe of their more ready determination, the reaſons which have influenced him to ſuppoſe the arrangement in queſtion to be fraught with the benefits ſuggeſted by him—which are briefly as follow:

That from ſources of information the beſt within his reach, it has appeared to the complete ſatisfaction of your petitioner—That trade is not an object, which by any poſſible human contrivance can be made amenable to the payment of any tax, that can affect the parties concerned in its management, inaſmuch as the parties ſo concerned, can always contrive to relieve themſelves by ſhifting the weight, which in that caſe muſt ultimately and principally fall upon the proprietors of land, who have no ſuch means of ſhifting the weight.

That uniformly as the trade of the nation has more or leſs flouriſhed, the territorial rental has in like manner, and in ſome ſuch proportion been obſerved to advance.

That in the year ſixteen hundred, the territorial rental did not exceed ſix millions per annum.

That from the year ſixteen hundred to ſixteen hundred and eighty-eight, under all the difficulties and diſtreſſes of the intervening ſpace, the trade of the country increaſed, and the rental advanced from ſix to fourteen millions per annum.

Computing, therefore, by the vaſt increaſe of trade, from the period laſt named to the preſent time, compriſing a ſeries of years for the moſt part favourable, the final reſult muſt be, that the preſent rental cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to fall ſhort of fifty millions per annum; which led of courſe to the following concluſions:

That the way to advance the land is to give every poſſible encouragement to trade.

That the way to depreſs the land is to burden trade.

That to burden trade is, in effect, to burden land beſides depreſſing it.

Taking, therefore, the preſent territorial rental at fifty millions per annum: the funded rental at ten millions; the two together at ſixty millions per annum; the preſent payments to government at fifteen millions per annum; the preſſure of thoſe payments on the rental named, as authorized by general acknowledgment, at fifteen ſhillings in the pound, your petitioner proceeded to reaſon upon thoſe data as follows:

If it be true that the territorial and funded rental is ſixty millions per annum,

Then is it true, alſo, that five ſhillings in the pound, on ſuch a rental, will raiſe a revenue of fifteen millions.

If it be true that we now pay ten ſhillings in the pound to raiſe a revenue of fifteen millions,

Then is it true alſo, that we pay five ſhillings in the pound more than we have any occaſion to pay.

If it be true that the trading part of the nation can always contrive to create for themſelves an exemption from ſtate burdens,

Then it is true alſo, that the landed and funded proprietors are, and have all along, to their irreparable loſs, been the principal, if not the ſole paymaſters of all impoſts, and conſequently that little or no injury will be done to that body of men, but that great and laſting advantage will accrue to them, and to their poſterity, by changing the mode, as here propoſed, of collecting the revenue.

Your petitioner, therefore, moſt humbly prays, that he may be permitted and authorized to charge his real eſtates with the payment of thirty thouſand pounds, or with the payment of ſuch other ſum, be the ſame more or leſs, as may be aſcertained by this honourable houſe, to be his proportionate ſhare of the public debt, ſuppoſing the ſaid public debt to be parcelled out for payment among the ſeveral proprietors of lands, houſes, mines, waters, tythes, rents, in any way ariſing therefrom, monies ſo ſecured, and public funds.

And your petitioner further prays, that his ſaid eſtates may be made ſubject to the payment of intereſt on the ſum to be ſo charged as above, at the rate of four pounds per cent. or any other rate of intereſt, be the ſame more or leſs, which may appear to this honourable houſe to be his proportionate ſhare of the annual charge of the ſaid public debt, ſuppoſing the ſame to be transferred as aforeſaid.

And your petitioner further prays, that he may be permitted and authorized to pay in future his proportionate ſhare of the civil liſt and peace eſtabliſhment, by an annual pound rate, the quantum of which pound rate to be aſcertained by this honourable houſe, in like manner as before has been mentioned.

And your petitioner further prays, that as often as the exigences of government may provide a further aid, he may be permitted and authorized to pay his proportionate ſhare of the ſame, by ſuch an additional pound rate as may be aſcertained by this honourable houſe to be ſufficient to accumulate the ſum which would fall to his lot of payment, ſuppoſing the whole annual ſupply to be raiſed within the year, and parcelled out for payment among the ſeveral proprietors aforeſaid.

And your petitioner further prays, that he may be permitted and authorized to make ſuch temporary, and ſuch permanent payments, as have been ſeverally named and aſſented to on his part, by half yearly inſtalments, and that the ſame may be declared to be accepted in full ſatisfaction of his proportionate ſhare of all taxes, cuſtoms, duties and parliamentary impoſts, laid already, or which may be laid on the ſubjects of this country, or their concerns.

And your petitioner ſhall ever pray.

FRANCIS BLAKE.

POPULAR MEETINGS.

London Correſponding Society.

Copy of a Circular Letter to all the Patriotic Societies in Great Britain.

Committee Room, Nov. 7, 1795.

CITIZENS,

ERE this will reach you, you will no doubt have acquired a general knowledge of the nature and tendency of the bill now before the houſe of lords, and we haſten to give you a deſcription of the ſtate of the public mind in London. Apprehending that every artifice of miſrepreſentation will be uſed in order to overawe the country, you may reſt aſſured the bill will meet with the moſt vigorous and determined oppoſition, from every deſcription of men who have ever profeſſed, in any degree whatever, an attachment to the cauſe of liberty; it has already produced in London a union which promiſes the moſt beneficial effects. All thoſe diſtinctions which were derived from difference of opinion on the neceſſary degree of reform; all perſonalities; in ſhort, every conſideration whatever, except the neceſſity of ſtopping its progreſs and baffling its effects, are now proſtrated.

Long has it been taught by every political philoſopher, that the government of a free country is the creature of the people. It will for ever do honour to our anceſtors, that until the preſent age, they were more active than any other nation, in propagating this doctrine; but in oppoſition to the voice of reaſon, it has conſtantly happened, that by much the greateſt part of the world has groaned under the galling yoke of deſpotiſm; and it has been the uniform practice of tyrants, and their miniſters, to ſpeak and act as if they conſidered the people to be the creature of government.

The conſtitution of our country has been, for many ages, a mixture of Saxon liberty and Norman ſlavery; and, as theſe oppoſite principles have been, at different times, ſupported with different degrees of ſucceſs, the people have been treated, at one time as freemen, at another as ſlaves; but the point is now at iſſue, which of theſe principles ſhall be permanently eſtabliſhed under the name of law.

Happy ſhould we be, could we put the following queſtions to every individual of our fellow countrymen. Will you conſent that the political improvement of five centuries be at one ſtroke annihilated, and that our laws and conſtitution ſhall relapſe into that ſtate of barbarous ambiguity—that ſyſtem of conſtructive treaſon, which prevailed in the tyrannical reign of Edward the ſecond, of which, in the preamble of the thirty-firſt of Edward the third, it is juſtly ſaid, that no man's life was ſafe, becauſe no man knew what was legal, and what was illegal? Are you willing to grant to that government, whoſe meaſures have avowedly brought you to the brink of famine, the power of telling you when you *may* meet? When you *ſhall ſhun* each other? When you *may* ſpeak, when you *muſt* be ſilent? What you *may* hear? What you *may* read? In ſhort, will you conſent to uſe or diſuſe at *their* diſcretion every means of intellectual improvement? We have determined to hold a general meeting next Thurſday, and we requeſt you to uſe every means by which you can awaken your neighbours to a juſt ſenſe of

the dangers attending the preſent bill.

Signed in the name, and by order of the London Correſponding Society.

J. ASHLEY, Secretary.
A. GALLOWAY, Aſſiſt. Sec.

P. S. We are ſending a copy of this letter to each of our correſpondents; we mean to offer one to every patriotic newſpaper in London; and we wiſh you to co-operate with us, in giving it every poſſible degree of publicity.

London Correſponding Society.

To the Britiſh Nation.

The Reply of the London Correſponding Society to the Calumnies propagated by perſons in High Authority, for the purpoſe of furniſhing pretences for the pending Convention Bill.

PERHAPS nothing has a greater tendency to inflame the irritation of the public mind, and deſtroy entirely that confidence of a people in the juſtice and wiſdom of their government, without which no authority can be reſpected—no conſtitution ſecure—than the practice ſo frequently appealed to by factious and uſurping miniſters, of charging every accidental intemperance—every unpremeditated outrage (from what quarter ſoever it may ariſe) upon thoſe, who from their zeal in the cauſe of human liberty and happineſs, have the boldneſs to expoſe their deſigns, and counteract their meaſures.

Artifices ſo baſe and ungenerous are ſometimes ſo far ſucceſsful, as to delude a conſiderable portion of the people, and to enable a miniſter to carry into effect the arbitrary and tyrannical meaſures, which, without the aſſiſtance of ſuch expedients, he might never have had the courage to bring forward. But the public mind cannot be long abuſed by deluſions ſupported only by the vague and unfounded aſſertions of a faction however powerful; the people, thus defrauded of their liberties, cannot long remain inſenſible of their folly; and their fury and indignation at the loſs they have ſuſtained, is naturally encreaſed by the remembrance of the impoſition that has been put upon them, and the inſult that has been offered to their underſtandings.

To unmaſk ſuch deluſions, therefore, and refute ſuch groundleſs calumnies, ere it be too late, is one of the moſt ſolemn duties which the real friends of peace and order can be called upon to fulfil; and to neglect this ſolemn duty were a crime of the higheſt magnitude, at once againſt the government and the people.

Of this violation of duty we might juſtly be charged, if overawed by the power and political conſequence of our calumniators, we neglect to ſeize an early opportunity of rebutting the groundleſs falſehoods that have been inſidiouſly directed againſt us, by broad inſinuations, at leaſt, in the late proclamation, and by the direct aſſertions of perſons in the higher poſts of confidence and power. Nay, when we conſider the audacious attack made upon the liberties and conſtitution of the country, by the bill now pending in the houſe of lords, and as a foundation for which theſe calumnies have been advanced, we cannot but conceive that ſilence

upon

upon the preſent ſubject would be in reality one of thoſe acts of conſtructive treaſon, which it is the apparent intention of this bill once more to naturalize among us. It would be, in fact, joining in the conſpiracy againſt the conſtitution, eſtabliſhed at the revolution, in 1688, and by virtue of which the Houſe of Brunſwick was ſeated on the Britiſh throne.

The London Correſponding Society has not been in the habit of being abaſhed by authoritative calumny, or daunted by illegal perſecution. With the fury of theſe it has always had to contend from its firſt inſtitution to the preſent hour, and the firmneſs with which it has reſiſted reiterated ſhocks, and the judicial detection which the ſlanderous abuſe of its accuſers experienced on a late occaſion, might naturally have been expected to have furniſhed ſome ſecurity againſt the repetition of malicious and unfounded charges, directed apparently againſt this aſſociation in particular, but levelled in reality againſt the yet unſubverted liberties of the country.

But theſe hopes, however rational, have been diſappointed, as has indeed every hope which the friends of liberty and humanity have ſucceſſively entertained from the preſent adminiſtration. Calumnious forgery, the common war-hoop of perſecution and inquiſitorial uſurpation, is again appealed to, and the tumultuary exceſſes of an aggrieved and uninformed populace (aggravated by the hired agents of thoſe who have a ſecret intereſt in the outrages which the friends of liberty and reaſon cannot but deplore) are boldly and flagitiouſly charged upon a ſociety, the regularity and good order of whoſe proceedings have ever been conſpicuous to all who have attended their meetings; and whoſe profeſſed and real object (for they are neither miniſters nor courtiers, and their profeſſions and intentions are the ſame) is to preſerve tranquillity, by diſſeminating information, and to promote the cauſe of liberty, by a firm and temperate expoſition of the invaſions of tyrannical corruption, and the conſequent miſeries of an oppreſſed and overburthened people.

Comparing together, as we do, our intentions and conduct with the baſe calumnies that are heaped upon us—conſcious of the purity and legality of our intentions, and comparing the regularity of our conduct with the baſe aſſertions of our enemies, we cannot but mix ſome indignation with our ſurprize, while we call aloud with the conſcious pride of injured innocence upon our accuſers for the PROOFS of that criminal accuſation which they have ſo boldly made; at the ſame time, we take the liberty of reminding thoſe accuſers, that if they have no ſuch proofs to bring forward (which we know they cannot have, for proofs and falſehoods are antidotes which can never be reconciled), the public mind may for a while be ſtartled by the effrontery of their aſſertions; but that indignation and contempt inevitably ſucceed as ſoon as the firſt torpor has ſubſided. We remind them, alſo, that there is no magic in authority, by which in the eyes of reflecting men, unſupported aſſertion can be converted into the ſemblance of fact; yet, that falſe accuſations may ſometimes be ſo flagitious, and the views with which they are ad-

vanced ſo obvious and profligate, as to bring the authority that endeavours to ſupport them into abſolute diſcredit with every liberal and candid mind.

Conſidering, therefore, that the accuſation againſt us is totally unſupported by any evidence, it is ſufficient for us to DENY, as poſitively as our accuſers have affirmed, that there was any ſort of connection between the meeting at Copenhagen houſe, and the illegal and tumultuary proceedings of the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament. And when the CONVENIENT MEMORY and TRIED VERACITY of our accuſers is remembered, we truſt we may call with confidence upon the public, to pay as much credit to our denial, as to their affirmation.

But we ſtop not here. We ſolemnly appeal to the publicity and known regularity of all the proceedings of our very numerous ſociety—we appeal to thoſe ſolemn invocations in behalf of peace and good order, which we repeatedly made at the meeting ſo unjuſtly calumniated; and the ſtrong arguments that were elaborately enforced, to ſhew the neceſſity of obſerving the moſt ſtrict legality in our purſuit of parliamentary reform, and to demonſtrate that all tumult and violence were, in reality, favourable only to the views and objects of the miniſter, whom we firmly believed (and it is now evident, as the ſun at noon, that our belief was well founded), only wanted the pretences, which ſuch events might furniſh, to make freſh invaſion upon our liberties, and eſtabliſh deſpotiſm on the ruin of popular aſſociation.

We appeal alſo to the miſeries of the country, and the ruin in which it is involved by this war of unparalleled fury and devaſtation; and call upon the candid and impartial of every party ſeriouſly to anſwer, whether the ſtarving wretchedneſs of the great maſs of the people does not in reality furniſh a more eaſy and obvious ſolution of the event ſo univerſally deplored, than the ſtale pretence that reaſon and truth are the promoters of tumult, and falſehood and ignorance the only preſervatives of the public peace? We appeal alſo to the experience of paſt hiſtory in ſupport of our aſſertion, that tumult and inſurrection (always frequent in ſeaſons of great national calamity) have uniformly commenced not among thoſe who have aſſociated for the purpoſes of enquiry, but from thoſe who are both too miſerable and too ignorant to appeal to ſo rational a mode of conduct. And finally, we call upon miniſters to peruſe with attention the Eſſay of the great lord Bacon, upon the cauſes of ſeditions and troubles, and to treaſure in their minds the important admonition of that enlightened politician and philoſopher—That, "of all rebellions, "thoſe of the belly are the worſt."

To conclude, The London Correſponding Society, in the moſt ſolemn and public manner, diſavow, diſclaim, and reprobate the attack ſaid to have been made on the perſon of the chief magiſtrate; and they ſubjoin it as their conſtant, and YET unſhaken maxim, that the only way to promote the cauſe of liberty and human happineſs is, to reſpect the laws and conſtituted authorities of their country, at the ſame time that they perſevere in the

the moſt undaunted reſolution of DEMANDING the reſtoration of their rights—the reform of growing abuſes.

By order of the general committee.

J. BINNS, chairman of the meeting at Copenhagen-houſe.

J. ASHLEY, Secretary.

Addreſs to the Nation.

Friends and fellow Citizens!

AFTER the lapſe of more than a twelvemonth, replete with fearful agitation and alarm, the LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, ſtill firm in its principles, and faithful to its original purpoſe, again offers itſelf to your notice, and ſolicits your immediate attention. Never at any time, from the rude inſtitutions of uncultivated ignorance, to the more poliſhed periods of modern refinement, has there been ſubmitted to the conſideration of man a more awful or a more critical moment! It is, indeed, a moment worthy of ſerious deliberation. To be guilty of raſhneſs or intemperance would ſerve only to prejudice and inflame; yet to be wholly ſilent, would betray a criminal indifference.

While the ſlow, yet ſteady progreſſion of human improvement, by exciting curioſity, and awakening enquiry, has produced in all countries an inſenſible revolution of opinion: mankind, as yet unaccuſtomed to great and novel changes, has too often been inclined to treat them as viſionary and impracticable, and has refuſed to countenance and approve what it has not yet experienced. Hence may we readily account for the exiſtence and perpetuation of abuſes, which, having originated in ignorance, are afterwards continued from habit, and ſupported by folly; hence may we be eaſily led to diſtinguiſh that ſervile and accommodating diſpoſition which prefers a partial evil to an uncertain good, and contents itſelf with purſuing the beaten track of uniformity, while it dreads to enter into the unknown, though alluring path of innovation.

But, with nations as with individuals, it ſometimes happens, that the *hour of danger is the hour of inquiry;* and what would have been withheld from the calm remonſtrances of reaſon, is often yielded to the ſtrong impulſe of neceſſity.

At ſuch a time, and in ſo critical a ſituation, the colliſion of contending intereſts, and the rude ſhock of adverſe powers, are for awhile the only arguments of application, and the only effectual means of redreſs! All deliberation is ſuſpended, and the mind looks forward with a fearful horror to the termination of the dreadful conteſt! Happy the nation which, by lenient and gentle methods, can ſuperſede the neceſſity of ſo deſperate a remedy! Happy the people who are not *compelled* to recur to this ultimate and awful appeal!

To prevent confuſion, and preſerve tranquillity, is the indiſpenſable duty of every individual, who would enjoy the comforts and protection of civil ſociety; it is neceſſary, therefore, that he ſhould at all times, and at all hazards, exert his utmoſt to warn his fellow citizens of their impending danger, and oppoſe the artful and ambitious deſigns of thoſe who, under miſerable pretexts, would enſlave and deſtroy his country. It is not enough that he ſhould boldly diſſeminate his opinions and propagate

gate his principles; that he ſhould aſſociate with men of ſimilar ſentiments and ſimilar views; but he muſt alſo, if occaſion require, cheerfully conſent to be ſelected from the aggregate maſs, AND DIE IN THEIR DEFENCE!

It is now near four years ſince we firſt called your attention to the circumſtances of the times, and to the ſituation of your country: if it were neceſſary *then* to aſſociate, how much more is that neceſſity *now* increaſed! We felt it our duty to unite and proclaim our grievances, thoſe grievances are augmented tenfold; and is this a time to be ſilent or abandon our cauſe? We believe a parliamentary reform to be the only means of preſerving our country from deſtruction, and is our perſuaſion become leſs firm, or are our opinions altered? Did we not foreſee the calamities which muſt reſult from the want of a fair and equal repreſentation of the people of Britain in the commons houſe of parliament, and call on the united energies of the country to aſſert its rights? And is it a time to relinquiſh all further exertions, and deſert our principles? Surely not! The public mind is at length rouſed to a ſenſe of its ſituation; it ſees the dreadful precipice on which it ſtands; it encourages us to proceed in our uſeful and virtuous career, and aſſures us it will ſecond our endeavours. Yes, Britons! you begin to exert the privilege of thinking, and mental energy will ſoon be ſucceeded by determined reſolution! You will not quietly ſee your country laid in ruins, to gratify the lofty arrogance of an inſolent adminiſtration! You will not much longer permit your fellow-citizens to be dragged from their peaceful occupations to fight againſt the liberties of mankind, nor ſuffer your wives and children to be robbed of that ſcanty loaf, which, inſtead of preſerving them from ſtarving, is ſent to feed ſubſidized cut-throats, and foreign mercenaries! Away with cold calculations of ſafety and prudence—with paltry expedients and ill-timed fears! It is neceſſary for all honeſt men to ſpeak out, *the times and the country demand it!* Are we men, and ſhall we not ſpeak? Are we BRITONS, and is not LIBERTY our BIRTHRIGHT! There is no power on earth ſhall ſilence the voice of an injured nation, or prevent the progreſs of free inquiry!—Bring forth your whips and racks, ye miniſters of vengeance!—Produce your ſcaffolds and your executioners!—Erect barracks in every ſtreet, and baſtiles in every corner!—Perſecute and puniſh every innocent individual!—but you will *not* ſucceed! The voice of reaſon, like the roaring of the Nemean lion, ſhall iſſue even from the cavern's mouth! The holy blood of patriotiſm, ſtreaming from the ſevering axe, ſhall carry with it the infant ſeeds of liberty, and men may periſh—but truth ſhall be eternal!

While among other terrible effects of the preſent cruel and diſaſtrous war, gaunt famine ſtalks along your ſtreets, and haggard wretchedneſs aſſails you in every ſhape; mark, citizens, the ſhameful negligence and unfeeling conduct of thoſe who hold that power which ought to be intruſted to none but your *real* repreſentatives! When a propoſition to inquire into the cauſe of the preſent ſcarcity is coldly and reluctantly brought forward, it is in a moment ſilenced by the inſidious whiſpers of a ſecretary of ſtate, "*that*

" *that ſuch a diſcuſſion would do* " *more harm than good:*" Thus are you left to experience not only the *humanity* of the preſent miniſtry, in exporting your food to foreign mercenaries, but are compelled alſo to endure all the ſevere extortions of *private avarice and monopoly!*

Let us entreat you not to fall into thoſe fatal errors which have ſo frequently miſled our anceſtors, nor reſt your expectations on that deluſive phantom—a change of miniſters! With *ſuch* a houſe of commons, no miniſtry *can* perform its duty to the people! Your CHIEF, perhaps your ONLY hope, is in YOURSELVES!

We call, therefore, upon your native good ſenſe and courage to promote and aſſiſt the glorious cauſe for which we have ſo long and ſo peaceably aſſociated: we need not preſs upon your conviction the neceſſity of a ſpeedy and effectual reform, nor repeat the obſervation which is ſo loudly echoed from every part of this diſtracted country, " THAT SOMETHING MUST BE " DONE!" If the event of the late ſtate trials, with which we ſincerely congratulate *you;* if the perſeverance we have ſhewn, and the perſecutions we have experienced, have contributed aught to acquit us of all evil intention, and to acquire us your good opinion, we conjure you by that freedom we adore, that conſtitution we venerate, and that common intereſt we all poſſeſs in the proſperity of our country, to unite your vigorous exertions with ours, and by every legal and conſtitutional method, endeavour to procure to the people of Great Britain their *natural and undoubted rights*— " UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and AN- " NUAL PARLIAMENTS!"

This addreſs having been twice read to the members within the field was carried to the wall oppoſite the preſident, which afforded the greateſt opportunity of communicating the proceedings to the immenſe multitude which ſurrounded the meeting: after which the following ADDRESS TO THE KING was brought forward:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The Addreſs of the London Correſponding Society, convened in General Meeting on Monday the 29th June, 1795; (**approved alſo by many Thouſands of other Inhabitants of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark, who attended at this ſaid Meeting.*)

SIRE,

IMPRESSED with a ſenſe of the numerous calamities with which our fellow citizens are every where oppreſſed and overwhelmed, and conſcious of the rectitude of our intentions, we feel it our duty at this critical juncture, thus publicly to addreſs you, and claim your favourable attention. In delivering our free and undiſguiſed ſentiments, we diſclaim all intention of rudeneſs or incivility; but we diſdain alſo to flatter:—we would ſpeak the honeſt language of *freemen*—not practiſe the fawning ſervility of ſlaves.

We are fully ſenſible that numerous attempts have been made to miſrepreſent our object and calumniate our intentions. It has been

* The words in *italics* were inſerted by the committee in the manuſcript copy delivered at the ſecretary of ſtate's office for the home department.

not

not only insinuated, but declared, that we are inimical to your person, and averse to your authority: but, convinced as we are, that reflection and experience are not always banished from kingly bosoms, we had hoped, that the event of the late trials would have manifested our innocence, and the increasing distresses of our country have shewn you, that if guilt can any where attach itself, it must be to those who have been constantly endeavouring to poison your ear and pervert your understanding.

Your ministers have grosly and shamefully deceived you;—they have used your name as a pretext to enslave and destroy the people; and have staked the safety of your crown for their own political salvation:—they have set up to sale the virgin honours of the state, and violated the fair fame of the British constitution!

But it is necessary, sire, that you should be undeceived; and, if you have not an honest minister, that will dare to speak the truth, THE PEOPLE SHOULD INSTRUCT THEIR SOVEREIGN AND SAVE HIM FROM DESTRUCTION!

It is time that you should discern your friends and detect your enemies!

We have often fought, at the hazard even of our lives, to preserve you in the enjoyment of what ought at all times to constitute the chief felicity of a sovereign—*the people's love*—and to secure you in the happy possession of peace and universal tranquillity.

But your ministers, dreading lest you should have a common interest with the people, have basely slandered us, and represented a considerable part of the British nation as disaffected and disloyal! By their infamous manœuvres they have betrayed you, and endangered even your safety!—The nation itself stands tottering upon the brink of ruin, and YOUR EXISTENCE IS COUPLED WITH THEIRS!

We conjure you, sire, in the name, and for the sake of that glorious revolution, which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne, to yield a timely attention to the cries of a suffering people, and to exert that power with which the constitution has intrusted you;—to give them that free and equal representation, which can alone enable the British nation to prevent future and remove the present calamities;—to dismiss from your councils those guilty ministers, who have so long with impunity insulted us, and betrayed our dearest interests;—to put an immediate period to the ravages of a cruel and destructive war, and to restore to us that peace and tranquillity, which are so essentially necessary for YOUR OWN PERSONAL SECURITY, AND FOR THE HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE.

Address of the London Corresponding Society to the Nation.

ONCE more, dear friends and fellow citizens, in defiance of threats and insults—of base suggestions and unmanly fears—are we met in the open face of day, and call the heavens and earth to witness the purity of our proceedings. Amidst the dreadful storms and hurricanes which at present assail the political hemisphere of our country, with firm and unabated vigour we pursue our avowed and real purpose—the grand and glorious cause of PARLIAMENTARY

TARY REFORM!—The rude gales of oppoſition, and the howling blaſts of perſecution have ſerved only to aſſiſt our career; and where we might have lingered from choice or indolence, we now ſteadily advance from the heavy preſſure of inevitable neceſſity!

With anxious minds and agitated hearts, we are again compelled to addreſs you, and ſolicit your patient attention. There was a time, when we might, perhaps, have been ſtartled at the idea of rendering ourſelves ſo conſpicuous, and have ſought for refuge, under the veil of obſcurity. When the timid apprehenſion of our friends—the loſs of our moſt valuable intereſts and connections—the threats of guilty miniſters—and the hoſtile preparations of armed aſſociators, might have forcibly urged us to remain in mournful ſilence, and to retreat from the eye of obſervation;—but, alas! it is now too late!—When the welfare of ſociety is endangered, what individual is ſafe?—When the public happineſs is at ſtake, what private conſideration ought to avail?—We have been ſeverely perſecuted, it is true, but is our cauſe become leſs dear? We have been cruelly and unjuſtly treated—but has the majeſty of *truth* ſuffered in this ſhameful and unequal conteſt?—No! Away then with lifeleſs apathy and pale-hearted fear! Let every true and ſincere friend of liberty boldly deliver his real ſentiments; and while he profeſſes the virtuous principles of a *patriot*, aſſert his independence, like a *man!*

Four months ago we peaceably aſſembled to deliberate upon the beſt and moſt probable mode of recovering our rights, and redreſſing our numerous grievances: We *addreſſed* YOU, and we *petitioned* the KING. We believe, if we may judge from the rapid increaſe of our numbers ſince our laſt public meeting, that our ſentiments and conduct experienced almoſt general approbation. From one particular quarter, however, we have not received that attention and regard, which, as *Britons* and *freemen*, we might naturally have expected. The late addreſs to the king has either been artfully and prematurely ſuppreſſed, or paſſed over with unfeeling contempt. If the former, we heſitate not to ſay, that HIS MINISTERS have proved themſelves GUILTY OF HIGH TREASON againſt the lives and liberties of the nation! If the latter, *his majeſty ſhould conſider the ſacred obligations he is bound to fulfil, and the duties he ought to diſcharge: he ſhould recollect, that when he ceaſes to conſult the intereſts and happineſs of the people, he will ceaſe to be reſpected; and that juſtice is a debt which the nation hath a right to demand from the throne!*

In vain do we boaſt of a conſtitution, if its genuine principles be not actively alive in our boſoms; in vain do we talk of rights, if we want courage and firmneſs to aſſert them. *The true conſtitution of a country is the undaunted ſpirit of its people!* The principles of liberty muſt be eſtabliſhed on the ſolid baſis of rational conviction, and the virtues of patriotiſm cheriſhed and ſupported by continued exertion! When once the citizens of Britain are become careleſs and indifferent about the preſervation of their rights, or the choice of their repreſentatives, from that moment arbitrary power is eſſentially introduced, and the utter

extinction

extinction of individual liberty, and the eſtabliſhment of general deſpotiſm, are inevitable and certain.

To delineate a faithful portrait of the preſent awful ſituation of our poor diſtracted country, would only be to exhibit a ſcene of miſery and deſolation; a frightful picture of horror that would ſicken the imagination, and appal the ſtouteſt heart. The hiſtory of the few laſt months preſents indeed to our view, a rapid ſucceſſion of ill-fated miſmanagement, unexampled calamities, and unparalleled diſgrace! Baffled and defeated in every miſerable project they have either deſigned or undertaken, miniſters ſeem determined to diſplay their pre-eminent power of doing miſchief; and as they cannot compaſs the ruin of France, to contrive at leaſt the deſtruction of England! Emigrant armies and foreign expeditions have been haſtily planned, and equipped to enſure only to the one, an horrible and undiſtinguiſhed carnage; to the other a premature and untimely grave! The manufacturer has been ſeduced from his loom—the militia-man ſwindled from his domeſtic employment—and the humble cottager kidnapped from the plough. The bread that ſhould ſupport the induſtrious poor has been exported, either to be abandoned on a foreign ſhore, or conſigned to the bottom of a mercileſs ocean—while the helpleſs widow and wretched orphan are conſoled for their irreparable loſs, by the ſcanty allowance of an inſolent donation, or a charitable bribe!

The comfortable and pleaſing proſpects reſulting from an abundant harveſt have turned out to be vain and fallacious. Monopoly, ſtimulated by inſatiable avarice, and uncontrouled by thoſe equitable laws, which we might expect from EQUAL REPRESENTATION, fruſtrates the beneficence of our ſeaſons, and forbids the induſtrious poor the immediate neceſſaries of life.

What is the cruel and inſatiate monſter that thus piece-meal tears and devours us?—Wherefore, in the midſt of apparent plenty, are we thus compelled to ſtarve?—Why, when we inceſſantly toil and labour, muſt we pine in miſery and want?—What is this ſubtle and inſinuating poiſon which thus vitiates our domeſtic comforts and deſtroys our public proſperity?—It is *parliamentary corruption*, which, like a foaming whirlpool, ſwallows the fruit of all our labours, and leaves us only the dregs of bitterneſs and ſorrow.

Thoſe whoſe duty it is to watch over the intereſts of the nation, have either proved themſelves indifferent to its welfare, or unable to remove the preſſure of theſe intolerable grievances. Let them, however, be aware in time—Let *them* look to the fatal conſequences—*We* are ſincere friends of peace—we want only *reform:* becauſe we are firmly and fully convinced, that a thorough reform would effectually remedy theſe formidable evils: but we cannot anſwer for the ſtrong and all powerful impulſe of neceſſity, nor always reſtrain the aggravated feelings of inſulted human nature!—IF EVER THE BRITISH NATION SHOULD LOUDLY DEMAND STRONG AND DECISIVE MEASURES, WE BOLDLY ANSWER—"WE HAVE LIVES!" AND ARE READY TO DEVOTE THEM, EITHER SEPARATELY OR COLLECTIVELY, FOR THE SALVATION OF OUR COUNTRY.

We truſt, however, that *reaſon* and

and *remonſtrance* are only ſufficient to produce the deſired effects. We have laboured long, and we hope not unſucceſsfully. Our numbers have increaſed beyond all human expectation: and many who once profeſſed themſelves our moſt inveterate enemies are now converted into ſincere and faithful friends. A little more patience, and a little perſeverance, fellow citizens, the buſineſs will be accompliſhed, and our triumphs complete. The LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY SHALL BE THE POWERFUL ORGAN TO USHER IN THE JOYFUL TIDINGS OF PEACE AND REFORM; AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS SHALL CROWN OUR SUCCESSFUL EXERTIONS.

JOHN BINNS, Chairman.
JOHN ASHLEY, Secretary.

October 26.

The reading of this addreſs was from time to time interrupted with loud applauſes—and being ended amidſt the warmeſt and moſt unanimous acclamations of approbation, the chairman next proceeded to read,

The Remonſtrance to the King.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble and earneſt Remonſtrance of Two Hundred Thouſand, and upwards, faithful, though greatly aggrieved Subjects, aſſociated and aſſembled with the Correſponding Society of London, in a conſtitutional manner, in behalf of themſelves and others.

Sire!

WHEN the treacherous duplicity, and intolerable tyranny of the houſe of Stuart had rouſed the long enduring patience of the Britiſh people, the expulſion of one reſtored into their hands the primitive right of chuſing another, as their chief of many magiſtrates.

At that period the privilege which we are now compelled by a ſorrowful neceſſity to exerciſe, of addreſſing and remonſtrating with the chief magiſtrate—ſtating our grievances—and demanding redreſs, was (*ſo far fortunately*) recogniſed and ſolemnly eſtabliſhed.

When, in effect of the failure of heirs to the national choice, and to the ſucceeding ſovereign, her majeſty queen Anne, the exerciſe of the ſame fundamental right again reverted to the people, and became in their opinion neceſſary to ſecure the liberties and happineſs of the nation, the head of that houſe from which you are deſcended was called by the public will to the kingly office.

The preſervation of thoſe rights, re-confirmed at the revolution, was then more fully eſtabliſhed, and became part of the obligations, which George the firſt contracted to fulfil with the people of theſe realms; and your predeceſſor and your majeſty, upon ſucceeding to the throne, became alike bound by the ſovereign law of the land to maintain them;—and it is in virtue of that ſolemn compact, and thereof only, that the good people of theſe nations are, or can be, bound in allegiance or reſpect for their magiſtrate or your princely houſe.

We ſhall not particularize the ſmallneſs of the majority which eſtabliſhed the Hanoverian ſucceſſion; but we ſhould be wanting in that reſpect which we owe to the virtues of our country, were we not to remind you, ſire, how *faithfully* and *ſteadily* the nation has, to this hour,

hour, ſupported the deciſion of their repreſentatives on that occaſion; notwithſtanding the well-grounded apprehenſions of invaſion and civil war; in deſpight of the intrigues of foreign courts, and the jealouſies of potent princes! againſt the avowed ſupporters of hereditary deſcent; and even againſt the opinions and efforts of others, *the friends of civil liberty*, within the boſom of the land, who drew from the ſerious leſſons of hiſtorical experience, reaſons the moſt cogent againſt foreign connections.

Your majeſty, in your well-known compaſſion for the unfortunate deſcendants of the expatriated king, has ſatisfied your faithful ſubjects how intimately acquainted you are with the ſecret political hiſtory of thoſe times; and it will not, therefore, be neceſſary for us to inſiſt at large on the favours conferred by this country in tranſplanting your princely houſe from the poverty and obſcurity of Hanover, to the dignity and opulence of the then (*but not now*) moſt reſpectable ſovereignty in Europe.

Your majeſty muſt know all this; neither can you be ignorant, that the people of this country--often *too* SANGUINE—*too* CREDULOUS—entertained the well-grounded hope, *that an eternal gratitude would bind your houſe to ſupport the freedom and happineſs of that nation, which had, under ſuch great difficulties and dangers, conferred ſuch ſignal favours.*

How far that honeſt and juſt hope has been realized, we leave to your majeſty's moſt gracious and ſerious conſideration.

Our preſent object is to renew a complaint which we delivered by way of addreſs to your majeſty, into the hands of his grace the duke of Portland, your ſecretary of ſtate, on the 15th day of July laſt, wherein we beſought your notice and relief in behalf of ourſelves and ſeveral thouſand others of your majeſty's unhappy ſubjects, enduring all the calamities of a goading famine, and ſtagnate trade; witneſſing the increaſe of bankruptcy, unequalled in extent or effect, but by profligate waſte of the public money—feeling for the deſtruction of our induſtrious youth, and the diſgraces of our arms abroad, and for the infants, aged, and widows, lingering out a deſperate and deplorable exiſtence at home.

We unfeignedly expreſſed our ſentiments of your miniſters to your majeſty therein, becauſe as we poſſeſs the beſt means of obtaining their real opinion, ſo we know the great body of the people think with us, that under the abuſed ſanction of your prerogative, they have plunged this nation into all its preſent calamities, and continue to uphold themſelves in power, by a baleful ſyſtem of corruption, for the purpoſes of their ſelect avarice and ambition. We declared our ſerious apprehenſions for the tranquillity of the nation and the ſafety of your throne, were not thoſe miniſters ſpeedily diſmiſſed; and that a reform in repreſentation alone could reſtore this country to that native vigour and happineſs, of which it is capable but now deſtitute.

But we have repreſented and prayed in vain!—and we have now to lament, that in addition to theſe national grievances, we have to complain that our addreſs has not been attended to by your majeſty's ſervants, as we conceive it ſhould have been, in a manner ſuitable to the

the dignity of this country and your own high ſtation, nor with a decency becoming the character of public ſervants towards their fellow ſubjects, conſtitutionally exerciſing the right of petition on an occaſion of particular and ſerious moment.

Under all the obligations of law and juſtice, are we then, ſire, *to ſuffer, and not to complain?* What have we not to fear, if there ſtands an impenetrable barrier between the oppreſſed and the magiſtrate?—Alas! we hoped to find in the third ſovereign of the *Brunſwick line*, in theſe critical times, an example of royal virtue; a proof of princely gratitude; a powerful, though ſolitary argument, for the ſuperiority of our form of government.

Is it in vain, that we wiſhed your majeſty, no leſs intereſted than ourſelves in the iſſue of our prayer, to conſider *your own numerous family, and the vaſt debt and taxes*, with which this nation is encumbered—to call to mind *the duty which you owe to all and every of the royal offſpring and their progeny, as well as to the people, from whoſe induſtry alone the funds neceſſary for their princely ſupport can be drawn:* and to examine, by the teſt of hiſtory, whether ends ſo eſſential and indiſpenſible, are moſt likely to be accompliſhed by purſuing the reprobate meaſures of odious miniſters, or by giving the people that liberty, peace and reform, which they ſeek, and which would aſſure their love, attachment, and generoſity!

Liſten, then, ſire! to the voice of a wearied and afflicted people, whoſe grievances are ſo various that they diſtract, ſo enormous that they terrify. Think of the abyſs between ſupplication and deſpair! The means of national ſalvation are in your own hands—it is our right to adviſe as well as ſupplicate: and we declare it to be our opinion, that a reform in the repreſentation of the people, the removal of your preſent miniſters, and a ſpeedy PEACE, are the only means by which this country can be ſaved, or the attachment of the people ſecured.

Signed by order of the meeting,

J. BINNS, chairman.

J. ASHLEY, ſecretary.

This being received with an equally unanimous approbation, the chairman then read the following RESOLUTIONS:

Reſolved,

1ſt. That the preſent awful and alarming ſtate of the Britiſh empire, demands the ſerious attention of our fellow countrymen.

2d. That its unexampled diſtreſſes call for immediate and effectual redreſs.

3d. That we are fully perſuaded the preſent exorbitant price of the neceſſaries of life, (notwithſtanding the late abundant harveſt) is occaſioned partly by the preſent ruinous war; but chiefly by that pernicious ſyſtem of monopoly, which derives protection from the mutilated and corrupt ſtate of the parliamentary repreſentation.

4th. That the enormous load of taxes, under which this *almoſt* ruined country groans, together with its unparalleled national debt, (which has been and will be greatly increaſed by the preſent war) threatens the Britiſh nation with *total* ruin.

5th. That the inflexible obſtinacy of miniſters in continuing the preſent cruel, unjuſt, and diſgraceful war—a war which has ſtained the earth and ſeas with ſo much human blood—calls aloud for the execration of every friend of humanity.

6th. That

6th. That the preſent government of France, is as capable of maintaining the *accuſtomed relations of peace and amity* with the king of Great Britain, as with the elector of Hanover.

7th. That we remain fully convinced that the permanent peace, welfare and happineſs of this country, can be eſtabliſhed only by reſtoring to our fellow countrymen their natural and undoubted rights, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.

8th. That we are determined, at the next general elections, to ſupport ſuch candidates only, as will pledge themſelves to promote UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS.

9th. That the evaſive conduct of his majeſty's miniſters reſpecting our late addreſs, convinces us that our fellow countrymen have little to hope from the executive part of our government.

10th. That we believe the period is not far diſtant, when Britons muſt no longer depend upon any party of men for the recovery of their liberties.

11th. THAT THE ONLY HOPE OF THE PEOPLE IS IN THEMSELVES.

12th. That the publicity of our conduct evinces the purity of our intentions, and is a teſtimony of our love of peace, and of the ſacrifices we would make to ſpare the blood of our fellow countrymen.

13th. That the events of every day are clearly proving we have gained the good opinion of our fellow countrymen, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of our perſecutors and calumniators.

14th. That in order the more effectually to obtain the co-operation and aſſiſtance of the whole country, deputies ſhall be ſent from the ſociety to the principal towns in the kingdom, for the purpoſe of explaining to our fellow countrymen the neceſſity of aſſociating, as the only means of procuring a parliamentary reform.

15th. That ſtrong in the purity of our intentions and the goodneſs of our cauſe—regardleſs of the calumny and threats of our enemies—we again ſolemnly pledge ourſelves to the Britiſh nation, never to deſert the ſacred cauſe in which we are engaged, until we have obtained the grand object of our purſuit.

J. BINNS, chairman.
J. ASHLEY, ſecretary.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The Addreſs, Remonſtrance, and Petion of many thouſands of the Inhabitants of London and its environs, aſſociated with the London Correſponding Society—the legal but determined Advocates of Britiſh Conſtitutional Liberty, as eſtabliſhed by the principles of the Revolution in 1688.

SIRE,

IT is with no ſmall degree of diffidence and anxiety, that we approach you once more, to preſent to your majeſty the griefs and complaints of an over-burthened people, whom the miſconduct and arbitrary counſels of your majeſty's miniſters are rapidly driving to the verge of deſperation. Twice before, within the laſt five months, have we attempted in vain, to pour our grievances into your royal ear, and to convince your majeſty, that the meaſures recently purſued by adminiſtration, as they have a direct tendency to reduce your people to the laſt degree of human miſery, and

and, consequently to excite discontents against your majesty's government, are, in reality, hostile to your majesty's authority, and inimical to your real interests. But, alas! our complaints, however well-founded—our petitions, however constitutional, have been passed over in silent neglect, and we have reason to believe, have been prevented even from coming to your majesty's knowledge, by the artifices of persons in high authority who surround you, and who have an interest in preventing your majesty from being made acquainted with the real condition and sentiments of the nation.

Instead of redress, therefore, we have met with calumny;—instead of *alleviation* of existing oppressions, we are threatened with the total *extinction* of our yet remaining liberties. Parliamentary corruption, and an unjust and ruinous war, have reduced us to beggary and famine; and when we call for the reformation of the *one*, and the relinquishment of the *other*, bills are brought into parliament by your majesty's ministers, which make it felony and high treason to give a tongue to those miseries we cannot but feel!

But while it is yet legal—while Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights still remain in force!!!—Before these tremendous bills, which threaten to overthrow the constitutional throne of the house of Brunswick, and to establish the despotism of the exiled Stuarts, pass into a law—we assemble once more, called together by the strong sentiment of duty to ourselves, to our posterity, and to your majesty, whose safety is involved in these unparalleled measures, to express, in a manner at once firm and constitutional, the sense we entertain of them, and our well-founded apprehensions of the dreadful consequences with which they must be attended.

At the same time permit us to conjure your majesty, in the most solemn manner, to distrust the sincerity of those, who, with insidious professions of zeal and attachment to your personal safety and aggrandisement, would persuade you to aim at the extension of your authority beyond the due limits prescribed by the revolution; to call to your recollection the lessons and examples of former history; to reflect upon the instructive series of events that placed your family upon the throne of Britain; and finally to discriminate, with that rigid impartiality which can alone give stability to your majesty's government, between your real and your pretended friends.

We conjure your majesty, with that earnestness and freedom which the awful crisis of our fate inspires, not to forget that wholesome and incontrovertible maxim—

"That those who are hostile to the "rights and liberties of the people, "can never be real friends to the "just prerogatives of the crown."

The interest of the people and their chief magistrate ought to be inseparable; but we conjure your majesty seriously to reflect, how far this can possibly be the case, when restrictions are put upon the liberties of the subject "during the term of "your majesty's natural life," which have never before been deemed necessary since the establishment of our constitution. Neither can we, consistently with that constitutional loyalty we profess, take leave of this subject, without reminding your majesty of the ominous circumstance of the present measures being founded upon precedents (so far as

precedents can any where be found) in the deſpotic reigns of the houſe of Tudor and of Stuart, the latter of which precedents was ſo ſhortly followed by the revolution that drove that houſe of Stuart from the throne, and was indeed ſo materially inſtrumental in producing that event. We truſt, whatever may be the evil counſels and evil projects of a deſperate adminiſtration, that the houſe of Brunſwick will not forget the principles to which they owe their elevation; and we therefore ſubjoin, without a fear of offence, or dread of imputation on our loyalty, the fond belief, that Britons have not yet relinquiſhed either the love of liberty, or the manly courage which diſtinguiſhed their anceſtors at the period to which we have alluded.

And, finally, we conclude by petitioning your majeſty, to lay theſe things to your heart; to prevent the poſſibility, by preventing the neceſſity, of inteſtine commotion; and to inſtruct your majeſty's miniſters (or ſuch others as your majeſty in your wiſdom may think proper to call to your counſels) to turn their attention to the redreſs of exiſting abuſes, inſtead of laying additional burthens and reſtrictions upon your already oppreſſed and unhappy people.

(Signed) W. DUANE, chairman.
Nov. 12. J. ASHLEY, ſecretary.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

The Petition of ſeveral thouſand Britons, Inhabitants of London, and its environs, the firm and conſtitutional Aſſertors of Britiſh Liberty.

May it pleaſe your lordſhips,

THE people having no immediate connection with that particular branch of the legiſlature which is compoſed of your lordſhips, further than as it forms a component part of the conſtitution, it but rarely happens that you are addreſſed by them; or that they call for your aſſiſtance, to vindicate their rights, or repel the threatened encroachments of miniſterial ambition. But in the preſent alarming criſis, when almoſt all that remains of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the revolution of 1688, is openly attacked by a bill introduced into parliament by one of his majeſty's miniſters, a member of your honourable houſe; and another, equally alarming, which has been brought into the houſe of commons, under the reſponſibility of his majeſty's chancellor of the exchequer, we ſhould deem ourſelves inexcuſable if we neglected the opportunity of a ſolemn appeal to each of the reſpective branches of the legiſlature, to teſtify our deep ſenſe of the threatened invaſion of our liberties, and to remind our legiſlators of the ſacred tyes of reciprocal obligation that muſt ever exiſt between the government and the people; that, whatever may be the conſequence of the preſent meaſures, our names may deſcend unſullied to poſterity, and the univerſe bear witneſs that we have diſcharged the duty of men, who were anxious to preſerve the peace and liberty of their country.

We preſent, therefore, for the firſt time, at the bar of your lordſhips, and pray you to take into your moſt ſerious conſideration, the alarming tendency and probable conſequences of the coercive ſyſtem, now in the contemplation of the legiſlature, and of appealing to the authority of ſuch times as thoſe from which the framers

of the impending bills have thought fit to draw their precedents. Is it to the arbitrary reigns of the Tudors that a people, boaſting the freedom of a renovated conſtitution, are to look up for the authorities that are to reſtrict their rights, and new model their laws and inſtitutions? Is it from the uſurpations of the houſe of Stuart that precedents are to be drawn by the miniſters of that throne which was erected upon the ruins of the family that attempted, and for a while accompliſhed thoſe uſurpations? If the times of the Stuarts were "good times," what were thoſe anceſtors who produced the revolution of 1688, in order to change thoſe times? If the conduct of the houſe of Stuart deſerves the imitation of this enlightened age, what is the houſe of Brunſwick, whoſe ſucceſſion was ſecured by driving thoſe Stuarts into vagrant exile?

We beſeech your lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider, whether by countenancing ſuch arguments, and adopting meaſures upon ſuch precedents, you may not ultimately produce a ſuſpicion, even in the royal breaſt, that your attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick is not ſo ſincere as for the peace of the nation might be wiſhed? For how can they be ſincerely attached to the houſe of Brunſwick, who abjure the principles which ſeated that houſe upon the throne?

We conjure your lordſhips, alſo, to conſider, whether to ſuffer a bill for the fabrication of new ſpecies and genera of treaſon—a bill which does, in reality, repeal and annul thoſe wiſe and excellent proviſions extorted from Edward the third, by the wiſdom and perſevering virtue of the independent repreſentatives of the people, to originate in your honourable houſe, is not, at this period, peculiarly impolitic, and calculated, if ſuch prejudices as ſome of your lordſhips ſeem to apprehend, have in reality ariſen againſt the ariſtocratic branch of our conſtitution, to give thoſe prejudices additional force, and even to create ſuch prejudices, if yet, as we preſume, unknown?

To conclude, my lords, permit your petitioners to intreat your honourable houſe, to preſerve the country from the manifold dangers, factions, conſpiracies, and diſturbances to which, in all human probability, thoſe unconſtitutional meaſures, if unhappily adopted, may give birth.

(Signed) W. DUANE, chairman.
Nov. 12. J. ASHLEY, ſecretary.

Nov. 18, 1795.

The Counter Petition of the Electors of Weſtminſter to the Honourable Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, in favour of the two Bills in Parliament for ſuppreſſing Sedition.

WE, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, being electors for members to ſerve in parliament for the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, beg permiſſion to lay before this honourable houſe our humble petition and addreſs relative to the two bills now pending in this houſe: one entitled, "A Bill for more effectually pre-"venting Seditious Meetings and "Aſſemblies," the other entitled, "A Bill for the Safety and Preſer-"vation of his Majeſty's Perſon and "Government againſt Treaſonable "and Seditious Practices and At-"tempts."

We beg leave to declare to this honourable houſe, that we entirely approve the regulations of the ſaid bills, believing them to be made

neceſſary by the republican enormities of the preſent time; and being perfectly ſatisfied that they contain nothing incompatible with the enjoyment of all thoſe rights, liberties, and privileges which belong to Engliſhmen, and which, we verily believe, Engliſhmen will enjoy no longer, without the propoſed reſtrictions on the licentiouſneſs and ſedition that now threaten us.

We have long been deeply impreſſed on viewing the baneful effects of dangerous opinions, propagated by ſeditious and inflammatory publications; by debating ſocieties and political lectures; and by affiliated clubs and jacobin ſocieties; particularly by one called the London Correſponding Society. But the late outrages, of which this honourable houſe are well informed, have increaſed our anxiety to a degree of apprehenſion, that nothing could allay, but the wiſe meaſures now purſuing in this and the other houſe of parliament. It is, therefore, our humble prayer to this honourable houſe, That the aforeſaid two bills may be paſſed in ſuch a manner as to the wiſdom of this houſe ſhall ſeem fit; truſting and hoping that any alterations, which it may be thought proper to make therein, may be to render them more efficacious for attaining their propoſed objects.

The earneſtneſs, which we thus venture to diſcover for the ſucceſs of the intended regulations, ariſes from certain conſiderations that we will take the liberty of laying before this honourable houſe for its better judgment therein.

We have often contemplated the proceedings laid open in the reports of the ſelect committee of this houſe, upon the ſubject of ſeditious ſocieties, in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; and we remember the alarm therein expreſſed by the ſaid committee, when they diſcovered the union formed between the London correſponding ſociety and the ſociety for conſtitutional information; an union formed for the purpoſe of carrying on with co-operation and redoubled effect their plans for undermining the eſtabliſhed laws and government of this kingdom. We cannot but call to mind this extraordinary paſſage, when we ſee, as we now do, a new junction formed by the London correſponding ſociety with another equally active, and which, after this union, muſt be conſidered as equally dangerous; we mean a junction with a ſet of perſons calling themſelves the whig club. Judging from recent tranſactions, we verily believe that theſe two ſocieties now act in conjunction; and we have no reaſon to doubt but the terms of union are the very principles and deſigns, which have all along been profeſſed by the London correſponding ſociety: for theſe latter are men who, it is well known, have kept in view one ſingle object, from which they have never deviated; namely, the deſtruction of the laws and government; while the former have been known to change their principles and conduct according to times and circumſtances.

Since the London correſponding ſociety have received this acceſſion of force, we feel additional reaſon to wiſh for ſome new regulations, that will guard the laws and government againſt the combination of ſuch clubs and ſocieties. We have noticed that, ſince this new coalition between wealth and poverty, the public has been more diſturbed than it had ever been before, by meetings

meetings in the open air, by political debates and lectures, by the circulation of ſeditious pamphlets and hand-bills, and by every ſort of agitation, that can be ſtirred up by a confederacy of parties, united for ſacrificing the peace and laws of the country to their own ſchemes of ambition and revolution.

One inſtance of theſe attempts is the cauſe of our preſent addreſs to this honourable houſe. A petition has been preſented to this honourable houſe, agreed upon at a tumultuary meeting held in the very hearing of the parliament and of the courts of juſtice, and conſiſting of a rabble collected from every part of the metropolis; among which the greater number were, as we are informed, and believe, members of the correſponding ſociety; and this petition, propoſed and declaimed upon, to a noiſy aſſembly, who did not hear one entire ſentence of what paſſed, is entitled "A Petition of the "Inhabitants of the City and Li-"berty of Weſtminſter."

We deny that the ſaid aſſembly was a meeting of the inhabitants of Weſtminſter, but we adduce it as an example of the miſchievous aſſemblies, which ſo immediately call for reſtraint: we diſavow the ſentiments contained in that petition; but we vouch it as a ſpecimen of the falſehoods and impoſitions practiſed by theſe leaders in faction, to delude the ignorant, and inflame the fanatical: and we rely upon the whole narrative of that tranſaction, as delivered with triumph by the actors in it, and their agents, for incontrovertible teſtimony, out of the mouths and from the pens of the great agitators in ſedition, to demonſtrate to this honourable houſe, that unleſs the fury and folly of theſe men be put under ſome legal reſtraint, there will be neither freedom of perſon nor ſecurity of property left in this great city.

If every thing related of that meeting were true, there would indeed be great cauſe for grief and indignation among others, beſides ourſelves, whoſe rights have been ſo daringly infringed; for it is reported, in ſome of the ſeditious prints, of which we complain, that the petition alluded to was actually laboured and ſolicited by certain members of the two houſes of parliament: but a proceeding ſo groſs and incompatible with the character of a member of parliament, as to procure petitions to a body of which he is a member: that is, to himſelf; and this, in order to back and uphold any opinions he may intend to deliver in the houſe, appears to perſons like ourſelves, with common underſtandings, ſo unſuitable and prepoſterous, that we do here declare, we believe it to be utterly impoſſible; and we ſay the ſame of another fact ſtated in the ſame libellous accounts; namely, that the petition was propoſed by a noble perſon, who does not appear to anſwer the deſcription therein given to the petitioners, but who lives without the limits of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter.

We beg permiſſion to mention another inſtance, in which the licentiouſneſs of the preſs has aſſailed the character of members of this honourable houſe. We have ſeen in a newſpaper of Monday, the 16th of November, certain printed reſolutions, relative to the two bills in queſtion, among which it is alleged, "That the privilege of diſ-"cuſſing public affairs at public "meetings was aſſerted in the bill

" of rights:" whereas we do not find a ſyllable of the ſort in the bill of rights. To this falſehood is prefixed the name of a very honourable member of this houſe, who is of ſuch known probity and honour, of ſuch knowledge and ability, and withal is ſo averſe from any thing that looks like faction or ſedition, that to connect his name with ſuch a poſition is the moſt ſhameful violation of decency and truth.

It is our firm perſuaſion, that nothing but groſs miſrepreſentations like theſe, can indiſpoſe perſons, otherwiſe loyally and honeſtly inclined, to the meaſures contained in the two bills now pending in this houſe. We are of opinion no arguments can be urged againſt them, but ſuch as ariſe from topics that are the very evils intended to be reſtrained; every day that has paſſed ſince they have been pending has given freſh proofs of their neceſſity; the ſeditious and diſaffected ſeem to be the only petitioners for the continuance of their own enormities.

For our part, we conſider what is alleged about Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights upon this occaſion, as mere cant and impoſition to miſlead the ignorant. We are plain men, who deal little in words, and judge of things by their effects; and we are humbly of opinion, that if Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights give ſanction to ſuch ſeditious practices as now prevail, they ought to be reviſed, explained, and amended, ſo as to be rendered truly a protection to our liberty, and not a cloak to licentiouſneſs. But this, we believe, they already are; and nothing, in our opinion will more contribute to make them continue ſo, than the aid of the two bills now in queſtion.

After what we have preſumed to offer to this honourable houſe on the ſubject of ſeditious and inflammatory publications, we beg permiſſion to add, that while it is intended that political debates and lectures ſhall be made ſubject to a licence from the magiſtrate, it would be adviſeable that pamphlet ſhops, where ſmall pamphlets are ſold for ſixpence and under, ſhould in like manner be ſubject to a licence.

For we humbly ſubmit it to this honourable houſe, that unleſs the licentiouſneſs of the preſs be put under reſtraint, in the article of cheap pamphlets, the poiſon of dangerous opinions will be ſpread further than by lectures and debating ſocieties.

All which we humbly ſubmit, &c. &c.

To the Parliament and People of Great Britain.

An explicit Declaration of the Principles and Views of the London Correſponding Society.

THE London Correſponding Society feeling the awful importance of the ſituation in which their own efforts in behalf of liberty, and the arbitrary meaſures of an encroaching adminiſtration have conſpired to place them—feeling alſo that the affairs of this long haraſſed and diſtracted nation have arrived at a moſt momentous criſis—that the people and their oppreſſors are at iſſue, and that there is now but one alternative, liberty and reform, or encroachment and abſolute deſpotiſm—conceive themſelves called upon, once more, to appeal to that public, ſo frequently warned by them,

them, and deluded by their calumniators; and to ſtate in the moſt clear and explicit terms the following declaration of their principles.

I. This ſociety is, and ever has been, moſt firmly attached to the principles of equality, accurately defined and properly underſtood; but, at the ſame time, they regard with the utmoſt abhorrence the baſe miſrepreſentations, to which, for intereſted purpoſes, theſe principles have been ſubjected.

Social equality, according to its juſt definition, appears to them to conſiſt in the following things:

1. The acknowledgement of equal rights.

2. The exiſtence of equal laws for the ſecurity of thoſe rights.

3. Equal and actual repreſentation, by which, and which alone, the invaſion of thoſe laws can be prevented; and ſuch an adminiſtration of thoſe laws inſured, as will alike preſerve the poor from the inſults and oppreſſions of the rich, and the rich from the inſults and invaſions of the poor.

In their ideas of equality, they have never included, [nor, till the aſſociations of alarmiſts broached the frantic notion, could they ever have conceived that ſo wild and deteſtable a ſentiment could have entered the brain of man] as the equalization of property, or the invaſion of perſonal rights and poſſeſſions. This levelling ſyſtem they know, and all rational men muſt immediately perceive, to be equally unjuſt and impracticable; and they are ready to a man, not only to proteſt againſt, but to oppoſe, with their lives, every attempt of that deſcription—attempts which they are well aware, inſtead of equalizing the condition of mankind, could only transfer property from its preſent poſſeſſors to plunderers and aſſaſſins of the moſt profligate deſcription, and ſubject the nation to the brutal and ferocious tyranny of the moſt ignorant and moſt worthleſs of mankind.

II. With reſpect to particular forms and modifications of government, this ſociety conceive, and ever have conceived, that the diſputes and contentions about theſe which have ſo often diſtracted the univerſe [like bigotted attachments to particular forms of worſhip] are marks only of weak and inconſiderate minds, that in the purſuit of fleeting ſhadows forget the ſubſtance. Their attention has been uniformly addreſſed to more eſſential objects—to the peace—the ſocial order—and the happineſs of mankind; and theſe they have always been ready to acknowledge and believe might be ſufficiently ſecured by the *genuine ſpirit* of the Britiſh conſtitution. They have laboured therefore, with inceſſant application, not to *overthrow* but to *reſtore* and *realize* that conſtitution; to give practical effect to thoſe excellencies which have been theoretically acknowledged; and to reform thoſe corruptions and abuſes which, though ſome have attempted to juſtify, no one has had the hardihood to deny.

Peaceful reform, and not tumultuary revolt, is their object; and they truſt to the good ſenſe and candour of the nation, that ſomething more than *vague accuſation* and *intereſted calumny* will be expected to diſcredit their proteſtation, that *They abhor alike the* FANATICAL ENTHUSIASM *that would plunge into a ſea of anarchy in queſt of ſpeculative theories, and the* VILLANOUS HYPOCRISY *that would deſtroy the very*

very eſſence of exiſting inſtitutions, under pretence of preſerving them from deſtruction!!!

III. This ſociety have always cheriſhed, and will ever be deſirous to inculcate, the moſt decided abhorrence of all tumult and violence. Anxious to promote the *happineſs*, and therefore jealous of the *rights* of man, they have never failed to propagate, nor to practiſe, the conſtitutional doctrine, of oppoſing, by every peaceful and rational exertion, the encroachments of power and corruption. But they have never countenanced, nor ever will, any motion, meaſure or ſentiment tending to excite commotion—to inflame the mind with ſanguinary enthuſiaſm—or to extinguiſh the emotions of tenderneſs and humanity which ought particularly to characteriſe a free and enlightened nation.

At the ſame time, they do not wiſh to be underſtood as giving, by this declaration, any ſort of countenance to the *deteſtable and deluſive doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance.* This is a ſyſtem which none but *hypocrites* will *profeſs*, and none but *ſlaves* will *practiſe*.

The LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY are neither the former, nor the latter; and on the altar of their own hearts they have ſworn—That *no inſolent encroachments of a corrupt and tyrannical adminiſtration—no dread of the laſt fatal arbitriment, ſhall ever compel them to be either!* They know that they have rights—they know that it is their duty to defend them—they know alſo, that to profeſs implicit ſubmiſſion is to invite oppreſſion; and that to practiſe it is treaſon to poſterity, and ſacrilege againſt nature.

To reſiſt oppreſſion [when no other means are left] even with the ſame arms with which it is enforced, is, they are aware, not only a natural right, but a conſtitutional duty; and if their anceſtors had not ſo reſiſted, the HOUSE of BRUNSWICK never would have ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre, the exiled family of the STUARTS would have been ſtill upon the throne, and Britain never could have boaſted her GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688.

But reſiſtance of oppreſſion, and promotion of tumult, are, in their minds, diſtinct propoſitions.

The former they *profeſs* as ſolemnly as they *abjure* the latter; and they truſt that the nation at large is equally ſenſible of the diſtinction; and that *if the dire neceſſity ever ſhould arrive, when the liberties of Britain muſt be aſſerted not by the voice and the pen, but by the ſword, Britons will rally round the ſtandard of liberty, not like a band of depredators and aſſaſſins, but like a Spartan phalanx; prepared and reſolved, to a man, rather to die at their poſts, than to abandon their principles, and betray the liberties of their country!!!*

J. ASHLEY, Secretary.

Committee Room, Beaufort-buildings, Nov. 23, 1795.

To the People of Britain.

The Addreſs of many thouſands, Inhabitants of London and its vicinity, aſſociated with the London Correſponding Society, in Mary-le-bone Fields, on Monday, Dec. 7, 1795.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

For nearly half a century the liberties upon which the glory and happineſs

happineſs of Britain were eſtabliſhed, have been ſinking beneath a ſyſtem of political extravagance and corruption, which have not been ſurpaſſed under the moſt confirmed tyrannies of the worſt of times.

The moment is arrived when the views of an unprincipled adminiſtration appear unmaſked. The Bill of Rights is trampled upon, and deputed tyrannies, like theſe in the old ſyſtem of French deſpotiſm, is threatened, not only in every town and village, but even in the hitherto peaceful ſanctuaries of domeſtic retirement.

Shall theſe things be done, and ſeven millions and a half of Britons breathe the ſame air that animated a Hampden, a Ruſſel, and a Sydney? ſhall they ſuffer their country, once formidable to tyrants, and boaſting of their deſcent from the worthies of a more determined æra, to ſink under ſlavery?

The eyes of the whole earth are fixed on Britain, as on a nation big with ſome great and inſtructive event. The poſture of affairs cannot long remain unaltered, and the time is come when ſhe muſt again diſplay all the maſculine energy of inſulted freedom, or become the ſcoff of mankind.

How varied have been the means by which too ſupine and credulous Britons have been betrayed!

War, ſtanding armies, and the inordinate waſte of public money, begot Exciſe, the Riot Act, the illegal violence of what is called the Impreſs ſervice, and the Mutiny Bill; and the waſteful prodigality of the funding ſyſtem became a neceſſary conſequence of the fatal ravages of continental politics, in which we have been ſo deſperately and inceſſantly engaged; the national property diverted from the healthful channels of trade, and poured through thoſe of corruption, has, inſtead of animating with its natural vigour, produced the moſt baneful diſorders.

Nearly five hundred millions of Britiſh gold have been expended during the two laſt reigns, in wars with which the nation had no proper or juſtifiable concern, or by political intrigues utterly repugnant to its intereſts; near three millions of human beings have periſhed within the ſame period, through the ſame means; excluſive even of the Africans and Aſiatics who have fallen the victims of ſlavery and rapacity. The prices of the neceſſaries of life, and the wages of the artiſan and labourer, have ſo diſproportionately encreaſed, that the utmoſt aſſiduity will now ſcarcely procure a third part of the neceſſaries and comforts with which the induſtrious part of the community could formerly preſerve their ſtrength, and provide recreation in the intervals of toil.

The *national debt*, which even at the commencement of the preſent reign amounted only to eighty-eight *millions* and a half, has already ſwelled to the enormous ſum of *three hundred and ten millions!!!*—the annual burthen of *taxes*, *cuſtoms*, and *exciſe*, which at the ſame period was no more than *ſeven millions*, cannot be computed at leſs than *twenty millions;* while the *poor rates*, which, during the ſpace of two hundred years, to the middle of the preſent century, had been found to encreaſe only in a regular progreſſion of between *four* or *five thouſand pounds* a year, have been ſwelled, during the former part of the preſent reign, by an annual encreaſe of

between

between twenty and thirty thouſand, and during the latter part, of between fifty and ſixty thouſand pounds!

Such has been the progreſs and ſuch the conſequences of the exiſting ſyſtem of political œconomy, in the two important concerns of life and property;—but in the midſt of ſuch calamitous profuſion, what have been the effects upon your liberties?

By the Mutiny Bill, the military were divided from the great body of citizens;—the ſacred right of trial by jury was torn from the ſoldier, and he was reduced to that vile condition in which the Roman people placed their ſlaves; he was deprived of opinion and liberty for life: if ordered by his ſuperior officer to fire upon his own parents, a refuſal would expoſe him to the puniſhment of death; and the moſt trivial error in demeanour ſubjects him to the ignominious laſh of the executioner; the militia originally eſtabliſhed upon principles profeſſedly more free, have been gradually ſubjected to all the odious reſtrictions and penalties of the regular army, with an exception only to that of ſervitude for life.

By the cruel practice of impreſſing the hardy race of ſeamen, the glory of the Britiſh nation, they are not only ſubjected to a bondage and puniſhment equally vile and arbitrary, but to the additional and ſtill more atrocious violation of natural freedom, in being torn againſt their will from their country, their connections, and their moſt valuable avocations.

To ſpeak of the Septennial Act, and that invaſion of your conſtitutional liberties the Riot Act, and the dangerous authority entruſted thereby in the hands of venal magiſtrates, would be entirely ſuperfluous, at a time when meaſures of a ſimilar complexion, but diſtinguiſhed by features ſo much more hideous and diſtorted, are likely to be adopted, and perhaps enforced.

But theſe facts form a very little part of the evils reſulting from the ſyſtem under which the nation ſuffers; the enumeration of all would diſtract the attention, and ſicken the heart.

To remedy ſuch evils, by the only means from which ſuch remedy can be rationally expected, (a radical reform in the commons houſe of parliament) has the energy of the London Correſponding Society been ardently and ſolely directed from its inſtitution to the preſent time; for this they have endured every ſpecies of calumny and perſecution; for this have ſome of their moſt eſteemed and valuable members been ſent, like the vileſt felons to Botany-Bay; while others have been arraigned like ruffians and murderers at the bar of the Old Bailey;—where, thanks to the diſcernment and independence of an Engliſh jury, their virtues have been ſubſtantiated, and the baſe practices of their perſecutors have been expoſed.

But in the midſt of theſe perſecutions, unawed by the power and malice of our opponents, we have perſevered with increaſing ardour in purſuit of an object, upon the ſucceſsful proſecution of which muſt ultimately depend the preſervation not only of the conſtitution, but of the liberties, independence, and political exiſtence of the nation; the artifices of miniſterial calumniators, and the conſequent terror of alarmiſts have, it is true, in ſome degree, impeded the general diffuſion

ſion of our principles, and checked the growth of thoſe juſt principles which are calculated to produce the happieſt effects.

But the progreſs of truth, though impeded, was not totally obſtructed; corruption was ſhaken to the centre, and the ultimate triumph of the cauſe of parliamentary reform (if things were left to the natural courſe of reaſon and enquiry) became every day more obvious and certain.

The exorbitant emoluments of office; the lucrative advantages of patronage, and the unbounded gratification of miniſterial ambition, are, however, connected with the ſyſtem of parliamentary corruption, and it is hardly to be expected, that thoſe who are monopoliſing the advantages of that corruption, ſhould yield without a ſtruggle to a reform, which, however neceſſary to the general ſalvation, muſt detract from their conſequence, and abridge their power and emolument.

Two bills (part, we are told, of a regular digeſted ſeries) have accordingly been fabricated upon models not derived from the principles of the glorious revolution, but in direct hoſtility to the Bill of Rights, the main inſtrument by which that revolution is diſtinguiſhed; and ſupported by precedents not derived from the practices of the free and ſettled conſtitution which that revolution eſtabliſhed, but from the arbitrary expedients of thoſe deteſtable times, for the termination of which that revolution was accompliſhed.

By theſe bills (if ever they ſhall be put into execution) the boaſted liberty of ſpeech is abrogated, that proverbial inviolability of domeſtic ſecurity, which has occaſioned us to boaſt that *every Engliſhman's houſe is his caſtle*, is for ever deſtroyed; every venal magiſtrate is rendered an uncontroulable deſpot, to differ from whom in political opinion may be attended with all the vexatious perſecution of domiciliary viſits, and expoſe the peaceful aſſerters of conſtitutional liberty to the horrors of military execution; while at the ſame time all the jealous proviſions of our anceſtors to protect the people againſt the oppreſſion of ſtate perſecutions are at once deſtroyed; and the advocates of liberty and reform expoſed to all the fury of miniſterial vengeance, and to penalties ſo ſanguinary and vindictive, as to be totally inconſiſtent with that equity and moderation which has been ſo frequently boaſted as the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Engliſh law.

Think not, however, that we ſpeak to you in the language of trepidation or deſpair. Believe not, fellow countrymen, that the introduction, or even the paſſing of theſe bills, is any argument of the decline of juſt principles, or the confidence of miniſters in the reſources of their own power, or the permanence of that ſyſtem of corruption to which they are attached. We agree with the ſentiment of a late writer, whoſe obſervation in this reſpect is not the leſs true, or the leſs valuable, becauſe, in the affectation of extreme candour, he has illiberally attacked an inſtitution, with whoſe conduct and principles he ſeems to be totally unacquainted; that "the preſent in-"temperate effort (of the too eager "advocates of authority) is not the "act of preſumptuous confidence; it "is dictated by a ſentiment of de-"ſpair!" Miniſters behold with pain and confuſion "how deeply more "liberal

"liberal principles of liberty have "ſtruck their root into the ſoil of "Britain;" and the ſtorm they have raiſed to deſtroy the hardy plant has confirmed the public conſidence in its ſtrength, and enabled it to ſpread ſtill farther its vigorous branches. In plain and ſimple language, the diſcuſſion which theſe bills have occaſioned has rouſed the nation from its lethargy, has revealed in all their naked deformity the real objects of the miniſter, and, in point of popular conviction, has occaſioned a few ſhort weeks to produce the effects which years of ordinary exertion could ſcarcely have equalled. At the ſame time we truſt, nay, we may affirm we know, that the intrepid, and at the ſame time temperate manner, in which this ſociety has met the fury, and repelled the calumnies of the advocates of corruption, has eſſentially contributed to the removal of the prejudices ſo artfully propagated againſt the advocates of reform; to ſhew the people who are the real friends of conſtitutional liberty, and who its hypocritical ſubverters; and to unite the friends of the people's liberties in one firm phalanx, which having reaſon for its weapon, juſtice for its ſhield, and freedom for its banner, cannot fail of being ultimately, nay, ſhortly triumphant, over every oppoſition which the fury of miniſterial corruption can direct againſt it. Be firm then—be active—be reſolute. Let the raſhneſs and fury of your enemies encreaſe your circumſpection and temperance; and your temperance, as is the habit of that manly virtue, encreaſe the inflexibility of that courage, with which, as men, and Britons, you are called upon to purſue the glorious cauſe of liberty and reform!

M. C. Browne, Chairman.
John Ashley, Secretary.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs, Petition, and Remonſtrance of many thouſands, Inhabitants of London, and its vicinity, aſſociated with the London Correſponding Society.

Sire,

A few anxious weeks have paſſed ſince, in addition to our addreſſes to the two other branches of the legiſlature, we determined to ſtate to your majeſty the apprehenſions which had been excited in our minds, by the two bills then newly introduced into parliament.

Excluſive of the hopes which we entertained from your majeſty's regard to the happineſs of the nation, and your own poſterity, we truſted, that our countrymen in general would teſtify their approbation of the ſentiments which we avowed, in terms ſo forcible, that it would be impoſſible for men who call themſelves the repreſentatives of the people of Britain, to ſanction the meaſures which your majeſty's miniſters had propoſed.

In our expectations of the conduct of our countrymen, we have not been deceived. Never were propoſitions ſubmitted to the Britiſh nation, which met with an oppoſition ſo decided, and ſo nearly unanimous. But we have hitherto ſeen little or no regard paid to their opinions, by your majeſty's miniſters or their adherents.

When we reflect on the behaviour

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of the people of Britain; when we ſee them generally evincing the ſtrongeſt attachment to good order and true loyalty, we cannot but conſider the earneſtneſs with which your majeſty's miniſters have preſſed the adoption of theſe laws, as a teſtimony of their determination to deprive the people of the power to expreſs their wiſhes for the termination of the preſent war; and, though we are not without hopes, your majeſty's regard to the attachment of the people (by which alone the dignity of your family can be ſecured) will induce you to refuſe your ſanction to the two unconſtitutional bills, which were the ſubject of our former petition, we cannot, with due regard to our own diſtreſſed families, neglect to ſeize on this, perhaps the laſt, opportunity of freely, yet peaceably and reſpectfully, ſtating to your majeſty, the calamities under which our country now groans.

Such have been the effects of the enormous prices of the neceſſaries of life, that for many months paſt, perſons who in the uſual courſe of their affairs had a proſpect of ſecuring a comfortable proviſion for the debility of age, the education and future eſtabliſhment of their children, have ſeen, with anxious ſolicitude, the rapid approach of poverty. To thoſe of leſs advantageous circumſtances the diſtreſs has been aggravated in proportion as they had leſs of ſuperfluity to relinquiſh; and to the labouring poor it has cauſed a general, and in many inſtances a total privation of animal food, and of many other articles neceſſary to ſupport that degree of exertion to which they have been accuſtomed in their ſeveral purſuits, and from which in a great meaſure is derived the ſuperiority of our cultivation and manufactures, the real ſources of wealth and national grandeur.

We entreat your majeſty not to conſider this ſtatement as exaggerated. If it is yet unknown to you, a very ſmall enquiry will convince you of its truth; and fatal indeed muſt be the conſequence, if the nation ſhould be compelled to believe that, though known, it is not regarded.

We are aware that your majeſty's miniſters are in the habit of denying that theſe melancholy events are cauſed either by the war, or that growing corruption which under their adminiſtration has advanced with ſuch gigantic ſtrides. But the evidence of the operation of the former of theſe cauſes is written too plainly in the known deſolation which has taken place in ſeveral of the moſt fertile parts of Europe, and in the large quantity of proviſions which are not only conſumed but deſtroyed in the courſe of naval and military operations.

And with reſpect to the influence of the latter, can it be denied that places and penſions are increaſing, while the miſery of the people is growing daily more and more intolerable, and that theſe penſions, and the ſalaries of theſe places, muſt be levied by taxation, and conſequently be deducted from the earnings of the poor man's labour.

From the attempts which your majeſty's miniſters have formerly made to wreſt the exiſting laws to ſanguinary and vindictive purpoſes; from their preſent endeavours to obtain laws more favourable to ſuch purpoſes; and from their obſtinate

perſeverance

perſeverance in the preſent war, we are convinced the ſufferings of whole nations are looked on with unfeeling indifference, if not with cruel exultation.

Syſtems of terror and cruelty have ever been repugnant to the humane and generous feelings of Britons, even when maſked under the pretence of attachment to thoſe principles of liberty which have been ſo eminently cultivated by our forefathers; much leſs can it be expected that any ſuch ſyſtem will be patiently endured, when obviouſly intended to ſubvert every remaining principle of liberty.

We, therefore, entreat your majeſty, as you tender the happineſs of mankind in general, of this country in particular, and as you wiſh your memory to be reſpected by poſterity, that you would diſmiſs your preſent miniſters from your preſence and councils; earneſtly hoping, that, being adviſed by men of more wiſdom and humanity, your majeſty may be enabled to reſtore the bleſſings of peace and concord to this impoveriſhed and diſtracted country.

Dec. 7.

Declaration of the Whig Club.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the WHIG CLUB, *held at the Shakeſpeare Tavern, on Saturday, January* 23, 1796.

The Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox in the Chair,

Reſolved, That the following declaration be adopted and publiſhed as the declaration of the whig club:

When a ſociety of private men feel themſelves bound to propoſe a great national meaſure to the people, juſtice to their own character, and reſpect for the public judgment, require that they ſhould make known the reaſons which have moved them to ſuch a proceeding. We confeſs that it is, and ought to be unuſual, becauſe it can be juſtified by no ordinary circumſtances: but we think that the ſituation of the country no longer permits us to confide the ſupport of our principles to the individual exertions of our members. The whig club, invariably adhering to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed at the revolution, cannot be unconcerned ſpectators of the deſtruction of the moſt important ſecurities of public liberty which were provided at that glorious æra. The conſtitution can, in our judgment, now only be reſtored by the exerciſe of that juſt authority which the national opinion muſt ever poſſeſs over the proceedings of the legiſlature. We therefore deem it our duty, by every means which yet are legal, to appeal to the judgment of the people, and to procure a declaration of their opinion. With this view we have invited our fellow-ſubjects to aſſociate for obtaining the repeal of two ſtatutes paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament.

In one of theſe ſtatutes we ſee public aſſemblies of Britiſh ſubjects, though their proceedings ſhould be the moſt orderly and peaceable, and their object unqueſtionably legal, fettered by reſtrictions hitherto unknown to the law and practice of this kingdom. Thoſe meetings which ſhall not ſubmit to theſe new and diſgraceful conditions are ſubjected to diſperſion under pain of death; and thoſe which ſhall be held in compliance with them, are made liable to ſuch perpetual and vexatious interruption, at the diſcretion of magiſtrates, that there never can

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be wanting an opportunity for disturbing their deliberations, and defeating their objects. Such a law we cannot but regard as repugnant to the genius and character of this free nation. The conſtitution of Great Britain is eſtabliſhed on the conſent and affection of the people, and can only reſt, with dignity or ſafety, on thoſe genuine foundations of all ſocial authority. When purely adminiſtered, it will even make itſelf reſpected by its own beneficence and juſtice. It has for ages inſtructed the world by the example of a government which builds its ſtrength only on its juſtice, and ſecures the obedience of its ſubjects by their love of liberty. It can neither require the aid of a ſyſtem of conſtraint and terror, nor even receive it without danger of deſtruction. Its ruling principle is the right of the people to manifeſt their opinion on their public concerns; a right of which the frequent, unreſtrained, and fearleſs exertion can alone create and preſerve in a people that free ſpirit and conſcious independence, without which the forms of a free conſtitution are worthleſs and unavailing. This right alone guards and protects the ſecure enjoyment of every other privilege. The houſe of commons is our ſecurity againſt the encroachments of the crown. The king's prerogatives and the privileges of the houſe of peers are our ſecurities againſt our own repreſentatives. But no human wiſdom can provide any ſafeguard againſt a poſſible combination of all the branches of the legiſlature to oppreſs or betray the community, but by enabling the great body of the nation freely to pronounce their opinion on the acts and meaſures of government, by petition and remonſtrance to the king, or either houſe of parliament, and by ſpeech and publication to their fellow-ſubjects; unfettered by any previous reſtraint, and ſubject only to the animadverſion of the law on thoſe overt acts of treaſon, tumult, diſorder, or ſedition, which may be committed by individuals under pretence of exerciſing theſe invaluable rights. This unreſtrained communication of opinion is at once the only check to which it is poſſible to ſubject ſupreme power, and the wiſeſt means for averting popular violences. To watch the exerciſe of theſe rights with ſuſpicion, to clog it with jealous and ignominious conditions, and, above all, to ſubject it to the arbitrary diſcretion of magiſtrates appointed by the crown, is to break that ſpirit from which ſuch privileges derive their whole uſe and value. To impoſe on them any previous reſtraint is ſubſtantially to take them away. They cannot be ſo reſtrained without being reduced to a dependence on the pleaſure of that very authority upon which they are to operate as a controul, and againſt which they are reſerved as a ſecurity. To reſtrain is therefore to deſtroy them.

But the provident wiſdom of our anceſtors did not leave theſe ſacred privileges to reſt on the mere foundation of their own juſtice and neceſſity: they were ſolemnly aſſerted at the revolution in the inſtance of petition, where they had been recently violated. The great ſtatesmen and lawyers who framed the declaration of rights, when they aſſerted the right of the people to petition, did, by neceſſary implication, alſo aſſert their right of aſſembling to conſider ſuch matters as might legally be the ſubject of pe-

tition. The aſſertion of a right comprehends that of the means which are neceſſary for its exerciſe. The reſtraint of the preſent ſtatute, therefore, in our opinion, amounts to an abrogation of the moſt important article in that ſolemn compact between the Britiſh nation and the new race of princes whom it raiſed to the throne.

Though the other ſtatute of which we complain be ſpeciouſly intituled, "An Act for the ſafety and preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon and government," we are confident that by our oppoſition to it we ſhall not incur the imputation of diſloyalty among honourable and reaſonable men. We have formed our principles of loyalty upon thoſe of a parliament which had recent and ample experience of the effect of ſanguinary laws; and we ſhall deliver the declaration in the memorable language of their record: "The ſtate of every king, ruler, and governor of every realm, dominion, or commonalty, ſtandeth and conſiſteth more aſſured by the love and favour of the ſubjects towards their ſovereign ruler or governor, than in the dread and fear of laws made with rigorous pains and extreme puniſhment."

Guided by this principle of our anceſtors, which appears to us to be as full of truth and wiſdom as of humanity, we cannot view without alarm an attempt to remove thoſe boundaries of treaſon which were aſcertained and eſtabliſhed by the Act of Edward the third; a law which has been endeared to Engliſhmen by the experience of four centuries; by a recollection of the peace and happineſs which have ever prevailed in thoſe fortunate periods when it was obſerved; by a review of that oppreſſion of innocence and inſecurity of government which have almoſt univerſally accompanied or followed every depar ture from its ſtrict letter; and b the zeal and ardour with which many ſucceſſive Parliaments, afte experience of the miſchiefs of ſuc deviations, have recurred, as to refuge from theſe miſeries, to th ſimplicity, preciſion, and human forbearance of that venerable ſta tute.

Another clauſe of the ſame Act which authorizes the puniſhment transportation on the ſecond con viction, even for words ſpoken, ap pears to us equally repugnant to th merciful ſpirit of the law of England By applying the puniſhment of fe lony to a miſdemeanor frequently no very aggravated guilt, it convert what was deſigned as the chaſtiſe ment of profligate and dangerou offenders into an engine, by which miniſter may cruſh his political op ponents.

The infliction of cruel and unuſua puniſhment is prohibited by th tenth clauſe of the bill of rights and although that clauſe was un doubtedly pointed at the then recen abuſe of judicial diſcretion in th caſes of ſtate offenders, yet it founded on a principle which con demns the legiſlative introduction of puniſhment ſtill more cruel and unu ſual than any which is recorde even in the deteſtable annals of th ſtar chamber.

It is indeed a puniſhment, whic in the feelings and apprehenſions thoſe who are likely to be the ob jects of the vengeance of power, ſcarce inferior to death. Had it i former times been ſanctioned by th legiſlature, it might have ſubjecte the moſt illuſtrious aſſerters of ou libertie

liberties, a Locke or a Somers, to the combined miſeries of baniſhment, impriſonment and ſlavery in a barbarous country, with a gang of outcaſts and felons. Removed from the view of their fellow ſubjects, their ſufferings in a remote region are forgotten or unknown, and their ſpirit is no longer ſupported by that conſolation which they might otherwiſe have found in general ſympathy for an unjuſt conviction or a cruel puniſhment, while diſtance and oblivion deliver the agents of power from that dread of public obſervation and reſentment, which is ſo wholeſome and neceſſary a check on the tyrannical exerciſe of authority. The ſame rigour, which, if practiſed at home, would ſpread the alarm of tyranny throughout the nation, may be inflicted on a diſtant exile without odium or danger. It is the nature of this puniſhment to be, at once, the moſt ſafe for thoſe who inflict, and the moſt cruel to thoſe who ſuffer it, to deprive the oppreſſed of conſolation, and to deliver the oppreſſor from reſtraint.

The authors of theſe ſtatutes do, indeed, expreſsly admit that they materially reſtrain the liberty of the ſubject, but they contend that ſuch reſtraints are neceſſary, and that if neceſſary they are juſt.

We do not affirm that general principles are never in any degree to give way to the exigency of circumſtances. But we aſſert, that the right of diſcuſſion and remonſtrance is ſo eſſential to the conſtitution, that it cannot be controuled or reſtrained, without a ſurrender of the conſtitution itſelf. When pleas of neceſſity are urged, let it never be forgotten that pleas of neceſſity are the ready inſtruments and common juſtifications of power without right, and that the means by which nations are enſlaved have ever been pretended to be neceſſary to their ſecurity. We never can admit that the delinquency of individuals ought to work a forfeiture of the liberties of a nation. A neceſſity for new reſtraints and penalties could only have ariſen in the preſent inſtance, from the inadequacy of the law, which we on our part utterly deny, which neither has been nor can be proved, and which the preambles of theſe Acts themſelves do not even venture to aſſert. Laws ſuch as theſe, we ſhould have felt it our duty, at all times, moſt ſtrenuouſly to have oppoſed. But there are many circumſtances peculiar to the preſent time, which appear to us greatly to aggravate their malignity and danger. We cannot forget the ſyſtem of meaſures of which they are a part, the diſpoſition from which they appear to flow, the reaſons by which they are ſupported, and the conſequences to which they ſeem intended to lead.

They originate with miniſters who are making daily encroachments on the conſtitution, who patronize the diſſemination of opinions which tend to its ſubverſion, and who have never ſpared any vigour of political perſecution, to cruſh that freedom of diſcuſſion which endangered their own power. They are attempted to be juſtified on principles fruitful in future encroachments on liberty, and by reaſons, which, if they were valid, would compel us to conclude, that the free conſtitution of Great Britain is no longer compatible with its quiet, and that our only refuge from anarchy is in the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm. They are introduced in the midſt of a calamitous war, when the ſolicitude of many good

men for liberty has been weakened, by an artfully excited dread of confuſion, and when the overgrown influence of the crown receives continual acceſſions of ſtrength from the burthens and diſtreſſes of the people. They are the meaſures of men, who, by an unexampled waſte of public money, have acquired unbounded means of corruption. They have been paſſed into laws when a ſtanding army, great beyond example, is kept up in the heart of the kingdom; when an attempt is ſyſtematically, though, we truſt, vainly purſued to divide the ſoldiery from their fellow ſubjects; at a time when every effort has been employed to ſubdue the ſpirit of the people, to prevent their opinions, and to render their moſt virtuous feelings ſubſervient to the deſigns of their oppreſſors. Thus poſſeſſed of the combined influence of deluſion, corruption, and terror, the framers of theſe Acts ſeem to have thought the favourable moment at length arrived for ſecuring impunity to their own offences, and permanence to the corruptions and abuſes of government, by impoſing ſilence on the people. This project has hitherto been ſucceſsful. By the extenſion of the law of treaſon, and by the combination of vague deſcription with cruel puniſhment in other ſtate offences, miniſters have gained the moſt formidable engine of political perſecution that can be poſſeſſed by a government. By reſtraints, amounting almoſt to prohibition, on the right of the people to aſſemble, to deliberate, and to petition, they have ſhaken the ſecurity of every other civil and political privilege.

In this awful conjuncture it appears to us to be the duty of every man, who wiſhes to ſee his country neither ſubmitted to the yoke of ſlavery nor expoſed to the dreadful neceſſity of appealing to force, for the recovery of its liberties, to unite in a reſpectful but firm application to the legiſlature, for the deſtruction of theſe alarming innovations, and the reſtoration of the ancient free conſtitution of Great Britain. We cannot think that ſuch an effort will be unſucceſsful. The uſurpations on our rights are yet recent and immature. The ſpirit of this nation is not, as miniſters may have too haſtily ſuppoſed, extinct; and prudence itſelf will not ſuffer the legiſlature to deſpiſe the collective opinion of the people.

They will rather, we truſt, imitate the conduct of that wiſe Parliament whoſe language we have already quoted, and, like them, declare, that "truſting his majeſty's loving ſubjects will, for his clemency to them "ſhewed, love, ſerve, and obey him "the more heartily and faithfully "than for dread and fear of pains o "body, his majeſty is contented and "pleaſed that the ſeverity of ſuch "like extreme, dangerous and pain "ful laws ſhall be aboliſhed, annul "led, and made fruſtrate and void."

To obtain this happy reſult, and to prepare the way for ſuch an application to parliament, by petition as may carry with it the weight and authority of the national opinion we have invited our fellow ſubject to unite in the employment of every lawful means for procuring a repeal of theſe Acts.

The meaſure which we propoſe i unqueſtionably legal and conſtitutional: and it appears to us to b not only juſtified, but called for, b the exigency of the times. Whe bad men conſpire, good men mu aſſociate.

Reſolve

Reſolved, That the following be the Form of Aſſociation.

" We whoſe names are hereunto ' ſubſcribed, calling to mind the ' virtuous and memorable exertions ' of our anceſtors in all paſt ages ' for the public happineſs and free- ' dom of this nation, do ſolemnly ' engage and pledge ourſelves to ' each other, and to our country, to ' employ every legal and conſtitu- ' tional effort to obtain the repeal ' of two ſtatutes, the one intituled, ' An Act for the more effectually ' preventing ſeditious meetings and ' aſſemblies;" the other, " An Act ' for the ſafety and preſervation of ' his Majeſty's perſon and govern- " ment, againſt treaſonable and " ſeditious practices and attempts." " —Statutes which we hold to be " ſubverſive of the ancient and un- " doubted liberties of Engliſhmen, " as claimed, demanded and inſiſted " upon at the glorious Revolution " in 1688, and finally declared, " aſſerted and confirmed by the bill " of rights."

Reſolved, That the ſelect committee do take ſuch ſteps as they ſhall think neceſſary to forward the objects of this aſſociation; and that they do from time to time advertiſe the ſame in the public papers.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

A

GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 8, 1795, to DECEMBER 13, 1796.

Christened { Males 9,648 / Females 9,178 } 18,826. ‖ Buried { Males 9,882 / Females 9,406 } 19,288.

Decreased in the Burials this Year, 1891.

Died under Two Years 6,772	Betw. Thirty and Forty 1537	Betw. Eighty and Ninety 3
Between Two and Five 2,840	—Forty and Fifty 1657	— Ninety and a Hundred
—Five and Ten 900	—Fifty and Sixty 1328	A Hundred
—Ten and Twenty 621	—Sixty and Seventy 1115	A Hundred and Two
—Twenty & Thirty 1211	—Seventy & Eighty 892	A Hundred and Four

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.	
ABORTIVE and Stillborn	761	Evil	4	Palsy 73	Bit by Mad Dogs
Abscess	24	Falling Sickness	1	Piles 1	Broken Limbs
Aged	997	Fever, Malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	1,547	Pleurisy 14	Burnt
Ague	6	Fistula	3	Quinsy 4	Dropped down dead
Amputation	1	Flux	8	Rash 1	Drowned
Apoplexy	113	French Pox	22	Rheumatism 4	Eaten by lice
Asthma and Phthisic	316	Gout	109	Rickets 3	Excessive Drinking
Bed-ridden	9	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	32	Scurvy 3	Executed *
Bleeding	15	Grief	6	Small Pox 3548	Found Dead
Burstten and Rupture	19	Head-Ach	4	Sore Throat 21	Fractured
Cancer	65	Headmoldshot, Horseshoe-head, and Water in the Brain	70	Sores and Ulcers 9	Frighted
Chicken Pox	1	Jaundice	72	Spasm 1	Killed by Falls and other Accidents
Childbed	202	Jaw-locked	2	Spirting Blood 1	Killed by a cow
Colds	11	Imposthume	3	St. Anthony's Fire 4	Killed by Fighting
Cholic, Gripes, Twisting of the Guts	13	Inflammation	368	Stoppage in the Stomach 9	Killed themselves
Consumption	4265	Lethargy	4	Suddenly 112	Murdered
Convulsions	3798	Livergrown	2	Swelling 3	Poisoned
Cough and Hooping-Cough	536	Lunatick	87	Swine Pox 1	Scalded
Croup	23	Measles	307	Teeth 362	Shot
Dropsy	727	Mortification	207	Thrush 50	Smothered
				Tumor in the womb 1	Stabbed
				Vomiting and looseness 1	Starved
				Worms 12	Strain
					Suffocated
					Tooth ach
					Total 2

* There have been executed, in Middlesex and Surrey, 32; 8 of which number were murder; and of the whole number (12 only) have been reported to be buried (as suc within the Bills of Mortality.

TH

THE following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-houſe Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ending* 5th January 1797.

EXPORTED.

1796.	British.	Foreign.	
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	
Wheat	93	584	Bounties Nil.
Rye	72	50	
Barley	4,263	2,736	
Malt	5,928	—	
Oats	8,210	1,529	
Beans	8,146	375	
Peaſe	2,056	—	
Indian Corn	-	3,189	Drawbacks Nil.
Callivances	-	438	
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt.	
Wheat Flour	81,625 2 1	1,566 0 0	
Indian Meal	- - -	455 0 0	
Oatmeal	2,343 2 25	—	
SCOTLAND.	Quarters.		
Barley	171		Bounties Nil.
D° hulled	34		
Beans	33		
D° Split	22		
Groats	31		
Oats	333		
Oatmeal	43		
Peaſe	49		
D° Split	1		
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Wheat Flour	693 3 7		
Biſcuit	3,284 1 13		
Oatmeal	579 0 0		

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.			
Wheat	764,083			Duties Nil.
Rye	158,763			
Barley	37,731			
Oats	654,180			
Beans	33,750			
Peaſe	30,567			
Indian Corn	22,410			
Callivances	485			
	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	
Wheat Flour	204,159	2	11	
Rye Meal	11,611	1	13	
Indian Meal	20,649	3	22	
	Bolls.			
Oatmeal	24,165	4	8	

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.			
Wheat	50,183			Duties Nil.
Rye	1,373			
Barley	2,232			
Oats	86,168			
Beans	1,453			
Peaſe	2,104			
	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	
Wheat Flour	245	0	17	
Wheat Meal	2	2	0	
Indian Corn	1	3	0	
	Bolls.			
Oatmeal	52,507	1	2	
D°	44	0	0	Duty £.0 4s. 8d.

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the Year 1796.

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Peaſe.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Per Buſhel	9	7½	5	10½	4	5¼	2	8½	4	10¼	5	5¼

Prices

Prices of Bread per Quartern Loaf, during 1796.

	s.	d.
January.		
7	1	3
14	1	3
21	1	3
28	1	3
February.		
4	1	3
11	1	3
18	1	3
25	1	3
March.		
10	1	3
17	1	3
24	1	3
31	1	3
April.		
7	1	2
14	1	0½
21	0	10
28	0	10
May.		
5	0	10
12	0	10
19	0	10
26	0	10½
June.		
2	0	10½
9	0	10¾
16	0	11
23	0	11
30	0	11
July.		
7	0	11
14	0	11
21	0	10¾
28	0	10¾
Auguſt.		
4	0	10¾
11	0	10¾
18	0	10¾
25	0	9¾
September.		
8	0	8¼
15	0	8¼
22	0	8¾
29	0	8¾
October.		
6	0	8¾
13	0	8¾
20	0	8¼
27	0	8¼
November.		
3	0	8¼
10	0	8¼
17	0	8¼
24	0	8¼
December.		
1	0	8¼
8	0	8¼
15	0	8¼
22	0	8¼
29	0	8¼

PRICES OF STOCKS, FOR THE YEAR 1796.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock, in the course of any Month, are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3p.Ct. Red.	3p.Ct. Conf.	4p.Ct. Conf.	5 per Cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	Omnium	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exch. Bills.	Imp. 3 pr.Ct.	Imp. Ann.	Lottery Tickets.	Irish Ditto.
Jan.	180	67 1/4	71	85 5/8	104 1/4	19 5/8	8 1/2	11 pr.	219 1/2	5 dis.			68 7/8	4 5/8 dis.	7s. dis.	65 7/8	12 1/2	14 18 0	
	173 1/4	69 5/8	67 7/8	83 1/2	100 3/8	19 1/16	8 3/16	7 1/2	212 1/4	6	73 3/4			3 1/2	21s.	63 7/8	12 3/16	14 7 0	
Feb.	176 1/4	69	69 1/4	84 3/4	100 1/2	19 1/2	8 9/16	11 pr.	213 1/2	6 dis.	73	68 1/4		5 3/8 dis.	24s. dis.	65 3/8	12 3/8	14 15 0	
	173 1/4	67 5/8	67 1/4	83 3/4	99 5/8	19 1/16	8 5/16	7 1/4	211 1/4	13	72 3/4	68 1/4		4 5/8	16s.	63 3/8	12 5/16	13 18 0	
Mar.	179	68 3/8	70	85 5/8	100 3/8	19 3/8	8 1/2	11 1/2 pr	220	4 dis.	74			5 1/2 dis.	23s. dis.	66 1/4	12 9/16		
	173	68	67 1/2	84 1/2	99 3/4	19 1/4	8 3/8	8 3/4	212 3/4	14	72 1/4			4 5/8	10s.	64 3/4	12 5/16		
Apr.	176	66 1/2	69 5/8	85 1/2	100 1/8	19 3/16	8 5/16	10 1/4 pr.	217	3 dis.	73 1/2	65 7/8	69	6 1/4 dis.	23s. dis.	65 1/2	12 1/2		
	163	64 7/8	66 1/8	81 7/8	98 1/4	18 3/8	7 3/4	6	208 1/4	6			66 1/8	5 1/4	2s.	65	12 1/4		
May	164	65 3/4	67 1/8	83	98 3/4	18 1/2	7 13/16	3 1/2 pr.	210	21 dis.	70 3/4			6 5/8 dis.	4s. dis.	60 5/8	11 5/8		
	147	60 1/2	60 1/2	78 1/8	94 3/4	17 3/4	7 9/16		192	18	69			4 1/8	1s.	57 3/4	11 1/8		
June	157	64	65 3/4	81	95 1/2	18 1/16	7 11/16	par	198 1/2	17 dis.				7 3/8 dis	4s. dis.	60 7/8	11 5/8	12 13 0	6 2 0
	152 1/2	61 1/4	62 1/8	79 1/4	94 1/2	17 5/8	7 7/16	4 1/4 dis	190 1/2					5 1/8	1s.	57 1/4	11 1/4	12 8 0	6 0 0
July	154 3/4	62 7/8	64	80 1/2	92	17 3/4	7 9/16	7 1/4 dis	195	16 dis.				10 dis.	10s. dis.	58 5/8	11 1/2	12 8 6	6 2 0
	150	59 1/4	59 1/4	77 5/8	88 3/4	16 11/16	7 1/8	2 3/4	180 1/2	18			62 5/8	7 1/2	par.	55 1/2	11	12 16 6	5 12 6
Aug.	153	61 1/8	60 1/2	79 1/4	89 1/4	17 3/16	7 1/2	13 dis.	183 1/4			60 1/2	59 3/8	14 1/4 dis.	par.	57	11 1/4	12 1 0	5 3 0
	142	56	55 3/8	74 1/4	85 1/4	16	7 1/4	6	174 1/4				59 1/4	9 1/4	2s. dis.	53 1/4	10 7/8	11 16 6	5 17 6
Sept.	148 1/2	56 1/4	58 3/4	75	85 1/8	16 1/2	7 1/4	16 1/2 dis	180 1/2	7 dis.		60	57	15 1/2 dis.	5s. dis.	55	10 9/16	11 13 0	5 19 6
	133 3/4	55 3/8	53 3/4	72 1/8	81 3/4	15 1/16	6 7/8	9	171 1/4	10		55 7/8	56	13 1/4	3s.	51 1/2	10 1/8	11 4 0	5 14 0
Oct.	153	60 5/8	60	73 3/4	90 1/2		7	12 1/2 dis.	181	3 dis.	64 1/8	60 3/4	58 1/4	14 1/4 dis.	2s. dis.	55 5/8	10 1/16	11 17 6	6 6 6
	144	55 1/16	57	73	84 1/2		6 15/16	6	174 1/2	18 1/2				2		54 3/8	10 7/16	11 4 6	5 16 0
Nov.	146 1/2	56 3/4	57 5/8	73 3/4	87 1/4	16 1/16	7 1/16	13 dis.	178 1/4	15				10 dis.	par.	53 1/4	10 7/16	12 12 0	6 19 0
	142	54 5/8	55 5/8	71 5/8	83 1/2	15 3/4	6 13/16	7 1/4	172 1/4					1 1/2	3s. dis.	52 5/8	10 1/8	11 16 6	6 0 0
Dec.	145 1/2	57 5/8	59 1/4	74 7/8	88	16 9/16	7	7 3/4	177 1/2	4 dis.	62 1/2				3s. dis.	54 1/2	10 1/16	12 11 0	
	143	54 5/8	56 3/8	72 1/4	85 3/4	15 15/16	6 7/8		173 1/4	20					1s.	53 3/8	10 3/8	12 2 0	

STATE of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, and HYGROMETER, for the Year 1796.

1796.	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	Greateſt height.	Leaſt height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January - -	55	38	47,5	62	51	57,2	30,32	29,00	29,72	86	73	79,3	2,128
February -	55,5	30,5	41,7	58,5	51	55	30,31	29,05	29,81	86	66	76,3	1,443
March - -	59	27	41,4	60	47	54	30,44	20,50	30,03	84	58	70,7	0,074
April - - -	68,5	39	51,4	64,5	55	59,8	30,32	29,08	30,04	82	59	70,4	0,302
May - - -	64	44	54	63	57	60,4	30,22	28,94	29,73	85	63	71,4	2,301
June - - -	78	49	59,8	68,5	59	62,2	30,31	29,44	29,96	83	59	69,7	0,536
July - - -	76,5	50	62	67	60	64,1	30,18	29,37	29,79	86	61	71,2	1,904
Auguſt - -	80	52	63,7	72	64	67,2	30,41	29,71	30,06	83	59	71,5	0,529
September -	78	46	61,4	72	61	66,1	30,28	29,46	29,96	88	65	75,1	1,541
October - -	59	32	48.9	61	54,5	57,8	30,55	29,17	29,94	86	65	77,2	1,803
November -	57	29	42,2	60	50	54,3	30,29	29,18	29,83	88	68	80,9	1,209
December -	49	5	32,1	53	43	47,5	30,51	29,24	29,83	90	73	81,9	1,309
Whole Year -	- -	- -	50,5	- -	- -	58,8	- -	- -	29,89	- -	- -	74,6	14,779

Public Acts paſſed in the Sixth Seſſion of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Nov. 23, 1795.

Land and malt bills.

An act to prohibit the exportation of corn, meal, &c. and to permit the importation thereof, for a limited time.

Dec. 1.

An act to prohibit for a limited time, the making of ſtarch, hair-powder, &c. from wheat and other articles of food, and for lowering the duty on the importation of ſtarch, &c.

An act to prohibit the exportation of candles, tallow and ſoap, for a limited time.

Dec 18.

An act for the ſafety and preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government, againſt treaſonable and ſeditious practices and attempts.

An act for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies.

An Act for the better relief of the poor in the hundreds, towns, and diſtricts in England, incorporated for their better maintenance and employment.

Dec. 19.

An act for raiſing eighteen millions by way of annuities.

Dec. 24.

Mutiny bill.

An act to permit bakers to make and ſell certain ſorts of bread.

An act to amend ſo much of an act, made in the 9th year of Geo. I. entitled, "An Act for amending the laws relating to the ſettlement, employment, and relief of the poor," as prevents the diſtributing occaſional relief to poor perſons in their own houſes, under certain circumſtances, and in certain caſes.

March 7, 1796.

Marine mutiny bill.

An act for increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be granted to innkeepers and others, on quartering ſoldiers.

May 14.

An act for the better regulation of mills.

An act for the further ſupport and maintenance of curates within the church of England.

May 18.

An act for continuing the encouragement and rewards of perſons making certain diſcoveries for finding the longitude at ſea, or making other uſeful diſcoveries and improvements in navigation.

An act to exempt dairies, and cheeſe and butter warehouſes, kept ſolely as ſuch, from the duties on window lights.

Subſtance of the Act for the more effectually preventing ſeditious meetings and aſſemblies.

1. NO meeting of any deſcription of perſons, exceeding the number of 50 perſons (other than except any meeting of any county, riding, or diviſion, called by the lord lieutenant, cuſtos rotulorum, or ſheriff, of ſuch county, or a meeting called by the convener of any county or ſtewartry in that part of Great Britain called Scotland; or any meeting called by two or more juſtices of the peace of the county or place where ſuch meeting ſhall be holden

holden; or any meeting of any city or borough, or town corporate, called by the mayor or other head officer of such city, or borough, or town corporate; or any meeting of any ward or division of any city or town corporate, called by the alderman or other head-officer of such ward or division; or any meeting of any corporate body) shall be holden, for the purpose or on the pretext of considering of or preparing any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address to the king, or to both houses or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established in church or state, or for the purpose, or on the pretext, of deliberating upon any grievance in church or state, unless previous notice be given by seven householders in some newspaper. The notice not to be inserted, unless the authority to do so be written at the foot thereof. The notice and authority is to be preserved and produced to a justice if required; and a penalty of 50l. for inserting notice without such authority, &c.

2. Notice may be given to the clerk of the peace, who shall forthwith send a copy to the justices. Such notice to be effectual.

3. Meetings without notice to be deemed unlawful assemblies.

4. If 12 or more persons, assembled contrary to this act, shall continue together one hour after being required by a justice, &c. to disperse, they shall suffer death.

5. Proclamation to be made in the following form:

"Our sovereign lord the king chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act, made in the 36th year of king George the third, for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. God save the king."

6. If, in meetings holden pursuant to notice, any matter shall be propounded or deliberated upon, purporting that any thing by law established may be altered except by authority of king, lords, and commons, &c. a magistrate may order them to disperse; and if 12 or more persons shall continue together an hour thereafter, they shall suffer death.

7. Justices at meetings on notice may order persons, propounding or maintaining propositions for altering any thing by law established, except by authority of the king, lords, and commons, &c. to be taken into custody; and in case of resistance may cause proclamation to be made as aforesaid; and, if 12 or more shall continue together an hour thereafter, they shall suffer death.

8. Magistrates may resort to assemblies, and act; and may require the assistance of peace officers.

9. Persons not dispersing within an hour after proclamation may be apprehended; and, if killed or maimed by reason of their resistance, the magistrate, &c. indemnified.

10. Persons obstructing magistrates attending, or going to attend, meetings, or obstructing persons proclaiming, to suffer death. Persons assembled, to whom proclamation ought to have been made if the same had not been hindered, continuing together to the number of 12 or more, for an hour after such hindrance, to suffer death. Persons at such assemblies opposing the taking

ing offenders into cuſtody to ſuffer death.

11. Sheriffs depute, &c. in Scotland, to have the ſame power as juſtices, in England. Perſons convicted of felonies in Scotland, to incur the pain of death and confiſcation of moveables.

12. Places for lectures or debates concerning ſuppoſed public grievances, where money is paid for admiſſion, unleſs previouſly licenſed, to be deemed diſorderly places; and the perſons opening or uſing them, to forfeit 100l. &c. And the perſons managing the proceedings, and the perſons paying or receiving money for admiſſion, or delivering or receiving tickets, to forfeit 100l.

13. Perſons appearing as maſter, &c. of ſuch places liable to proſecution.

14. Magiſtrates who, by information on oath, have reaſon to ſuſpect that any place is open for delivering lectures, &c. may demand to be admitted; and, in caſe of refuſal, the place to be deemed diſorderly, and the perſon refuſing admittance to forfeit 100l.

15. Magiſtrates may demand admittance to any licenſed place at the time of delivering lectures, &c. and, if refuſed, it ſhall be deemed diſorderly, and the perſon refuſing admittance ſhall forfeit 100l.

16. Juſtices may licenſe places for delivering lectures; and may revoke them.

17. Forfeitures to be recovered by action of debt in any of his majeſty's courts of record at Weſtminſter, or in the courts of juſticiary or exchequer in Scotland; provided that, if any action or ſuit ſhall be brought againſt any perſon for any thing done in purſuance and in execution of this act, the defendan may plead the general iſſue; and i a verdict paſs for the defendant or the plaintiff diſcontinue his or he action, or be nonſuited, or judgmen be given againſt the plaintiff, the ſuch defendant ſhall have trebl coſts.

18. Nothing in this act to extend to any lectures or diſcourſes t be delivered in any of the univerſities of theſe kingdoms, by any member thereof, or any perſon authorize by the chancellor, vice-chancellor or other proper officers of ſuch univerſities reſpectively.

19. No payment made to any ſchool-maſter or other perſon b law allowed to teach and inſtruc youth, in reſpect of any lectures o diſcourſes delivered by ſuch ſchool maſter or other perſon, for the inſtruction only of ſuch youths a ſhall be committed to his inſtruction ſhall be deemed a payment of money for admiſſion to ſuch lectures or diſcourſes within the intent and meaning of this act.

20. Act not to abridge any law for the ſuppreſſion or puniſhment o offences herein deſcribed.

21. Act to be openly read a every epiphany quarter-ſeſſion o the peace, and every leet or law day.

22. No perſon to be proſecuted by virtue of this act, unleſs the proſecution ſhall be commenced within ſix calendar months after the offence committed; and no action to be brought for any of the penalties impoſed by the act, unleſs brought within three calendar months next after the offence committed.

23. The act to commence and have effect within the city of London, and within twenty miles thereof, from the day next after the day

of

of paſſing it; to commence and have effect within all other parts of the kingdom, from the expiration of ſeven days next after the day of paſſing it; and to continue in force for three years from the day of paſſing, and until the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament.

SUPPLIES granted by PARLIAMENT for the Year 1796.

NAVY.

	£.	s.	d.
NOVEMBER 6, 1795.			
FOR 10,000 men, including 18,000 marines	5,720,000	0	0
DECEMBER 7.			
Ordinary	624,152	1	8
Extra	708,400	0	0
MAY 10, 1796.			
Toward diſcharging the navy debt	500,000	0	0
£.	7,552,552	1	8

ARMY.

DECEMBER 2, 1795.			
For 49,000 men as guards and garriſons	1,358,624	2	9
Forces in the plantations	1,666,900	3	6
Difference between Britiſh and Iriſh pay	40,195	4	9
Additionals to troops in the Eaſt Indies	8,345	16	2
Recruiting land forces, contingencies, &c.	360,000	0	0
Subſiſtence paid to innkeepers, &c.	120,000	0	0
General and Staff officers	103,642	1	3
Staff officers, &c. on general Clarke's expedition	9,259	18	6
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers	127,779	14	11
Allowance to the paymaſter-general, &c.	143,490	13	5
Reduced officers of the land forces and marines	118,873	18	6
Reduced horſe guards	126	1	11
Officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates-general	1,000	0	0
Reduced officers of Britiſh American forces	52,500	0	0
Allowances to ſeveral officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry	917,294	14	1
Contingencies for ditto	210,000	0	0
Cloathing for the militia	108,533	17	1
Fencible cavalry	470,636	19	8
Allowances for ditto	115,000	0	0
DECEMBER 4.			
Extraordinaries	2,646,990	19	10
APRIL 26, 1796.			
Extraordinaries	885,673	19	10

MAY

	£.	s.	d.
MAY 2.			
Scotch military roads and bridges - - -	4,500	0	0
MAY 3.			
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia - - -	200,000	0	0
MAY 7.			
Chelsea pensioners - - - - -	146,057	4	2
Widows' pensions - - - - - -	10,933	16	9
MAY 10.			
Extraordinaries for 1796 - - - -	1,350,000	0	0
Foreign troops - - - - - -	438,035	3	2
Completing barracks - - - - -	290,000	0	0
£.	11,911,899	10	3

ORDNANCE.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 2, 1795.			
Land service for 1796 - - - - -	875,488	14	1
Ditto, previous to Dec. 31, 1783 - - -	279	4	4
Ditto, unprovided for in 1794 - - -	45,656	0	5
Sea service, ditto - - - - -	61,000	8	9
Land service, not provided for in 1795 - -	762,046	13	6
APRIL 26, 1796.			
Services previous to Dec. 31, 1795, not provided for	210,194	15	11
£.	1,954,665	17	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 2, 1795.			
Civil Establishment of Upper Canada - - -	7,100	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia - - - - - -	5,415	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick - - - - - -	4,550	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island - - - - -	1,900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton - - - - - -	1,800	0	0
Ditto, Newfoundland - - - - - -	1,232	10	0
Ditto, Bahama Islands - - - - - -	4,200	0	0
Salary of the chief-justice of the Bermuda Islands -	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica - - - - - -	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales - - -	5,241	0	0
To discharge exchequer bills - - - -	3,500,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 11, 1796.			
To discharge exchequer bills - - - -	2,500,000	0	0
Vote of credit - - - - - -	2,500,000	0	0
MAY 2.			
To satisfy navy, victualling, and transport bills -	4,331,141	14	10
His majesty's service abroad - - - -	233,485	4	10
French refugees - - - - - -	129,350	0	0

Allowanc

	£.	s.	d.
Allowance to American ſufferers	28,500	0	0
Proſecutions, &c. relating to the coin	2,966	4	6
Printing journals of the houſe of peers	1,858	12	5
Publiſhing weekly returns of the average price of ſugar	1,334	7	0
Mr. Whittam, for attendance on a committee	384	7	0
Mr. Gunnell, for ditto	51	5	0
Addreſs money	29,921	12	6
Convicts on the Thames	8,685	11	4
Ditto at Langſton and Portſmouth	12,072	1	6
Expences on account of New South Wales	15,088	7	10¼
Ditto, on account of Mr. Haſtings's proſecution	5,000	0	0
Purchaſe of the parliament office	2,741	16	0½
Superintendance of the Alien Act	2,232	14	4¾
Stationary ſhipped for Upper Canada	306	19	0¼
For reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0
America and Eaſt Florida ſufferers	197,803	5	5¾
Ditto	53,387	7	6
African forts	20,000	0	0
Turkey company	5,000	0	0
Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
Britiſh Muſeum	3,000	0	0
MAY 10.			
Veterinary college	1,500	0	0
	£. 13,821,430	1	2½

DEFICIENCY.

MAY 2, 1796.

				£.	s.	d.
Deficiency of Grants in 1795				2,347,954	10	9¾
Navy	7,552,552	1	8			
Army	11,911,899	9	10			
Ordnance	1,954,665	17	0			
Miſcellaneous ſervices	13,821,430	1	2½			
Deficiency	2,347,951	10	2¾			
	£. 37,588,502	0	6¼			

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the Supplies for* 1796.

NOVEMBER 10, 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
Land and malt tax	2,750,000	0	0
DECEMBER 8.			
Annuities	18,000,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 11, 1796.			
Exchequer bills	3,500,000	0	0
FEBRUARY 15.			
Ditto	2,500,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
APRIL 19.			
Annuities - - - - - - - - -	7,500,000	0	0
MAY 2.			
Profit of a lottery, 60,000 tickets, at £.13 -	280,000	0	0
MAY 7.			
Surplus of the conſolidated fund - - -	3,500,000	0	0
£.	38,000,000	0	0

An ACCOUNT of the TOTAL Net Produce of all the Permanent TAXES for one Year, ending October 10th, 1796.

	£.	s.	d.
CUSTOMS - - - - - - - -	3,232,345	17	1½
EXCISE - - - - - - - -	6,461,908	10	7½
STAMPS - - - - - - - -	1,212,669	7	6
£.	10,906,623	15	3

INCIDENTS.

Conſolidated letter money - - - -	156,000	0	0
——————Duties on Salt - - - -	391,492	11	1½
Seizures ſince 25th October, 1760 - - -	6,333	17	0
Profers - Do. - - - -	641	12	3
Letter money Do. - - - -	311,000	0	0
Alum mines - Do. - - - -	960	0	0
Rent of a light houſe Do. - - - -	6	13	4
Alienation duty Do. - - - -	0	0	0
Compoſitions - Do. - - - -	2	13	4
6d. per lb. on penſions - - - -	40,905	0	1
1s. per lb. on do. - - - -	30,763	16	4
Houſes and Windows ſince 10th October, 1766 -	349,336	15	4½
Inhabited houſes Ann. 1778 - - - -	140,803	0	2
Hawkers and Pedlars, ſince 24th June, 1710 -	4,410	0	0
Hackney coaches Ann. 1711 - - - -	10,700	0	0
Ditto - - 1784 - - - -	12,700	0	0
Male ſervants - 1785 - - - -	95,736	16	9½
Four-wheel carriages Do. - - - -	161,727	7	3½
Two-wheel do. - Do. - - - -	41,621	4	9½
Horſes - - Do. - - - -	120,811	8	3½
Firſt fruits - - - - - -	3,771	11	5
Tenths - - - - - - -	9,938	14	5½
Arrears of duties repealed - - - -	1,994	18	2
£.	1,891,703	19	11½

DUTIES

Total Net Produce of Taxes—*continued.*

	£.	s.	d.
DUTIES, Anno 1791.			
Sugars	194,470	8	10
Britiſh ſpirits	18,128	0	0
Foreign do.	123,718	0	0
Bills and receipts	177,171	3	9
Game duty	15,388	1	4
£. 10 per cent. on aſſeſſed taxes	86,123	12	4
Arrears of duty on malt			
£.	615,099	6	3
DUTIES, Anno 1794.			
Britiſh ſpirits	18,505	0	0
Foreign do.	127,795	0	0
Spirit licences	44,000	0	0
Glaſs	43,222	0	0
Brick and Tiles (Cuſtoms)	245	11	7
Ditto (Exciſe)	59,345	0	0
Paper (Cuſtoms)	4,383	14	3
Ditto (Exciſe)	167,975	0	0
Slates and Stones	16,756	12	8
Attorneys' articles	18,574	2	9
£.	500,802	1	3
DUTIES, Anno 1795.			
Britiſh ſpirits	20,396	0	0
Foreign do.	128,485	0	0
Wines	541,897	0	0
Tea	205,999	0	0
Cocoa and Coffee	14,394	0	0
Fruit, Silk, &c.	111,764	4	6
Stamps	46,404	13	7
Ship policies	91,543	4	1
Hair powder certificates	183,736	3	0
Sweets	9,726	0	0
Receipts	7,051	6	1
Coals	11,060	7	7
£.	1,372,366	18	10
DUTIES, Anno 1796.			
Tobacco and Snuffs	119,378	0	0
Salt	24,000	0	0
Horſe dealers' licences	589	12	0
Additional 10l. per cent.	20,355	0	0
Wines (Cuſtoms)	44,270	3	1½
Do. (Exciſe)	851	0	0

Total Net Produce of Taxes—*continued.*

	£.	s.	d.
Sweets	1,340	0	0
Legacies	1,894	0	0
Horfes	400	0	0
2s. duty on ditto	1,300	0	0
Hats	1,395	0	0
£.	215,772	15	1½

TOTAL in the year ending Oct. 10, 1796:

Of CUSTOMS	3,232,345	17	1½
Of EXCISE	6,461,608	10	7½
Of STAMPS	1,212,669	7	6
Of INCIDENTS	1,891,703	19	11½
Of DUTIES - - 1791	615,099	6	3
Of do. - - - 1794	500,802	1	3
Of do. - - - 1795	1,372,366	18	10
£.	15,286,596	1	6½
Of duties - - 1796	215,772	15	1½

Exchequer, the 17th day of Oct. 1796.

JAMES FISHER.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, 19th May, 1796.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

THE public buſineſs being now concluded, I think it proper to cloſe this ſeſſion, and at the ſame time to acquaint you with my intention of giving immediate directions for calling a new parliament.

The objects which have engaged your attention during the preſent ſeſſion, have been of peculiar importance; and the meaſures which you have adopted, have manifeſted your continued regard to the ſafety and welfare of the people.

The happieſt effects have been experienced from the proviſions which you have made for repreſſing ſedition and civil tumult, and for reſtraining the progreſs of principles ſubverſive of all eſtabliſhed government.

The difficulties ariſing to my ſubjects from the high price of corn, have formed a principal object of your deliberation; and your aſſiduity in inveſtigating that ſubject, has ſtrongly proved your anxious deſire to omit nothing which could tend to the relief of my people, in a matter of ſuch general concern. I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in obſerving that the preſſure of thoſe difficulties is in a great degree removed.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I muſt in a more particular manner return you my thanks for the liberal ſupplies which you have granted to meet the exigencies of the war.—While I regret the extent of thoſe demands which the preſent circumſtances neceſſarily occaſion, it is a great conſolation to me to obſerve the increaſing reſources by which the country is enabled to ſupport them. Theſe reſources are particularly manifeſted in the ſtate of the different branches of the revenue, in the continued and progreſſive ſtate of our navigation and commerce, in the ſteps which have been taken for maintaining and improving the public credit, and in the additional proviſion which has been made for the reduction of the national debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I ſhall ever reflect with heartfelt ſatisfaction on the uniform wiſdom, temper, and firmneſs which have appeared in all your proceedings ſince I firſt met you in this place.

Called

Called to deliberate on the public affairs of your country in a period of foreign and domeſtic tranquillity, you had the happineſs of contributing to raiſe this kingdom to a ſtate of unexampled proſperity. You were ſuddenly compelled to relinquiſh the full advantages of this ſituation, in order to reſiſt the unprovoked aggreſſion of an enemy whoſe hoſtility was directed againſt all civil ſociety, but more particularly againſt the happy union of order and liberty eſtabliſhed in theſe kingdoms. The nature of the ſyſtem introduced into France, afforded to that country, in the midſt of its calamities, the means of exertion beyond the experience of any former time. Under the preſſure of the new and unprecedented difficulties ariſing from ſuch a conteſt, you have ſhewn yourſelves worthy of all the bleſſings that you inherit. By your counſels and conduct, the conſtitution has been preſerved inviolate againſt the deſigns of foreign and domeſtic enemies; the honor of the Britiſh name has been aſſerted; the rank and ſtation which we have hitherto held in Europe has been maintained; and the decided ſuperiority of our naval power has been eſtabliſhed in every quarter of the world.

You have omitted no opportunity to prove your juſt anxiety for the re-eſtabliſhment of general peace on ſecure and honourable terms; but you have at the ſame time rendered it manifeſt to the world, that while our enemies ſhall perſiſt in diſpoſitions incompatible with that object, neither the reſources nor the ſpirit of Engliſhmen will be wanting to the ſupport of a juſt cauſe, and to the defence of all their deareſt intereſts.

A due ſenſe of this conduct is deeply impreſſed on my heart. I truſt that all my ſubjects are animated with the ſame ſentiment, and that their loyalty and public ſpirit will enſure the continuance of that union and mutual confidence between me and my parliament, which beſt promote the true dignity and glory of my crown, and the genuine happineſs of my people.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, 6th October 1796.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IT is a peculiar ſatisfaction to me, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, to recur to your advice, after the recent opportunity which has been given for collecting the ſenſe of my people, engaged in a difficult and arduous conteſt, for the preſervation of all that is moſt dear to us.

I have omitted no endeavours for ſetting on foot negotiations to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure for the future the general tranquillity. The ſteps which I have taken for this purpoſe have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the iſſue of which muſt either produce the deſirable end of a juſt, honourable, and ſolid peace for us, and for our allies, or muſt prove, beyond diſpute, to what cauſe alone the prolongation of the calamities of war muſt be aſcribed.

I ſhall immediately ſend a perſon to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it is my anxious wiſh that this meaſure may lead to the reſtoration of general peace: but you muſt be ſenſible that

that nothing can ſo much contribute to give effect to this deſire, as your manifeſting that we poſſeſs both the determination and the reſources to oppoſe, with increaſed activity and energy, the farther efforts with which we may have to contend.

You will feel this peculiarly neceſſary at a moment when the enemy has openly manifeſted the intention of attempting a deſcent on theſe kingdoms. It cannot be doubted what would be the iſſue of ſuch an enterprize; but it befits your wiſdom to neglect no precautions that may either preclude the attempt, or ſecure the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to the confuſion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year, you will have obſerved that, by the ſkill and exertions of my navy, our extenſive and increaſing commerce has been protected to a degree almoſt beyond example, and the fleets of the enemy have, for the greateſt part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports.

The operations in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies have been highly honourable to the Britiſh arms, and productive of great national advantage; and the valour and good conduct of my forces, both by ſea and land, have been eminently conſpicuous.

The fortune of war on the continent has been more various; and the progreſs of the French armies threatened, at one period, the utmoſt danger to all Europe; but from the honourable and dignified perſeverance of my ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity, diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces, under the auſpicious conduct of the archduke Charles, ſuch a turn has lately been given to the courſe of the war, as may inſpire a well-grounded confidence that the final reſult of the campaign will prove more diſaſtrous to the enemy, than its commencement and progreſs for a time were favourable to their hopes.

The apparently hoſtile diſpoſitions and conduct of the court of Madrid have led to diſcuſſions, of which I am not yet enabled to acquaint you with the final reſult; but I am confident that whatever may be their iſſue, I ſhall have given to Europe a farther proof of my moderation and forbearance; and I can have no doubt of your determination to defend againſt every aggreſſion, the dignity, rights, and intereſts, of the Britiſh empire.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I rely on your zeal and public ſpirit for ſuch ſupplies as you may think neceſſary for the ſervice of the year. It is a great ſatisfaction to me to obſerve, that, notwithſtanding the temporary embarraſſments which have been experienced, the ſtate of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue, of the country, proves the real extent and ſolidity of our reſources, and furniſhes you with ſuch means as muſt be equal to any exertions which the preſent criſis may require.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

The diſtreſſes, which were in the laſt year experienced from the ſcarcity of corn, are now, by the bleſſing of God, happily removed, and an abundant harveſt affords the pleaſing proſpect of relief in that important article to the labouring claſſes of the community. Our

internal tranquillity has alſo continued undiſturbed; the general attachment of my people to the Britiſh conſtitution has appeared on every occaſion, and the endeavours of thoſe who wiſhed to introduce anarchy and confuſion into this country, have been repreſſed by the energy and wiſdom of the laws.

To defeat all the deſigns of our enemies, to reſtore to my people the bleſſings of a ſecure and honourable peace, to maintain inviolate their religion, laws, and liberty, and to deliver down unimpaired to the lateſt poſterity the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms, is the conſtant wiſh of my heart, and the uniform end of all my actions. In every meaſure that can conduce to theſe objects, I am confident of receiving the firm, zealous and affectionate ſupport of my parliament.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King, moved by Lord Morpeth.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble and unanimous thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We are truly ſenſible of your majeſty's paternal regard for the intereſt of your ſubjects, in having omitted no endeavours for ſetting on foot negotiations to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure for the future the general tranquillity; and we rejoice to learn, that the ſteps which have been taken for this purpoſe have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, which, we doubt not, will be ſo conducted on your majeſty's part, as either to produce the deſirable end of a juſt, honourable, and ſolid peace, for us and for our allies, or to prove, beyond diſpute, to what cauſe alone the prolongation of the calamities of war muſt be aſcribed.

We cordially join with your majeſty in an anxious wiſh that the ſtep, which your majeſty propoſes to take, of ſending a perſon to Paris with full powers to treat, may lead to the reſtoration of general peace; but we are fully ſenſible that nothing can ſo much contribute to give effect to this deſire, as manifeſting that we poſſeſs both the determination and the reſources to oppoſe, with increaſed activity and energy, the further efforts with which we may have to contend; and we muſt indeed feel this to be peculiarly neceſſary, when an intention has been openly manifeſted of attempting a deſcent on theſe kingdoms; and, although it cannot be doubted what would be the iſſue of ſuch an enterprize, we deem it an indiſpenſable duty to neglect no precautions that may either preclude the attempt, or ſecure the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to the confuſion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year, we have not failed to obſerve, with a juſt ſatisfaction, that, by the ſkill and exertions of your majeſty's navy, our extenſive and increaſing commerce has been protected to a degree almoſt beyond example; and that the fleets of the enemy have, for the greateſt part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports; and we have ſeen with pleaſure the operations in the Eaſt and

Weſt Indies, which, while they have been productive of great national advantage, have alſo diſplayed the valour and good conduct of your majeſty's forces, both by ſea and land, in a degree highly honourable to the Britiſh arms.

Having contemplated with anxious ſolicitude the various fortune of war on the continent, and the danger with which all Europe was at one time threatened, we reflect with proportionable admiration and joy on the honourable and dignified perſeverance of your majeſty's ally the emperor, and on the intrepidity, diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces, under the auſpicious conduct of the archduke Charles; and we entertain the moſt ſanguine hope that, from the turn lately given to the courſe of the war, the final reſult of the campaign may prove more diſaſtrous to the enemy, than its commencement and progreſs for a time were favourable to their hopes.

While we regret the hoſtile diſpoſitions and conduct on the part of the court of Madrid, which have led to the diſcuſſions now depending, we entertain a juſt confidence, that, whenever your majeſty ſhall be enabled to acquaint us with the final reſult, a farther proof will be given to Europe of the temper and prudence which govern your majeſty's proceedings; and we cannot too ſtrongly expreſs to your majeſty our fixed determination to ſupport your majeſty with our lives and fortunes, in defending againſt every aggreſſion the dignity, rights, and intereſts, of the Britiſh empire.

We beg to aſſure your majeſty, that you may at all times rely on the zeal and affection of your faithful commons for ſuch ſupplies as may be neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; and that it muſt afford us the moſt cordial ſatisfaction to find, that, notwithſtanding the temporary embarraſſments which have been experienced, the ſtate of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue of the country, proves the real extent and ſolidity of the public reſources, and will furniſh ſuch means as may be equal to the great and vigorous exertions which the preſent criſis peculiarly requires.

We acknowledge, with the utmoſt thankfulneſs and ſatisfaction, that the diſtreſſes, which were in the laſt year experienced from the ſcarcity of corn, are now, by the bleſſing of God, happily removed, and that an abundant harveſt affords the pleaſing proſpect of relief in that important article to the labouring claſſes of the community; and with equal ſatisfaction we reflect on the uninterrupted continuance of our internal tranquillity, on the general attachment of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects to the Britiſh conſtitution, and on the happy effects produced by the energy and wiſdom of the laws, in repreſſing the endeavours of thoſe who wiſhed to introduce anarchy and confuſion into the country.

We beſeech your majeſty to believe that we are deeply impreſſed with the gracious and paternal expreſſions of your majeſty's conſtant ſolicitude for the glory and happineſs of your kingdoms; and we are perſuaded that your majeſty may at all times rely on the firm, zealous, and affectionate ſupport of your parliament in thoſe exertions which are directed to the great object of defeating all the deſigns of our enemies, of reſtoring to the people the bleſſings of a ſecure and

honourable

honourable peace, and of delivering down unimpaired to the lateſt poſterity thoſe civil and religious bleſſings, by which theſe kingdoms have been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, under the protection of your majeſty's juſt and auſpicious government.

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords, moved by Earl Bathurſt.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We acknowledge with gratitude your majeſty's gracious condeſcention in acquainting us that you have omitted no endeavours for ſetting on foot negotiations to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure for the future the general tranquillity; and that the ſteps which you have taken for the purpoſe have at length opened the way to an immediate and direct negotiation, the iſſue of which muſt produce the deſirable end of a juſt, honourable, and ſolid peace, for us and for our allies, or muſt prove, beyond diſpute, to what cauſe alone the prolongation of the calamities of war muſt be aſcribed.

We entirely concur in the anxious wiſh expreſſed by your majeſty, that the ſtep which your majeſty propoſes to take of ſending a perſon to Paris, with full power to treat for the reſtoration of a general peace, may lead to the accompliſhment of that object. But we are fully ſenſible that nothing can ſo much contribute to give effect to this deſire, as our manifeſting that we poſſeſs both the determination and the reſources to oppoſe with increaſed activity and energy the further efforts with which we may have to contend.

We feel this peculiarly neceſſary at a moment when the enemy has openly manifeſted the intention of attempting a deſcent on theſe kingdoms. We are fully ſenſible that it cannot be doubted what would be the iſſue of ſuch an enterprize; but we ſhall, nevertheleſs, think it our duty to take every precaution that may either elude the attempt, or ſecure the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to the confuſion and ruin of the enemy.

In reviewing the events of the year we have great pleaſure in obſerving, that, by the ſkill and exertions of your majeſty's navy, the extenſive and encreaſing commerce of the country has been protected to a degree almoſt beyond example; and that the fleets of the enemy have, for the greateſt part of the year, been blocked up in their own ports; that the operations in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies have been highly honourable to the Britiſh arms, and productive of great national advantage; and that the valour and good conduct of your majeſty's forces, both by ſea and land have been eminently conſpicuous.

We have alſo obſerved, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that although the fortune of war on the continent has been more various, and although the progreſs of the French armies threatened the utmoſt danger to all Europe, yet, from the honourable and dignified perſeverance of your majeſty's ally the emperor, and from the intrepidity

diſcipline

diſcipline, and invincible ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces, under the auſpicious conduct of his royal highneſs the archduke Charles, ſuch a turn has lately been given to the courſe of the war, as may inſpire a well-grounded confidence that the final reſult of the campaign will prove more diſaſtrous to the enemy, than its commencement was for a time favourable to their hopes.

We rely with the utmoſt confidence on your majeſty's gracious aſſurances, that whenever your majeſty ſhall be enabled to acquaint us with the final reſult of the diſcuſſions to which the apparently hoſtile diſpoſition and conduct of the court of Madrid has given riſe, they will afford to Europe a further proof of your majeſty's moderation and forbearance; and we entreat your majeſty to be aſſured that we are firmly determined to defend againſt every aggreſſion the dignity, rights, and intereſts, of the Britiſh empire.

It has given us infinite pleaſure to find that the diſtreſſes, which were in the laſt year experienced from the ſcarcity of corn, are now, by the bleſſing of God, happily removed, and an abundant harveſt affords the pleaſing proſpect of relief in that important article to the labouring claſſes of the community; that our internal tranquillity has alſo continued undiſturbed; that the general attachment of the people to the Britiſh conſtitution has appeared on every occaſion; and that the endeavours of thoſe who wiſhed to introduce anarchy and confuſion into this country have been repreſſed by the energy and wiſdom of the laws.

Perſuaded as we cannot but be, from long experience of your majeſty's virtues, that to defeat all the deſigns of your enemies,—to reſtore to your people the bleſſings of ſecure and honourable peace,—to maintain inviolate their religion, laws and liberty,—and to deliver down unimpaired to the lateſt poſterity the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms, is the conſtant wiſh of your majeſty's heart, and the uniform end of all your majeſty's actions; permit us moſt humbly to aſſure your majeſty, that in every meaſure that can conduce to theſe objects, your majeſty may rely upon our firm, zealous, and affectionate ſupport, which we conſider as a duty which we owe to your majeſty and to our country.

Amendment to the above Addreſs, moved by Earl Fitzwilliam, *and negatived without a Diviſion.*

THAT this houſe, ſtrongly impreſſed with the juſtice and neceſſity of the preſent war, carried on for the maintenance of civil and moral order in the world, and for ſecuring the balance of power in Europe, and the independence of all ſtates, will continue to give his majeſty a vigorous ſupport in aſſerting the general cauſe of his majeſty and his allies, and for preſerving the good faith, dignity, and honour of the crown, in full aſſurance that no ſteps ſhall be taken inconſiſtent with thoſe principles, or with the future ſafety and proſperity of theſe kingdoms; and ſhould the apparently hoſtile diſpoſition of the court of Madrid, inſtigated by the intrigues and menaces of the common enemy, put his majeſty under the neceſſity of repelling force by force, his majeſty may rely on the determination

nation of this houſe to give his majeſty the moſt ample ſupport in defending againſt every aggreſſion, the dignity, rights, and intereſts, of the Britiſh empire.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Lords, 12th Dec. 1796.

George R.

HIS majeſty is concerned to acquaint the houſe of lords that his endeavours to preſerve peace with Spain, and to adjuſt all matters in diſcuſſion with that court by an amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration, of war on the part of the Catholic king.

His majeſty, at the ſame time that he ſincerely laments this addition to the calamities of war, already extended over ſo great a part of Europe, has the ſatisfaction to reflect that nothing has been omitted on his part which could contribute to the maintenance of peace, on grounds conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the intereſt of his dominions; and he truſts, that, under the protection of divine Providence, the firmneſs and wiſdom of his parliament will enable him effectually to repel this unprovoked aggreſſion, and to afford to all Europe an additional proof of the ſpirit and reſources of the Britiſh nation.

G. R.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Lords, 17*th Dec.* 1796.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty thinks proper to acquaint the houſe of peers, that he is at preſent engaged in concer ing meaſures with his allies, order to be fully prepared for t vigorous and effectual proſecuti of the war, if the failure of his m jeſty's earneſt endeavours to effect general peace on ſecure and h nourable terms, ſhould unfort nately render another campai unavoidable. And his majeſty w not fail to take the firſt opportuni to communicate the reſult of the diſcuſſions to the houſe. In the i terval his majeſty conceives that may be of the greateſt importan to the common cauſe, that his m jeſty ſhould be enabled to contin ſuch temporary advances for t ſervice of the emperor as may indiſpenſably neceſſary, with a vie to military operations being proſ cuted with vigour and effect at a early period; and his majeſty r commends it to the houſe to co ſider of making ſuch proviſion may appear to them to be moſt e pedient for this purpoſe.

G. R.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to t Houſe of Peers, 26th Dec. 1796.

George R.

IT is with the utmoſt concer that his majeſty acquaints th houſe of lords, that his earneſt e deavours to effect the reſtoration peace have been unhappily fruſtra ted, and that the negotiation i which he has been engaged has bee abruptly broken off by the peremp tory refuſal of the French goverr ment to treat, except upon a baſ evidently inadmiſſible, and by thei having in conſequence required hi majeſty's plenipotentiary to quit Pa ris within 48 hours.

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His majeſty has directed the ſeveral memorials and papers which have been exchanged in the courſe of the late diſcuſſion, and the account tranſmitted to his majeſty of its final reſult, to be laid before the houſe.

From theſe papers, his majeſty truſts, it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a ſincere deſire to effect the reſtoration of peace on principles ſuited to the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, and eſſential for the permanent intereſts of his kingdom, and the general ſecurity of Europe: whilſt his enemies have advanced pretenſions at once inconſiſtent with thoſe objects, unſupported even on the grounds on which they were profeſſed to reſt, and repugnant both to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by repeated treaties, and to the principle and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourſe of independent nations.

In this ſituation his majeſty has the conſolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjuſt and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his majeſty looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be diſpoſed to act on different principles, places in the mean time the fulleſt reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wiſdom and firmneſs of his parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by ſea and land, and on the zeal, public ſpirit, and reſources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual ſupport in the proſecution of a conteſt, which it does not depend on his majeſty to terminate, and which involves in it the ſecurity and permanent intereſts of this country, and of Europe.

G. R.

Reſolutions concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the Houſe of Commons, on the 7th of May 1796, by Mr. Grey.

Reſolved—I. That at all times, and under all circumſtances, it is the indiſpenſable duty of the houſe of commons vigilantly to ſuperintend the expenditure of the public money, and ſtrictly to inquire into the application of the grants made by parliament to the ſervice for which they have been voted.

II. That by an Act paſſed in every ſeſſion of parliament, the particular ſums granted for each particular ſervice are ſpecified, and the money that ſhall be paid into the exchequer is appropriated to their diſcharge; and that it is ſtrictly directed that ſuch aids and ſupplies ſhall not be applied to any uſe, intent, or purpoſe whatever, other than the uſes and purpoſes mentioned in the ſaid act.

III. That it appears from an account preſented to this houſe on the 21ſt of April 1796, that the ſum of 644,106l. 7s. 9d. was then due to the ſeveral colonels or commanding officers of his majeſty's forces, for net off-reckonings and clothing for the years 1794 and 1795, although by acts paſſed in 1794 and 1795, money was granted to diſcharge the ſame: and although the ſaid acts direct that the money ſo granted ſhall be applied in diſcharge of the ſame, and not otherwiſe.

IV. That it appears from an account preſented to this houſe on

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the 21ſt of April 1796, that the ſum of 146,900l. 12s. 4d. is now due to the general and ſtaff officers of his majeſty's forces for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795; although by acts paſſed in the ſaid years, money was granted for the payment of the ſaid ſum; and although the ſaid acts direct that the ſaid money ſo granted, ſhall be applied in diſcharge of the ſaid ſum, and not otherwiſe.

V. That it appears from an account preſented to this houſe on the 21ſt of April 1796, that the ſum of 34,313l. 13s. 3d. is now due to the ſeveral governors, lieutenant governors and other officers of his majeſty's forces and garriſons in Great Britain, and parts beyond the ſeas, for the year 1794 and 1795, although by acts paſſed in the ſaid years, money was granted for diſcharging the ſaid ſum; and although the ſaid acts direct that the money ſo granted ſhall be applied in diſcharging the ſaid ſums, and not otherwiſe.

VI. That it appears from an account preſented to this houſe on the 21ſt of April 1796, that the ſum of 31,056l. 9s. 9d. due to the general ſtaff officers of his majeſty's forces for the year 1794, was paid out of grants for the ſervice of the year 1796, although by an act paſſed in 1794, money was granted for diſcharging the ſaid ſum; and although the ſaid act directs that the ſaid money ſo granted ſhall be applied in diſcharging the ſame, and not otherwiſe.

VII. That it appears from an account produced to this houſe, on the 21ſt of April, 1796, that the ſum of 172,100l. due for off-reckonings to the 24th of December, 1794, and which remained due on the 21ſt of January 1796, was diſcharged out of the vote of credit granted for the expreſs purpoſe of defraying expences that may occur in 1796. By an act paſſed in 1794 money was granted for diſcharging the ſaid ſum: and although the ſaid act directs that the money ſo granted ſhall be applied in diſcharge of the ſame, and not otherwiſe.

VIII. That it appears to this houſe, that by an Act paſſed in the 23d year of his majeſty's reign, for the better regulation of the office of paymaſter general of his majeſty's forces, it is enacted, that no money for the ſervice of the army ſhall be iſſued from his majeſty's exchequer to the paymaſter general of his majeſty's forces, or ſhall be placed or directed to be placed in his majeſty's hands or poſſeſſion; but the ſame ſhall be iſſued and directed to be paid to the governor and company of the bank of England, to be placed to his account.

IX. That it appears to this houſe, from an account produced on the 22d of April 1796, that in open contempt and defiance of the ſaid act, the ſum of 430,200l. has been iſſued directly to the paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces, in exchequer bills on the vote of credit for 1796; and that a balance of 83,300l. was remaining uniſſued in his hands on the ſaid 22d of April 1796.

X. That it further appears to this houſe, that by the ſaid act, the paymaſter general of his majeſty's forces is directed and required to form his memorials and requiſitions to the treaſury, and to iſſue his drafts upon the governor and company of the bank of England, upon the

the 24th day of June, and 24th day of December, in every year, in equal payments, to ſuch perſon or perſons as have a regular aſſignment from the ſeveral colonels, lieutenant-colonels, commandants, majors, and captains commandant, and captains, for the monies appropriated for the clothing of the non-commiſſioned officers and private men of his majeſty's regular forces.

XI. That it appears to this houſe, that the ſums of money appropriated for the clothing of his majeſty's regular forces, and which, according to the proviſions of the ſaid act, ought to have been iſſued on the 24th of December 1794, the 24th of June and 24th of December 1795, had been diverted to other purpoſes and ſtill remained due on the 1ſt of January 1796, in open contempt and defiance of the ſaid act.

XII. That it appears that an account is annually preſented to this houſe, ſhewing how the money granted for the ſervice of the preceding year has been diſpoſed of, diſtinguiſhed under the ſeveral heads, and the parts remaining unſatisfied with the deficiency thereupon.

XIII. That ſuch account was intended to be what in its title it profeſſes to be, a real account, ſhewing how the money given for the ſervice of the year had actually been diſpoſed of, in order that the houſe of commons might be informed of the ſtate of the public expenditure, and ſatisfy themſelves as to the application of the money voted, to thoſe ſervices for which it had been granted by them.

XIV. That an account, of the above deſcription, has been preſented to this houſe, in each of the years 1794, 1795, and 1796, in which the money granted for the ſervices of each year is ſtated to have been applied to the ſervices for which it was voted by parliament although it now appears from accounts ſince preſented to this houſe, that the ſum of 644,106l. granted for off-reckonings for the year 1794, and 1795; the ſum of 146,900l. granted for the pay of the general and ſtaff-officers of his majeſty's forces for 1793, 1794, and 1795; the ſum of 34,313l. granted for the pay of the ſeveral governors, lieutenant-governors, and other officers of his majeſty's forces in Great Britain and parts beyond the ſeas, for the years 1794 and 1795, and ſeverally ſtated to have been diſpoſed of for thoſe ſervices, ſtill remain unſatisfied.

XV. That in the inſtances above-mentioned, his majeſty's miniſters have been guilty of preſenting falſe accounts, calculated to miſlead the judgment of this houſe, of a flagrant violation of various acts of parliament, and of a groſs miſapplication of the public money.

The above reſolutions were negatived by a majority of

209 to 38.

Reſolutions concerning the Public Expenditure, moved in the Houſe of Lords, on the 2d of May 1796, *by the Marquis of* Lanſdown.

THAT as we ſee no effectual ſteps taken to realize thoſe meaſures of reform, for which the preſent miniſters, at their entrance into office, ſtood ſtrongly pledged to the public, or thoſe earneſtly recommended in the reports upon the table, by two boards

boards of commiſſioners, both appointed by Parliament.

It is incumbent on this houſe to inquire into the cauſe of ſo extraordinary an omiſſion, as well as,

Whether any new offices have ſince been created?

Whether any old ſalaries have been increaſed on ſlight pretences?

Whether any ſalaries have been granted for ſpecial purpoſes, and continued, though the reaſons for them have ceaſed?

Whether any warrants for beneficial grants have been directed? And on the whole,

Whether the public expences have increaſed beyond the ſupplies annually granted by parliament?

This, which would be a duty incumbent upon parliament, were the exiſting war ever ſo neceſſary, juſt, and ſucceſsful, is become moſt urgent and indiſpenſable, in a conteſt at once bloody and expenſive beyond example, without plan or object, except ſuch objects as the miſconduct of the war firſt created; attended with a waſte of money profuſe almoſt beyond imagination; which has already reduced our trade to a dependence on the very warfare which is fundamentally deſtroying it, and has ſo exhauſted our reſources, as to drive us to the wretched expedient of reviving taxes which were a few years ſince repealed, upon the ground of thereby encreaſing the revenue—an effect which that repeal produced, and a policy which muſt, therefore, on the return of peace, be again reſorted to, and which will conſequently bring with it the neceſſity of finding new taxes, if new and productive taxes can be invented in our then exhauſted ſtate.

In a ſituation ſo alarming, and ſo manifeſtly tending to deſtroy the confidence of the people in parliament, which (as every reflecting man muſt have, with deep concern obſerved) has for ſome years paſt been rapidly on the decline; it behoves parliament, by a timely revival of its ancient energy and integrity, to convince the people that their conſtitutional guardians are awake to the common danger, and are determined to come forward with ſuch firm meaſures of public order and reform, as will effectually relieve the ſubject, and remedy evils, which, if ſtill ſuffered to accumulate, will be paſt all remedy, and muſt inevitably terminate in public confuſion.

The above reſolutions were negatived by a majority of

104 to 12.

Reſolutions moved in the Houſe of Commons, on the 10th of May 1796, by Mr. Fox, for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, on the conduct of Adminiſtration, in the commencement and progreſs of the war.

THAT an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to offer to his royal conſideration, that judgment which his faithful commons have formed, and now deem it their duty to declare, concerning the conduct of his miniſters in the commencement, and during the progreſs of the preſent unfortunate war. As long as it was poſſible for us to doubt from what ſource the national diſtreſſes have ariſen, we have, in times of difficulty and peril, thought ourſelves bound to

ſtrengthen

ſtrengthen his majeſty's government, for the protection of his ſubjects, by our confidence and ſupport. But our duties as his majeſty's counſellors, and as the repreſentatives of his people, will no longer permit us to diſſemble our deliberate and determined opinion, that the diſtreſs, difficulty, and peril, to which this country is now ſubjected, have ariſen from the miſconduct of the king's miniſters, and are likely to ſubſiſt and increaſe, as long as the ſame principles which have hitherto guided theſe miniſters, ſhall continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.

It is painful for us to remind his majeſty of the ſituation of his dominions at the beginning of the war, and of the high degree of proſperity to which the ſkill and induſtry of his ſubjects had, under the ſafeguard of a free conſtitution, raiſed the Britiſh empire, ſince it can only fill his mind with the melancholy recollection of proſperity abuſed, and of opportunities of ſecuring permanent advantages wantonly rejected. Nor ſhall we preſume to wound his majeſty's benevolence, by dwelling on the fortunate conſequences which might have ariſen from the mediation of Great Britain between the powers then at war, which might have enſured the permanence of our proſperity, while it preſerved all Europe from the calamities which it has ſince endured. A mediation which this kingdom was ſo well fitted to carry on with vigour and dignity, by its power, its character, and the nature of its government, happily removed at an equal diſtance from the contending extremes of licentiouſneſs and tyranny.

From this neutral and impartial ſyſtem of policy his majeſty's miniſters were induced to depart by certain meaſures of the French government, of which they complained as injurious and hoſtile to this country. With what juſtice thoſe complaints were made, we are not now called upon to determine, ſince it cannot be pretended, that the meaſures of France were of ſuch a nature as to preclude the poſſibility of adjuſtment by negotiation; and it is impoſſible to deny that the power which ſhuts up the channel of accommodation, muſt be the real aggreſſor in war. To reject negotiation is to determine on hoſtilities; and whatever may have been the nature of the points in queſtion between us and France, we cannot but pronounce the refuſal of ſuch an authorized communication with that country as might have amicably terminated the diſpute, to be the true and immediate cauſe of the rupture which followed.

Nor can we forbear to remark, that the pretences under which his majeſty's miniſters then haughtily refuſed ſuch authorized communication, have been ſufficiently expoſed by their own conduct, in ſince ſubmitting to a ſimilar intercourſe with the ſame government.

The miſguided policy, which thus rendered the war inevitable, appears to have actuated the miniſters in their determination to continue it at all hazards. At the ſame time we cannot but obſerve, that the obſtinacy with which they have adhered to their deſperate ſyſtem, is not more remarkable than their verſatility in the pretexts upon which they have juſtified it.

At one period the ſtrength, at another the weakneſs of the enemy have been urged as motives for continuing the war: the ſucceſſes, as well as the defeats of the allies, have contributed only to prolong the conteſt; and hope and deſpair have equally ſerved to involve us ſtill deeper in the horrors of war, and to entail upon us an endleſs train of calamities.

After the original profeſſed objects had been obtained by the expulſion of the French armies from the territories of Holland and the Auſtrian Netherlands, we find his majeſty's miniſters, influenced either by arrogance or by infatuated ambition and the vain hope of conqueſts, which, if realized, could never compenſate to the nation for the blood and treaſure by which they muſt be obtained, rejecting, unheard, the overtures made by the executive council of France, at a period when the circumſtances were ſo eminently favourable to his majeſty and his allies, that there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that a negotiation, commenced at ſuch a juncture, muſt have terminated in an honourable and advantageous peace: to the proſpects ariſing from ſuch an opportunity, they preferred a blind and obſtinate perſeverance in a war which could ſcarce have any remaining object but the unjuſtifiable purpoſe of impoſing upon France a government diſapproved of by the inhabitants of that country; and ſuch was the infatuation of theſe miniſters, that, far from being able to frame a wiſe and comprehenſive ſyſtem of policy, they even rejected the few advantages that belonged to their own unfortunate ſcheme. The general exiſtence of a deſign to interpoſe in the internal government of France was too manifeſt, not to rouſe into active hoſtility the national zeal of that people; but their particular projects were too equivocal to attract the confidence, or procure the co-operation of thoſe Frenchmen who were diſaffected to the government of their country. The nature of theſe plans was too clear not to provoke formidable enemies, but their extent was too ambiguous to conciliate uſeful friends.

We beg leave farther to repreſent to your majeſty, that at ſubſequent periods your miniſters have ſuffered the moſt favourable opportunities to eſcape of obtaining an honourable and advantageous pacification. They did not avail themſelves, as it was their duty to have done, of the unbroken ſtrength of the general confederacy which had been formed againſt France, for the purpoſe of giving effect to overtures for negotiation. They ſaw the ſeceſſion of ſeveral powerful ſtates from that confederacy, they ſuffered it to diſſolve without an effort for the attainment of a general pacification. They loaded their country with the odium of having engaged in a combination, charged with the moſt queſtionable and unjuſtifiable views, without availing themſelves of that combination, for procuring favourable conditions of peace. That, from this fatal neglect, the progreſs of hoſtilities has only ſerved to eſtabliſh the evils which might certainly have been avoided by negotiation, but which are now confirmed by the events of the war. We have felt that the unjuſtifiable and impracticable attempt to eſtabliſh royalty in France by force, has only

only proved fatal to its unfortunate ſupporters. We have ſeen with regret the ſubjugation of Holland, and the aggrandiſement of the French republic; and we have to lament the alteration in the ſtate of Europe, not only from the ſucceſſes of the French, but from the formidable acquiſitions of ſome of the allied powers on the ſide of Poland, acquiſitions, alarming from their magnitude, but ſtill more ſo from the manner in which they have been made; thus fatally learning that the war has tended alone to eſtabliſh the very evils, for the prevention of which it was avowedly undertaken.

That we now therefore approach his majeſty, to aſſure him that his faithful commons heard, with the ſincereſt ſatisfaction, his majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage of the 8th of December, wherein his majeſty acquaints them, that the criſis which was depending at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, had led to ſuch an order of things, as would induce his majeſty to meet any diſpoſition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a general treaty of peace, whenever it could be effected on juſt and equitable terms for himſelf and his allies.

That from this gracious communication, they were led to hope for a ſpeedy termination to this moſt diſaſtrous conteſt; but that, with ſurprize and ſorrow, they have now reaſon to apprehend that three months were ſuffered to elapſe before any ſteps were taken towards a negotiation, or any overtures made by his majeſty's ſervants.

With equal ſurprize and concern they have obſerved, when a fair and open conduct was ſo peculiarly incumbent on his majeſty's miniſters, conſidering the prejudices and ſuſpicions which their previous conduct muſt have excited in the minds of the French; that inſtead of adopting that open and manly manner which became the wiſdom, the character, and dignity of the Britiſh nation, they had recourſe to a ſtyle calculated rather to excite ſuſpicion, than to inſpire confidence in the enemy. Every expreſſion which might be conſtrued into an acknowledgement of the French republic, or even an alluſion to its forms, was ſtudiouſly avoided; and the miniſter, through whom this overture was made, was in a moſt unprecedented manner inſtructed to declare, that he had no authority to enter into any negotiation or diſcuſſion relative to the objects of the propoſed treaty.

That it is with pain we reflect, that the alacrity of his majeſty's miniſters in apparently breaking off this incipient negotiation, as well as the ſtrange and unuſual manner in which it was announced to the miniſters of the various powers of Europe, affords a very unfavourable comment on their reluctance in entering upon it, and is calculated to make the moſt injurious impreſſion reſpecting their ſincerity on the people of France.

On a review of ſo many inſtances of groſs and flagrant miſconduct, proceeding from the ſame pernicious principles, and directed with incorrigible obſtinacy to the ſame miſchievous ends, we deem ourſelves bound in duty to his majeſty, and to our conſtituents, to

declare that we ſee no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adoption of a ſyſtem radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our preſent calamities.

Unleſs his majeſty's miniſters ſhall, from a real conviction of paſt errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon ſuch a ſyſtem, we can neither give any credit to the ſincerity of their profeſſions of a wiſh for peace, nor repoſe any confidence in them for conducting a negotiation to a proſperous iſſue. Odious as they are to an enemy who wiſh ſtill to believe them ſecretly to cheriſh thoſe unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to diſavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, from the diſplay of inſincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hopes reſt on his majeſty's royal wiſdom and unqueſtioned affection for his people, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt maxims of policy more ſuited to the circumſtances of the times than thoſe by which his majeſty's miniſters appear to have been governed, and to direct his ſervants to take meaſures, which, by differing eſſentially, as well in their tendency as in the principle upon which they are founded, from thoſe which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country ſome reaſonable hope, at no very diſtant period, of the eſtabliſhment of a peace ſuitable to the intereſts of Great Britain, and likely to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe.

This motion was negatived by a majority of 216 to 42.

Proteſt of Earl Fitzwilliam, againſt the Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords to the Throne on His Majeſty's Speech announcing the opening of a Negotiation for Peace with the French Republic.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. BECAUSE, by this addreſs, amended as it ſtands, the ſanction of the lords is given to a ſeries of meaſures, as ill judged, with regard to their object, as they are derogatory from the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and from the honour of this kingdom. The reiteration of ſolicitations for peace to a ſpecies of power, with whoſe very exiſtence all fair and equitable accommodation is incompatible, can have no other effect than that which it is notorious all our ſolicitations have hitherto had. They muſt increaſe the arrogance and ferocity of the common enemy of all nations; they muſt fortify the credit, and fix the authority of an odious government over an enſlaved people; they muſt impair the confidence of all other powers in the magnanimity, conſtancy, and fidelity of the Britiſh counſels; and it is much to be apprehended it will inevitably tend to break the ſpring of that energy, and to lower that ſpirit which has characteriſed in former times this high-minded nation, and which, far from ſinking under misfortune, has even riſen with the difficulties and dangers in which our country has been involved.

2d. Becauſe no peace, ſuch as may be capable of recruiting the ſtrength, œconomizing the means, augmenting the reſources, and providing for the ſafety of this kingdom, and its inſeparable connec-

tions

tions and dependencies, can be had with the uſurped power now exerciſing authority in France, conſidering the deſcription, the character, and the conduct, of thoſe who compoſe that government; the methods by which they have obtained their power, the policy by which they hold it, and the maxims they have adopted, openly profeſſed, and uniformly acted on, towards the deſtruction of all governments not formed on their model and ſubſervient to their domination.

3d. Becauſe the idea that this kingdom is competent to defend itſelf, its laws, liberties, and religion, under the general ſubjugation of all Europe, is preſumptuous in the extreme, contradictory to the ſuppoſed motives for our preſent eager ſolicitations for peace, and is certainly contrary to the ſtanding policy both of ſtate and commerce, by which Great Britain has hitherto flouriſhed.

4th. Becauſe, while the common enemy exerciſes his power over the ſeveral ſtates of Europe in the way we have ſeen, it is impoſſible long to preſerve our trade, or, what cannot exiſt without it, our naval power. This hoſtile ſyſtem ſeizes on the keys of the dominions of theſe powers, without any conſideration of their friendſhip, their enmity, or their neutrality; preſcribes laws to them as to conquered provinces; mulcts and fines them at pleaſure; forces them, without any particular quarrel, into direct hoſtility with this kingdom, and expels us from ſuch ports and markets as ſhe thinks fit; inſomuch that (Europe remaining under its preſent ſlavery) there is no harbour which we can enter without her permiſſion, either in a commercial or a naval character. This general interdict cannot be begged off; we muſt reſiſt it by our power, or we are already in a ſtate of vaſſalage.

5th. Becauſe, whilſt this uſurped power ſhall continue thus conſtituted, and thus diſpoſed, no ſecurity whatever can be hoped for in our colonies and plantations, thoſe invaluable ſources of our national wealth and our naval power. This war has ſhewn that the power prevalent in France, by intentionally diſorganizing the plantation ſyſtem (which France had in common with all other European nations), and by inverting the order and relations therein eſtabliſhed, has been able with a naval force, altogether contemptible, and with very inconſiderable ſuccours from Europe, to baffle in a great meaſure the moſt powerful armament ever ſent from this country into the Weſt Indies, and at an expence hitherto unparalleled, and has, by the force of example, and by the effects of her machinations, produced, at little or no expence to herſelf, either of blood or treaſure, univerſal deſolation and ruin, by the general deſtruction of every thing valuable and neceſſary for cultivation, throughout ſeveral of our iſlands, lately among the moſt flouriſhing and productive. The new ſyſtem, by which theſe things have been effected, leaves our colonies equally endangered in peace as in war. It is therefore with this general ſyſtem (of which the Weſt India ſcheme is but a ramification) that all ancient eſtabliſhments are eſſentially at war for the ſake of ſelf-preſervation.

6th. Becauſe it has been de-

clared from the throne, and in effect the principle has been adopted by Parliament, that there was no way likely to obtain a peace, commonly safe and honourable, but through the ancient and legitimate government long established in France. That government in its lawful succession has been solemnly recognized, and assistance and protection as solemnly promised to those Frenchmen who should exert themselves in its restoration. The political principle upon which this recognition was made is very far from being weakened by the conduct of the newly-invented government. Nor are our obligations of good faith, pledged on such strong motives of policy to those who have been found in their allegiance dissolved, nor can they be so, until fairly directed efforts have been made to secure this great fundamental point. None have yet been employed with the smallest degree of vigour and perseverance.

7th. Because the example of the great change made by the usurpation in the moral and political world (more dangerous than all her conquests) is by the present procedure confirmed in all its force. It is the first successful example furnished by history of the subversion of the antient government of a great country, and of all its laws, orders, and religion, by the corruption of mercenary armies, and by the seduction of a multitude bribed by confiscation to sedition, in defiance of the sense, and to the entire destruction of almost the whole proprietary body of the nation. The fatal effects of this example must be felt in every country. New means, new arms, new pretexts, are furnished to ambition; and new persons are intoxicated with that poison.

8th. Because our eagerness in suing for peace may induce the persons exercising power in France erroneously to believe, that we act from necessity, and are unable to continue the war; a persuasion which, in the event of an actual peace, will operate as a temptation to them to renew that conduct which brought on the present war, neither shall we have any of the usual securities in peace. In their treaties they do not acknowledge the obligation of that law, which for ages has been common to all Europe. They have not the same sentiments nor the same ideas of their interest in the conservation of peace, which have hitherto influenced all regular governments; they do not in the same manner feel public distress, or the private misery of their subjects; they will not find the same difficulty on the commencement of a new war to call their whole force into sudden action, where, by the law, every citizen is a soldier, and the person and properties of all are liable at once to arbitrary requisitions. On the other hand, no attempt has been made to shew in what manner, whether by alliances, by force, military or naval, or by the improvement and augmentation of our finances, we shall be better able to resist their hostile attempts, after the peace, than at the present hour. If we remain armed, we cannot reap the ordinary advantage of peace in œconomy; if we disarm, we shall be subject to be driven into a new war, under every circumstance of disadvantage, unless we now prepare ourselves to suffer with patience and submission whatever insults,

indignities,

indignities, and injuries, we may receive from that infolent, domineering, and unjuſt power.

9th. Becauſe the inability of humbling ourſelves again to ſolicit peace, in a manner, which is a recognition of the French republic, contrary to all the principles of war, the danger of peace if obtained, the improbability of its duration, and the perſeverance of the enemy throughout the interval of peace in their miſchievous ſyſtem, is not conjecture, but certainty. It has been avowed by the actual governors of France, at the very moment when they had before them our application for a paſſport. They choſe that moment for publiſhing a ſtate paper, breathing the moſt hoſtile mind. In it they ſtimulate and goad us by language the moſt opprobrious and offenſive. They frankly tell us, that it is not our intereſt to deſire peace, for that they regard peace only as the opportunity of preparing freſh means for the annihilation of our naval power. By making peace they do not conceal that it will be their object—"to wreſt from us our ma-"ritime preponderancy; to re-eſta-"bliſh what they invidiouſly call "the freedom of the ſeas; to give "a new impulſe to the Spaniſh, "Dutch, and French marines; and "to carry to the higheſt degree of "proſperity the induſtry and com-"merce of thoſe nations," which they ſtate to be our rivals, which they charge us with "unjuſtly "attacking, when we can no longer "dupe," and which they throughout contemplate as their own dependencies, united in arms, and furniſhing reſources for our future humiliation and deſtruction. They reſort to that well known and conſtant alluſion of their's to ancient hiſtory, by which, repreſenting "France as modern Rome, and En-"gland as modern Carthage," they accuſe us of national perfidy, and hold England up, as an object to be blotted out from the face of the earth. They falſely aſſert that the Engliſh nation ſupports with impatience the continuance of the war, and has extorted all his Majeſty's overtures for peace, "by complaints "and reproaches;" and, above all, not only in that paſſage, but throughout their official note, they ſhew the moſt marked adherence to that inſidious and intolerable policy of their ſyſtem, by which they, from the commencement of the revolution, ſought to trouble and ſubvert all the governments in Europe. They ſtudiouſly disjoin the Engliſh nation from its ſovereign.

10th. Becauſe, having acted throughout the courſe of this awful and momentous criſis upon the principles herein expreſſed, and after having on the preſent occaſion, not only fully reconſidered, and jealouſly examined their foundneſs and validity, but gravely attended to, and ſcrupulouſly weighed the merits of all thoſe arguments which have been offered to induce a dereliction of them, conſcientiouſly adhering to, and firmly abiding by them, I thus ſolemnly record them, in juſtification of my own conduct, and in diſcharge of the duty I owe to my king, my country, and general intereſts of civil ſociety.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

Order of Council of the 3d September.

AT the Court at Weymouth, the 3d of September 1796, preſent the

king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

Whereas an act paſſed in the thirty-third year of his majeſty's reign, intituled, "An act more effectually to prevent, during the preſent war between Great Britain and France, all traitorous correſpondence with, or aid or aſſiſtance being given to his majeſty's enemies;" and another act paſſed in the thirty-fourth year of his majeſty's reign, intituled, "An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majeſty's ſubjects belonging to or diſpoſable by perſons reſident in France, being applied to the uſe of the perſons exerciſing the powers of government in France, and for preſerving the property thereof for the benefit of the individual owners thereof."

And whereas another act, paſſed in the thirty-fourth year aforeſaid, intituled, "An act for more effectually preſerving money and effects, in the hands of his majeſty's ſubjects, belonging to or diſpoſable by perſons reſident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof."

And whereas it is expedient that ſuch licence and authority ſhould be granted as is hereinafter given and granted; his majeſty, taking the ſame into his royal conſideration, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, by this order to grant, and accordingly, with ſuch advice, by this order, doth grant licence, according to the authority given by the ſaid acts reſpectively, or ſome of them, to all perſons reſiding or being in Great Britain, either on their own account or credit, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, or whereſoever reſident or being, to ſell, ſupply, deliver, or ſend for the purpoſe of being ſold, ſupplied, or delivered, and to agree to ſell, ſupply, deliver, or ſend for ſuch purpoſe and either on their own account or credit, or on the account or credit, or by the direction of any other perſon or perſons whomſoever and whereſoever reſident or being, to cauſe or procure to be ſold, ſupplied, delivered, or ſent for ſuch purpoſe as aforeſaid, or to authorize or direct any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, or whereſoever reſident or being, to ſell, ſupply, deliver, or ſend as aforeſaid; or to aid or aſſiſt in ſo ſelling, ſupplying, delivering, or authoriſing or directing to be ſold, ſupplied, delivered or ſent; and alſo to buy or procure, or contract or agree to contract or procure, or cauſe to be bought or procured, or authoriſe or direct any other perſon or perſons whomſoever, or whereſoever reſident or being, to buy or procure, or to contract or agree to buy or procure, or to aid or aſſiſt in buying or procuring, or authoriſing or directing to be bought or procured, any goods, wares, merchandizes, or effects mentioned in the ſaid acts, or any other goods, wares, merchandizes, or effects, (except ſuch as are hereinafter mentioned) whether of the growth, production or manufacture of this kingdom, or of any foreign country, to or for the uſe of any perſons reſiding in the territories of the United Provinces, or in the Auſtrian Netherlands, or in any part of Italy, or for the purpoſe of being ſent into any part or place within the ſame reſpectively.

Provided nevertheleſs, that all ſuch goods, wares, merchandizes, and

ond effects, be exported from this kingdom, and in ſhips or veſſels belonging to perſons of ſome ſtate or country in amity with his majeſty, and that ſuch exportation be made under the uſual conditions and regulations; and that ſuch ſecurity be given by bond, in ſuch penalty, by ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner, as ſhall be directed by the commiſſioners of his majeſty's cuſtoms, and that the ſaid goods, wares, merchandizes, and effects ſhall be exported to the places propoſed, and to none other; and that a certificate ſhall be produced, within ſix months from the date of the bond, under the hand of the Britiſh conſul or vice-conſul reſiding at the port or place at which ſuch goods or commodities ſhall be landed; and if no vice-conſul ſhall be there reſident, then under the hands of two known Britiſh merchants reſiding there; and if no Britiſh merchant ſhall reſide there, then under the hand of the chief magiſtrate of the place, teſtifying that the ſaid goods have been all duly landed at that port or place.

Provided alſo, that nothing hereinbefore contained ſhall be conſtrued to licenſe the exportation, ſale, ſending, ſupplying, or delivering of, or in any manner to relate to any arms, ordnance, ordnance ſtores, gunpowder, bullets, pitch, tar, hemp, maſts, timber, ſail-cloth, cordage, ſalt-petre, or any naval or military ſtores whatſoever, nor to relate to any ore or article whatſoever, intended for the uſe of the armies, troops, fleets, ſhips, or veſſels of the enemies of his majeſty; or any articles which are ſpecially prohibited by any other act or acts of parliament, other than the acts before mentioned, to be exported, ſold, applied, or delivered, as aforeſaid; or in any manner to affect the proviſions of any other act or acts of parliament; or to licenſe or authorize the ſeveral acts, matters, and things aforeſaid, further or otherwiſe than as the ſame might be affected by the ſeveral before-mentioned acts of parliament.

Provided alſo, that every perſon who ſhall take the benefit of this licence and authority, ſhall take the ſame upon condition, that if in caſe of any proceeding, civil or criminal, under the proviſions of any of the acts hereinbefore mentioned, or any thing alledged to have been done contrary thereto, any queſtion ſhall ariſe whether the thing done was authorized by the licence hereby given, the proof that ſuch thing was done under the circumſtances, and according to the terms and conditions of this order, ſhall lie on the perſons claiming the benefit hereof.

And his majeſty, with the advice aforeſaid, is hereby further pleaſed to order, that this licence and order ſhall remain and be in force and effect until the 25th day of December next enſuing, unleſs the ſame ſhall be ſooner revoked.

And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, and the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, are to give the neceſſary directions herein to them reſpectively appertaining.

(Signed) W. FAWKENER.

Order of Council relative to Trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

At the Court at St. James's, the 28th of December, 1796, preſent the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

WHEREAS by an act paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, intituled,

tituled, " An act to authorize his majesty, for a limited time, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope," it is enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, by any order or orders to be issued from time to time, to give such directions, and make such regulations, touching the trade and commerce to and from the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and the territories and dependencies thereof, as to his majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary, any of the acts of parliament therein referred to, or any usage, law or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And whereas during the time the said settlement, with the territories and dependencies thereof, were in the possession and under the government of the states-general of the United Provinces, or of the honourable the general East India company in the Netherlands, it was usual to admit the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of countries in amity with said United Provinces into the ports of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, for repair and refreshment, and with that view, to permit the said ships and vessels to carry on trade with the inhabitants of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof: his majesty is hereby pleased to order, by and with the advice of his privy council, in pursuance of the powers vested in his majesty by the above recited act, and it is hereby ordered that it shall be lawful, until further order, for all ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of any country or state in amity with his majesty, to enter into the ports of the said settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, and to carry on trade and traffic with the inhabitants of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, and to import and export to and from the ports of the settlement and of the territories and dependencies thereof, any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever, subject to the following exceptions, and subject also to such duties, rules, regulations, and restrictions, as shall be established by his majesty, or by the governor of the said settlement, and of the territories and dependencies thereof, by virtue of authority derived from his majesty; and in the mean time subject to such duties, rules, regulations and restrictions, as subsisted and were in force before and at the time of the conquest of the said settlement by the arms of his majesty, with such alterations as have been since made under the authority of the commander in chief of his majesty's forces at the said settlement: but it is his majesty's pleasure, that no goods, wares, or merchandise, which shall be imported into the said settlement or the territories or dependencies thereof, from any part of his majesty's dominions, shall be subject to any duty.

And it is his majesty's pleasure that no goods, wares, and merchandise, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope be imported into the said settlement, or the territories or dependencies thereof, except by the United Company of merchants trading to the East Indies; and that no such goods, wares, or merchandise, be permitted to be exported from thence

hence, except for ſea ſtores only, or by the United Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, or by their licence.

But it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that nothing in this order contained ſhall extend to prevent ſhips or veſſels employed in the ſouthern whale fiſhery from carrying on the ſame, in ſuch and the ſame manner as might have been done if this order had not been made.

And it is alſo his majeſty's pleaſure, that no arms or artillery, gunpowder or ammunition, of any ſort, be allowed to be imported into the ſaid ſettlement, or the territories or dependencies thereof, except by the ſaid United Company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, or by licence from his majeſty.

And it is his majeſty's further pleaſure, that the trade and commerce to and from the ſaid ſettlement; and the territories and dependencies thereof, ſhall be ſubject to ſuch of the laws of trade and navigation as would have affected the ſame if this order had not been made, except ſo far as ſuch laws are contrary to this preſent order.

And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, and the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty are to give the neceſſary directions herein as to them may reſpectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

Anſwer of the Britiſh Government to the Spaniſh Declaration of War.

THE open aggreſſions of Spain, the violences committed againſt the perſons and property of his majeſty's ſubjects, and the unprovoked declaration of war on the part of that power, have at length compelled his majeſty to take the neceſſary meaſures for repelling force by force, and for vindicating the dignity of his crown, and the rights and intereſts of his people.

At the moment of adopting theſe meaſures, his majeſty feels it due to himſelf to remove every doubt which can be thrown on the indiſputable juſtice of his cauſe; and it will be eaſily proved, from the very reaſons adduced by the court of Madrid in ſupport of its declaration of war, that all the calamities which may enſue are ſolely to be attributed to the conduct of his enemies.

A ſimple reference to that declaration, and a bare enumeration of the vague and frivolous charges which it contains, would indeed be ſufficient to ſatisfy all reaſonable and impartial minds that no part of the conduct of Great Britain towards Spain has afforded the ſmalleſt ground of complaint, much leſs any motive ſufficiently powerful for adding to the preſent calamities of Europe all the evils of a new and complicated war.

The only difficulty of a detailed reply ariſes not from the ſtrength and importance of the complaints alleged, but from their weakneſs and futility—from the confuſed and unintelligible ſhape in which they are brought forward, and from the impoſſibility of referring them to any eſtabliſhed principle or rule of juſtice, to any uſual form or topic of complaint between independent governments, or to any of thoſe motives which can alone create the painful duty of an appeal to arms.

The acts of hoſtility attributed to his majeſty in the manifeſto of Spain, conſiſt either of matters perfectly innocent and indifferent in their nature, or of imputed opinions

and

and intentions of which no proof is adduced, nor any effect alleged; or, laſtly, of complaints of the miſconduct of unauthorized individuals; reſpecting all which his majeſty has never failed to inſtitute inquiry, where inquiry was neceſſary, and to cauſe juſtice to be done in the regular courſe of judicial proceedings. The very nature of ſuch complaints affords a ſufficient anſwer to the concluſion attempted to be drawn from them by Spain; and his majeſty might have been well juſtified in declining all further diſcuſſion on points; on which it was manifeſt that no juſt motive of hoſtility could be grounded.

Such, however, was not his conduct. Anxious to avert from both kingdoms the calamities of war, he has repeatedly and vainly propoſed to adjuſt, by friendly diſcuſſion, all points of difference which could ſubſiſt between the governments of two nations whoſe real intereſts were the ſame, and who had an equal concern in oppoſing the progreſs of a common enemy.

This diſcuſſion having always been ſtudiouſly avoided by the court of Madrid, it now remains only for his majeſty to vindicate in this public manner his own cauſe, and to prove the futility of thoſe pretences by which that court now ſeeks to colour its aggreſſion.

The firſt point brought forward to ſupport an accuſation of ill faith is the conduct of the king's admiral at Toulon: who is charged with having deſtroyed thoſe ſhips and naval ſtores of the enemy which he could not carry away with him: and with having afterwards undertaken an expedition to Corſica, without the knowledge or participation of the Spaniſh admiral. To

an accuſation of ſuch a natu
alleged as a ground of war betwe
two great nations, it can hardly
expected that a ſerious anſw
ſhould be given. It is perhaps t
firſt time that it has been imput
as a crime to one of the comman
ing officers of two powers acting
alliance, and making a comm
cauſe in war, that he did more th
his proportion of miſchief to t
common enemy. And if it be real
true that ſuch a ſentiment was e
tertained at Madrid, certainly
other juſtification can be neceſſa
for not inviting the officers of th
court to join in ſubſequent exp
ditions againſt the ſame enemy:
all events it cannot be pretend
that a co-operation between tv
allies (however cordial and ſincer
in any one particular enterpriz
could afterwards reſtrain either
them from undertaking ſeparate
any other, to which his own for
appeared in itſelf to be adequate.

The ſecond inſtance of ill-fai
attributed to his majeſty is the co
cluſion of a treaty of amity a
commerce with the United Stat
of America; a power with whoi
both Great Britain and Spain we
at peace; with whom the king,
well as his catholic majeſty, wa
perfectly free to contract any ſuc
engagement; and with whom th
court of Madrid has actually co
cluded a ſimilar treaty, with th
difference only, that the ſtipulation
of the Britiſh treaty can give n
ground of offence or injury to an
other power, while the Spaniſ
treaty contains an article (that re
ſpecting the navigation of the Miſ
ſiſſippi) which, if it could have an
force or effect at all, would be, o
the part of Spain, a direct breac
of treaty with Great Britain, and

grof

ofs violation of the important and nqueſtionable rights of his majeſty nd his people.

The ſame ill-faith is ſaid to have een manifeſted in the unwilling- eſs ſhewn by the Britiſh govern- ent to adopt the plans propoſed y Spain for haſtening the con- uſion of the war with France, (but hat theſe plans were, it is not ated,) and alſo in omitting to com- y with an application made by pain for pecuniary ſuccours, as eceſſary to enable her to act againſt ne common enemy. The failure f ſuch an application cannot cer- ainly be matter of ſurprize to any ne who conſiders the ſituation and onduct of Spain during the war. It an hardly be alleged, even as an xcuſe for the precipitate peace con- uded by Spain, not only without ne knowledge of her allies, but in ontradiction to repeated and poſi- ve aſſurances; but it is difficult to onceive how ſuch a refuſal can be ade the ground of hoſtility towards reat Britain, or with what con- ſtency the inability of Spain to roſecute the former conteſt without ecuniary aid from its ally, can ave become a motive of engaging ratuitouſly in all the expences and fficulties of a new war againſt that ery power.

With regard to the condemnation f the St. Jago (a prize taken from ne enemy by his majeſty's naval rces), his majeſty has only to re- y to the injurious aſſertions on at ſubject in the Spaniſh manifeſto, at the claims of all the parties that cauſe were publicly heard d decided according to the known w of nations, and before the only mpetent tribunal; one, whoſe im- rtiality is above all ſuſpicion.

The conduct of his majeſty re- ſpecting the naval ſtores, which were claimed by Spain on board Dutch veſſels, has been in like manner ex- empt from all blame, nor was any unneceſſary delay interpoſed reſpect- ing thoſe cargoes, till the equivocal conduct of Spain, and the ſtrong and juſt ſuſpicion of her hoſtile diſpoſi- tions, made it impoſſible for his majeſty to conſent to ſupply her from the ports of his dominions with the means of acting againſt himſelf.

The next charge relates to the alleged miſconduct of ſome mer- chant ſhips in landing their crews on the coaſts of Chili and Peru, with a view of carrying on there an illicit commerce, and of reconnoi- tring the country. On this it is to be obſerved, that thoſe views are not ſupported by any fact whatever; that if any act was in truth com- mitted by individuals in thoſe ter- ritories againſt the laws of the government eſtabliſhed there, thoſe laws might have been enforced upon the ſpot, and the court of London has always been open to receive and redreſs all complaints of that nature. But that which is aſſigned in the manifeſto as a mere cover and pre- text for fraud, namely, the exerciſe of the whale fiſhery by the Engliſh in thoſe parts, is not as there aſſerted, a right which the Engliſh "claim under the convention of Nootka." It is one, which was not then for the firſt time eſtabliſhed, but ſolemnly recogniſed by the court of Madrid, as having always be- longed to Great Britain, and the full and undiſturbed exerciſe of which was guaranteed to his majeſty's ſub- jects in terms ſo expreſs as to admit of no doubt, and in a tranſaction ſo recent, that ignorance of it cannot be pretended.

Such, it ſeems, were the offences

of

of the Britiſh government, and ſuch the jealouſies and apprehenſion of Spain during the time when the courts of London and Madrid were united in the bands of alliance, and engaged in a common cauſe; and it is on motives as frivolous as theſe, that the court of Madrid began to project an offenſive alliance with the king's enemies; a deſign which it now profeſſes to have entertained from the moment when it ſeparated itſelf from the common cauſe, but which was long after that period diſguiſed under the moſt poſitive and explicit aſſurances of neutrality.

It is inſinuated, that the good offices of his catholic majeſty, for bringing about a general pacification, had been tendered to Great Britain, and had been refuſed. What degree of impartiality could have been expected from ſuch a mediation, the diſpoſitions which Spain now avows herſelf to have entertained at that period ſufficiently ſhew; his majeſty exerciſed his undoubted right of judging for himſelf and for his people, how far a negociation, commenced under ſuch auſpices, was likely to contribute to the honour and intereſt of his dominions; and he now finds the propriety of his deciſion confirmed beyond a doubt, by the conduct and avowals of Spain.

It is next ſtated, that in the proſecution of the war, in which Great Britain is engaged, her views ſeem uniformly to have been directed to the annoyance of the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in America. In ſupport of this accuſation are adduced an expedition directed againſt St. Domingo, the conqueſt of the Dutch colony of Demerary, and the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment of Britiſh commercial companies on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, formed with a vi of penetrating to the South Sea.

This latter point is one to whi it is impoſſible to make a ſpeci anſwer, becauſe the Britiſh gover ment has no knowledge of any f to which it can refer. Within t Spaniſh territory, the Spaniſh g vernment certainly poſſeſſes bo the right and the power to preve individuals from trading. With the American territory, his majeſt ſubjects have by treaty a right ſettle and to trade; and they ha alſo an expreſs right freely to na gate the Miſſiſſippi, by which t territories of Spain and of the Unit States are divided from each oth Unleſs, therefore, it can be ſhe that the Britiſh government l authorized any ſettlement on t Spaniſh territory, this compla can afford no pretence for hoſtil againſt his majeſty.

With regard to the expediti againſt St. Domingo, and to t conqueſt of Demerary, it is imp ſible to refrain from remarking, t however highly the rights of neut nations ought to be reſpected, a whatever delicacy his majeſty mig be diſpoſed to feel towards thoſe a power ſo lately his ally, and yet become his enemy—it is a n and hitherto unheard-of claim neutrality, which is to be circu ſcribed by no bounds, either of ti or place; which extends equa beyond the date, and beyond limits of poſſeſſion, and is to att not to the territories of a neut power itſelf, but to whatever n once have belonged to it, and whatever may be ſituated in neighbourhood, although in the p ſeſſion of an actual enemy.

The ſubject, however, of St. D mingo, deſerves to be more pa cula

ılarly adverted to, becauſe the at-
mpt on the part of Spain to cede
part of that iſland to France, is a
reach of that ſolemn treaty under
hich alone the crown of Spain
olds any part of its American poſ-
ſſions. The concluſion of ſuch an
rticle, without the knowledge of an
lly ſo deeply concerned as Great
ritain in that ſtipulation, both in
ght and intereſt, was therefore an
t, ſuch as would have juſtified any
neaſures to which the court of
ondon could have recourſe; yet ſo
arneſt was the king's deſire to main-
in peace with Spain, that he re-
eatedly endeavoured to fix, by an
micable diſcuſſion with that court,
he period when the right of Spain
o the territory ſo ceded was to
eaſe, in order that any operation,
hich it might become expedient
or his troops to undertake there,
ight be directed againſt the French
lone. And although no explana-
ion could ever be obtained from the
ourt of Madrid on this ſubject, his
ommanders on the ſpot were re-
rained from acting, and did not
ct againſt the Spaniſh part of the
land, till the ceſſion actually took
lace, by which it became, as far
s the act of Spain could make it, a
art of the territories of France.

To the accuſations which make
p the greater part of the remainder
f the manifeſto, reſpecting the de-
ention or capture of merchant ſhips,
r the violation of territory therein
nentioned, it is ſufficient to reply,
hat in every caſe of ſuch a nature
hich has been brought to the
nowledge of the Britiſh govern-
nent, the moſt effectual meaſures
ave been inſtantly taken for inſti-
uting inquiry into the particulars
f the tranſaction, for collecting the
roofs neceſſary to aſcertain the
fact on which the charge was found-
ed, and for ſubmitting the whole to
that regular courſe of proceeding in
which juſtice is to be rendered in
theſe caſes, according to the eſta-
bliſhed practice throughout Europe,
and to the expreſs ſtipulations of the
treaties between Great Britain and
Spain.

Amidſt the wide and complicated
operations of a naval war, extended
over every quarter of the globe, it
is not improbable that ſome diſor-
ders and irregularities may have
taken place, which the utmoſt vigi-
lance of the government could not
immediately diſcover or repreſs; and
that in the exerciſe of the undoubt-
ed right of a power at war, to ſearch
out and ſeize the property of the
enemy, the rights of neutral nations
may, in ſome inſtances, have been
unintentionally expoſed to tempo-
rary moleſtation. The ſame obſer-
vation was not leſs applicable to
Spain in her war with France; and
the ſhort interval that has elapſed
ſince her declaration againſt Great
Britain has amply ſhewn that ſimi-
lar complaints will ariſe from her
conduct in the preſent war.

The utmoſt that can be demand-
ed in ſuch caſes of a power at war,
is, that it ſhould ſhew itſelf ready on
all occaſions to liſten to the remon-
ſtrances and reclamations of thoſe
whom it may have aggrieved, and
prompt and expeditious in redreſſing
their injuries, and in reſtoring their
property: and to the readineſs of
the Britiſh government to fulfil
theſe duties, in every caſe where
they have been called upon to do ſo,
even Spain herſelf may ſafely be
called to bear witneſs. Nor would
it be eaſy to cite a more ſtriking
proof of the friendly diſpoſition of
the king's government, and of the

particular

particular attention manifeſted towards the rights and intereſts of Spain, than ariſes from an impartial examination of the detail of what has paſſed on this ſubject. It will be found that the cauſes of complaints, whether well or ill-founded, which have been brought forward, are much fewer than ever have occurred within the ſame period in former times. And the court of Spain, when called upon to ſpecify particulars on this head, is obliged to have recourſe to an allegation of the depredations of Corſican privateers.

There remains but one ground upon which the court of Spain pretends to account to the world for the raſh and perfidious ſtep which it has taken, in declaring war againſt England, and to excuſe to Europe the calamities which cannot fail to reſult from ſuch a meaſure; the ſuppoſed decree of arreſt aſſerted to have been iſſued againſt the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London. The fact, to which this relates, muſt have been groſsly miſtaken before it could be made to appear, even in the eyes of Spain, a fit motive for the ſlighteſt repreſentation or complaint, much more a juſtifiable cauſe of war between the two kingdoms.

By the ſtreſs which is laid upon this tranſaction, who is there that would not be led to imagine that the law-ſuit commenced againſt the Spaniſh ambaſſador was attended with ſome peculiar circumſtances of perſonal indignity? That the reſult was intentional, and originated with the Britiſh government? or that, on being appriſed of the offence, the court of London had ſhewn ſome unwillingneſs or delay in proceeding to the proſecution of the parties, concerned in it?

Who but would be aſtoniſhed t learn, that the proceſs itſelf was n more than a ſimple citation to ar ſwer at law for a debt demanded that the ſuing this proceſs was th miſtaken act of an individual, wh was immediately diſavowed by th government, and ordered to be pro ſecuted for his conduct, and wh made (but made in vain) repeate and ſubmiſſive applications to th Spaniſh ambaſſador for forgivene and interference on his behalf? tha caſes of the ſame nature have fre quently ariſen in England from th ignorance of individuals, and fro the ready appeal to the laws whic the happy conſtitution of the cou try admits and authorizes, withou the previous intervention or know ledge of any branch of the executiv government; and that in all ſimila caſes, and particularly in one whic had occurred only a few weeks be fore, preciſely the ſame meaſure have been purſued by the goverr ment to vindicate the privileges foreign miniſters, and have uniform ly, and without exception, been ac cepted as completely adequate t that object, and ſatisfactory to th dignity and honour of the ſovereig whom the caſe concerned?

Such then are the frivolous mo tives, and pretended wrongs, whic Spain has choſen to aſſign as th juſtification of her declaration war againſt Great Britain. Suc are the topics of complaint upo which his majeſty has repeatedl offered the moſt unequivocal expla nation; upon which he has long an earneſtly endeavoured to perſuad the court of Madrid to enter into full and amicable diſcuſſion, for th purpo

urpoſe of averting from his own ubjects, from thoſe of his catholic majeſty, and from Europe, the extremities of war.

When upon grounds of ſuch a nature, and with the offer of negotiation repeatedly preſented to its choice, a power has wilfully and wantonly choſen a war, in which its proſperity, its happineſs, and its ſafety, are hazarded, and in which it will have as much to fear from the ſucceſs of its allies, as from that of its enemies —it ſurely is not too much to preſume, that, even in its own eyes, that power is not juſtified for the proceeding which it adopted, and that there muſt be ſome unaſſigned motive of irreſiſtible neceſſity, which induces it to purſue meaſures alike inconſiſtent with its intereſt and with its honour.

It will be plain to all poſterity—it is now notorious to Europe, that neither to the genuine wiſhes, nor even to the miſtaken policy of Spain, her preſent conduct is to be attributed; that not from enmity towards Great Britain, not from any reſentment of paſt or apprehenſion of future injuries, but from a blind ſubſerviency to the views of his majeſty's enemies, from the dominion uſurped over her councils and actions by her new allies, ſhe has been compelled to act in a quarrel, and for intereſts, not her own: to take up arms againſt one of thoſe powers in whoſe cauſe ſhe has profeſſed to feel the ſtrongeſt intereſt; and even to menace with hoſtility another, againſt whom no cauſe of complaint is pretended, except its honourable and faithful adherence to its engagements.

Under theſe circumſtances, his majeſty forbears to enumerate the ſeveral grounds of juſt complaint which he has had occaſion, on his part, to prefer to the court of Madrid, ſince the concluſion of the peace between France and Spain; the many and groſs inſtances of unjuſt partiality towards his enemies, of undue protection afforded to their ſhips, and of injuries committed, and allowed to be committed, on thoſe of his majeſty and his ſubjects.

Confident of having acquitted himſelf to the world of any ſhare in originating the preſent war, he finds in the manifeſt and unprovoked aggreſſion of the enemy, a ſufficient cauſe for calling forth the reſources of his kingdoms, and the ſpirit of his ſubjects; and he commits to the Divine Providence the iſſue of a conteſt, which it was to the laſt moment his earneſt endeavour to avoid, and which he now ardently deſires to bring to a ſpeedy and honourable termination.

Note tranſmitted to M. Barthelemy, *Ambaſſador from the* French *Republic to the* Helvetic *Body, by Mr.* Wickham, *his* Britannic *Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the* Swiſs *Cantons, March* 8, 1796.

THE underſigned, his Britannic majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the Swiſs Cantons, is authorized to convey to monſieur Barthelemy, the deſire of his court to be made acquainted, through him, with the diſpoſitions of France in regard to the object of a general pacification. He therefore requeſts monſieur Barthelemy to tranſmit to him in writing (and after having made the neceſſary inquiries) his anſwer to the following queſtions:

1. Is there the diſpoſition in France to open a negotiation with his

his majeſty and his allies for the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace, upon juſt and ſuitable terms, by ſending for that purpoſe miniſters to a congreſs, at ſuch place as may hereafter be agreed upon?

2. Would there be the diſpoſition to communicate to the underſigned the general grounds of a pacification, ſuch as France would be willing to propoſe; in order that his majeſty and his allies might thereupon examine in concert, whether they are ſuch as might ſerve as the foundation of a negotiation for peace?

3. Or would there be a deſire to propoſe any other way whatever for arriving at the ſame end, that of a general pacification?

The underſigned is authorized to receive from monſieur Barthelemy the anſwers to theſe queſtions, and to tranſmit them to his court; but he is not authorized to enter with him into negotiation or diſcuſſion upon theſe ſubjects.

(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Berne, March 8, 1796.

Note tranſmitted to Mr. Wickham *by* M. Barthelemy, *March* 26, 1796.

THE underſigned, ambaſſador of the French republic to the Helvetic body, has tranſmitted to the executive directory the note which Mr. Wickham, his Britannic majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the Swiſs Cantons, was pleaſed to convey to him, dated the 8th of March. He has it in command to anſwer it by an expoſition of the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the executive directory.

The directory ardently deſires to procure for the French republic a juſt, honourable, and ſolid peace. The ſtep taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the directory a real ſatisfaction, if the declaration itſelf which that miniſter makes of his not having any order, any power to negotiate, did not give room to doubt of the ſincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. In fact, if it were true that England began to know her real intereſts; that ſhe wiſhed to open again for herſelf the ſources of abundance and proſperity; if ſhe ſought for peace with good faith, would ſhe propoſe a congreſs of which the neceſſary reſult muſt be, to render all negotiation endleſs? Or would ſhe confine herſelf to the aſking, in a vague manner, that the French government ſhould point out any other way whatever, for attaining the ſame object, that of a general pacification?

Is it that this ſtep has had no other object than to obtain for the Britiſh government the favourable impreſſion which always accompanies the firſt overtures for peace? May it not have been accompanied with the hope that they would produce no effect?

However that may be, the executive directory, whoſe policy has no other guides than openneſs and good faith, will follow, in its explanations, a conduct which ſhall be wholly conformable to them. Yielding to the ardent deſire by which it is animated, to procure peace for the French republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itſelf openly. Charged by the conſtitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or liſten to any propoſal that would be contrary to them. The conſtitutional act does not permit it to conſent to an alienation of that, which, accordi

to the exiſting laws, conſtitutes the territory of the republic.

With reſpect to the countries occupied by the French armies, and which have not been united to France, they, as well as other intereſts political and commercial, may become the ſubject of a negotiation, which will preſent to the directory the means of proving how much it deſires to attain ſpeedily to a happy pacification.

The directory is ready to receive, in this reſpect, any overtures that ſhall be juſt, reaſonable, and compatible with the dignity of the republic.

(Signed) BARTHELEMY.

Baſle, the 6th of Germinal, the fourth Year of the French Republic (26*th of March*, 1796.)

Note publiſhed by the Court of London, *as a Comment on the above Correſpondence.*

THE court of London has received from its miniſter in Switzerland the anſwer made to the queſtions which he had been charged to propoſe to monſieur Barthelemy, in reſpect to the opening of a negotiation for the re-eſtabliſhing of general tranquillity.

This court has ſeen, with regret, how far the tone and ſpirit of that anſwer, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any diſpoſition for peace.

The inadmiſſible pretenſion is there avowed of appropriating to France all that the laws actually exiſting there may have compriſed under the denomination of French territory. To a demand ſuch as this, is added an expreſs declaration, that no propoſal contrary to it will be made, or even liſtened to. And even this, under the pretence of an internal regulation, the proviſions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.

While theſe diſpoſitions ſhall be perſiſted in, nothing is left for the king, but to proſecute a war, equally juſt and neceſſary.

Whenever his enemies ſhall manifeſt more pacific ſentiments, his majeſty, will, at all times, be eager to concur in them, by lending himſelf, in concert with his allies, to all ſuch meaſures as ſhall be beſt calculated to re-eſtabliſh general tranquillity on conditions juſt, honourable, and permanent, either by the eſtabliſhment of a congreſs, which has been ſo often and ſo happily the means of reſtoring peace to Europe, or by a preliminary diſcuſſion of the principles which may be propoſed, on either ſide, as a foundation of a general pacification; or laſtly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him for arriving at the ſame ſalutary end.

Downing-ſtreet, April 10, 1796.

Official Correſpondence, publiſhed by the Britiſh *Government, relative to the Negotiation for Peace between the* French *Republic and* Great Britain.

No. 1.

SIR,

IN obedience to the orders of the king, my maſter, I have the honour to tranſmit to you the encloſed note, and to requeſt of you that you will forward it to his Daniſh majeſty's miniſter at Paris, to be by him communicated to the executive directory.

The ſentiments of your court are too well known to the king to admit of his majeſty's entertaining any doubt of the ſatisfaction with which his Daniſh majeſty will ſee the intervention of his miniſters employed on ſuch an occaſion, or of the earneſtneſs with which you, ſir, will concur in a meaſure which has for its object the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

I have the honour to be, with the moſt perfect conſideration,

Sir,

Your moſt humble,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

GRENVILLE.

To the Count Wedel Jarlſberg, &c. &c. &c.

No. 2.

NOTE.

His Britannic majeſty, animated with the ſame deſire, which he has already manifeſted, to terminate, by juſt, honourable, and permanent conditions of peace, a war which has extended itſelf throughout all parts of the world, is willing to omit nothing on his part which may contribute to this object.

It is with this view that he has thought it proper to avail himſelf of the confidential intervention of the miniſters of a neutral power, to demand of the executive directory paſſports for a perſon of confidence whom his majeſty would ſend to Paris with a commiſſion to diſcuſs, with the government there, all the means the moſt proper to produce ſo deſirable an end.

And his majeſty is perſuaded that he ſhall receive, without delay, through the ſame channel, a ſatisfactory anſwer to this demand, which cannot fail to place in a ſtill clearer light, the juſt and pacific diſpoſitions which he entertains in common with his allies.

GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, Sept. 6, 1796.

No. 3.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your excellency, that the note addreſſed to the executive directory of France, in date of the 6th of the preſent month, was tranſmitted by Mr. Koenemann, chargé d'affaires of his Daniſh majeſty, to M. Delacroix, miniſter for foreign affairs at Paris, who promiſed that an anſwer ſhould be returned to it, after it had been ſubmitted to the conſideration of the government. Three days having elapſed in expectation of this anſwer, Mr. Koenemann went a ſecond time to the miniſter abovementioned, who gave him to underſtand, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an anſwer in writing, but that he was directed to expreſs himſelf verbally to this effect:

"That the executive directory of the French republic would not, for the future, receive or anſwer any overtures or confidential papers tranſmitted through any intermediate channel, from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would ſend perſons furniſhed with full powers and official papers, theſe might, upon the frontiers, demand the paſſports neceſſary for proceeding to Paris."

I have the honour to be, with the moſt perfect reſpect,

My Lord,

Your excellency's moſt humble,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

(Signed)

COMTE DE WEDEL JARLSBERG.

London, Sept. 3, 1796.

No.

No. 4.

SIR, *Paris, Sept.* 19, 1796.

I was indiſpoſed at my country houſe when your excellency's courier brought me the letters which your excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 7th inſtant, together with the note of lord Grenville incloſed therein. I ſet off for Paris on the following day, where, after demanding an audience of citizen Delacroix, miniſter for foreign affairs, I preſented the note abovementioned, accompanied with another in my own name, in which I explained the motives that had induced me to undertake a meaſure for which I had no authority from my court. He promiſed to ſubmit the two notes to the inſpection of the government, and to return me an anſwer immediately. Having waited for three days without receiving an anſwer, I went a ſecond time to wait upon the miniſter, who, in a very dry tone, informed me, that the executive directory had not permitted him to return an anſwer in writing, but that he was directed to expreſs himſelf verbally to this effect:

"That the executive directory of the French republic would not, for the future, receive or anſwer any confidential overtures or papers tranſmitted through any intermediate channel, from the enemies of the republic; but that if they would ſend perſons furniſhed with full powers and official papers, theſe might, upon the frontiers, demand the paſſports neceſſary for proceeding to Paris."

Such, ſir, is the reſult of a meaſure which I have taken at your requeſt. I wiſh, for the ſake of humanity, that we may meet with better ſucceſs at ſome future period; but I fear that this period is ſtill at a great diſtance.

I have the honour to be, with reſpectful attachment,

Sir,

Your excellency's moſt humble, And moſt obedient ſervant,

KOENEMANN.

To his Excellency the Count Wedel Jarſberg, &c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

NOTE.

In demanding of the executive directory of the French republic, through the intervention of the miniſters of a neutral power, a paſſport for a confidential perſon to be ſent to Paris, the court of London accompanied this demand with the expreſs declaration, that this perſon ſhould be commiſſioned to diſcuſs with the government all the means the moſt proper for conducing to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

The king, perſevering in the ſame ſentiments, which he has already ſo unequivocally declared, will not leave to his enemies the ſmalleſt pretext for eluding a diſcuſſion, the reſult of which will neceſſarily ſerve either to produce the happineſs of ſo many nations, or at leaſt to render evident the views and diſpoſitions of thoſe who oppoſe themſelves to it.

It is therefore in purſuance of theſe ſentiments, that the underſigned is charged to declare, that as ſoon as the executive directory ſhall think proper to tranſmit to the underſigned the neceſſary paſſports (of which he, by this note, renews the demand already made) his Britannic majeſty will ſend to Paris a perſon furniſhed with full powers, and official inſtructions, to negotiate with the executive directory on the means

of terminating the preſent war, by a pacification juſt, honourable, and ſolid, calculated to reſtore repoſe to Europe, and to enſure, for the time to come, the general tranquillity.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, Sept. 27, 1796.

To the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

No. 6.

I have the honour to tranſmit to lord Grenville a copy of the decree of the executive directory of the French republic, in anſwer to his note of the 27th September, 1796, (O. S.)

He will there ſee a proof of the earneſt deſire of the French government to profit of the overture that is made to them, in the hope that it may lead to peace with the government of England.

I have the honour to ſend him, at the ſame time, the paſſports required for the miniſter plenipotentiary, whom his Britannic majeſty propoſes to name to treat; and I requeſt lord Grenville to accept the aſſurance of my perſonal wiſhes for the ſucceſs of this negotiation, as well as that of my moſt perfect conſideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 Vendemiaire, 5th year of the French Republic.

No. 7.

Extract from the Regiſter of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

The 9th Vendemiaire, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

The executive directory, upon conſideration of the note addreſſed to the miniſter for foreign affairs by lord Grenville, dated September 27, 1796, wiſhing to give a proof of the deſire which it entertains to make peace with England, decrees as follows:

The miniſter for foreign affairs is charged to deliver the neceſſary paſſports to the envoy of England, who ſhall be furniſhed with full powers not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them.

True copy.

(Signed) L. M. REVEILLERE LEPEAUX, preſident.

By the executive directory.

For the ſecretary general.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR

Certified true copy.

The miniſter for foreign affairs,

CH. DELACROIX

By the miniſter.

J. GIRAUDET, ſec. gen.

No. 7.*

Lord Malmeſbury, who is appointed by the king, to treat with the French government for a juſt and equitable peace, calculated to reſtore peace to Europe, and to enſure the public tranquillity for the time to come, will have the honour of delivering this letter from me to M. Delacroix.

The diſtinguiſhed rank and merit of the miniſter of whom his majeſty has made choice on this occaſion makes it unneceſſary for me to ſay any thing in his recommendation; at the ſame time that it furniſhes a freſh proof of the deſire of his majeſty to contribute to the ſucceſs of this negotiation: for which object he entertain the moſt ſanguine wiſhes.

Monſieur Delacroix will have the goodneſs to accept from me the aſſurance

* Sic. Orig.

assurance of my most perfect consideration.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, October 13, 1796.

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

No. 8.

Lord Malmesbury, named by his Britannic majesty as his plenipotentiary to the French republic, has the honour to announce, by his secretary, to the minister for foreign affairs, his arrival at Paris; and to request of him, at the same time, to be so good as to appoint the hour at which he may wait upon him, for the purpose of communicating to him the object of his mission.

Paris, October 22, 1796.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 9.

The minister for foreign affairs learns with satisfaction the arrival of lord Malmesbury, plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. He will have the honour to receive him to-morrow at eleven o'clock in the morning, or at any later hour that may suit him, till two o'clock. He hopes that lord Malmesbury will forgive him for thus limiting the time, on account of the nature and the multiplicity of his occupations.

1st Brumaire, An 5. *(October* 22, 1796.)

To Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the French Republic, at Paris.

No. 10.

Lord Malmesbury has the honour to thank the minister for foreign affairs for the obliging answer which he has just received from him.

He accepts with pleasure the first moment proposed, and will wait upon him to-morrow morning, at eleven o'clock precisely.

Paris, Oct. 22.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 11.

The minister for foreign affairs has the honour to apprize lord Malmesbury, commissioner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, that he has received from the executive directory the necessary powers for negotiating and concluding peace between the republic and his majesty.

To-morrow, if lord Malmesbury pleases, the respective powers shall be exchanged. The minister for foreign affairs will then be ready to receive the propositions, which lord Malmesbury is commissioned to make to the republic on the part of his Britannic majesty.

The minister for foreign affairs requests lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

2 *Brumaire, An* 5. *(Oct.* 23, 1796.)

No. 12.

Lord Malmesbury has the honour to present his acknowledgements to the minister for foreign affairs for the communication which he has just made to him, and he will have the honour to wait upon him to-morrow, at the hour which he shall have the goodness to appoint, to receive the copy of the full powers with which he is furnished on the part of the executive directory; and as soon as they shall have been exchanged, he will be ready to commence the negotiation with which he is charged.

He requeſts the miniſter for foreign affairs to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, Oct. 23, 1796.

No. 13.

Extract from the Regiſter of the Decrees of the Executive Directory.

2 *Brumaire*, (23 *Oct.*) 5*th year of the* French *Republic, one and indiviſible.*

The executive directory, after having heard the report of the miniſter for foreign affairs—

The citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter for foreign affairs, is charged to negotiate with lord Malmeſbury, commiſſioner plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, furniſhed with full powers to prepare and negotiate peace between the French republic and that power, and to conclude it definitively between them. The directory gives to the ſaid miniſter all powers neceſſary for concluding and ſigning the treaty of peace to take place between the republic and his Britannic majeſty. He ſhall conform himſelf to the inſtructions which ſhall be given him. He ſhall render a regular account, from time to time, of the progreſs and of the iſſue of the negotiation.

The preſent decree ſhall not be printed at this time.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. R. REVEILLERE LEPEAUX.

By the executive directory.

The ſecretary general.

(Signed) LA GARDE.

Copy.

The miniſter for foreign affairs.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the miniſter.

(L.S.) T. GIRAUDET, ſec. gen.

No. 14.

MEMORIAL.

His Britannic majeſty deſiring, as he has already declared, to contribute, as far as depends on him, to the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity, and to enſure, by the means of juſt, honourable, and ſolid conditions of peace, the future repoſe of Europe; his majeſty is of opinion, that the beſt means of attaining, with all poſſible expedition, that ſalutary end, will be to agree, at the beginning of the negotiation, on the general principle which ſhall ſerve as a baſis for the definitive arrangements.

The firſt object of negotiations for peace generally relates to the reſtrictions and ceſſions which the reſpective parties have mutually to demand, in conſequence of the events of war.

Great Britain, from the uninterrupted ſucceſs of her naval war, finds herſelf in a ſituation to have no reſtitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, ſhe has taken eſtabliſhments and colonies of the higheſt importance, and of a value almoſt incalculable.

But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conqueſts to which his majeſty can be the leſs indifferent, as the moſt important intereſts of his people, and the moſt ſacred engagements of his crown, are eſſentially implicated therein.

The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his deſire to reſtore repoſe to ſo many nations, induce him to conſider this ſituation of affairs as affording the means of procuring for all the belligerent powers juſt and equitable terms of peace, and ſuch as are calculated

culated to enſure for the time to come the general tranquillity.

It is on this footing, then, that he purpoſes to negotiate, by offering to make compenſation to France, by proportionable reſtitutions, for thoſe arrangements to which ſhe will be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt demands of the king's allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.

Having made this firſt overture, his majeſty will, in the ſequel, explain himſelf more particularly on the application of this principle to the different objects which may be diſcuſſed between the reſpective parties.

It is this application which will conſtitute the ſubject of thoſe diſcuſſions, into which his majeſty has authorized his miniſter to enter, as ſoon as the principle to be adopted as the general baſis of the negotiation is known.

But his majeſty cannot omit to declare, that if this generous and equitable offer ſhould not be accepted, or if, unfortunately, the diſcuſſions which may enſue, ſhould fail to produce the deſired effect, neither this general propoſition, nor thoſe more detailed which may reſult from it, can he regarded, in any caſe, as points agreed upon or admitted by his majeſty.

(Signed) MALMESBURY, miniſter plenipotentiary from his Britannic majeſty.

Paris, Oct. 24, 1796.

No. 15.

Extract from the Regiſter of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, 5 Brumaire, 5th year of the Republic, one and indiviſible.

The executive directory orders the miniſter for foreign affairs to make the following anſwer to lord Malmeſbury.

The executive directory ſees with pain, that at the moment when it had reaſon to hope for the ſpeedy return of peace between the French republic and his Britannic majeſty, the propoſal of lord Malmeſbury offers nothing but dilatory or very diſtant means of bringing the negotiation to a concluſion.

The directory obſerves, that if lord Malmeſbury would have agreed to treat ſeparately, as he was formally authorized by the tenor of his credentials, the negotiations might have been conſiderably abridged; that the neceſſity of balancing with the intereſts of the two powers thoſe of the allies of Great Britain, multiplies the combinations, increaſes the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congreſs, the forms of which, it is known, are always tardy, and requires the acceſſion of powers which hitherto have diſplayed no deſire of accommodation, and have not given to lord Malmeſbury himſelf, according to his own declaration, any power to ſtipulate for them.

Thus, without prejudging the intentions of lord Malmeſbury; without drawing any concluſion from the circumſtance of his declaration not appearing to accord with his credentials; without ſuppoſing that he has received any ſecret inſtructions which would deſtroy the effect of his oſtenſible powers; without pretending, in ſhort, to aſſert, that the Britiſh government have had a double object in view—to prevent, by general propoſitions, the partial propoſitions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by

by throwing upon the republic the odium of delay occaſioned by themſelves; the executive directory cannot but perceive, that the propoſition of lord Malmeſbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the propoſitions made laſt year by Mr. Wickham, and that it preſents but a diſtant hope of peace.

The executive directory farther obſerves, with regard to the principle of retroceſſions advanced by lord Malmeſbury, that ſuch a principle, preſented in a vague and iſolated manner, cannot ſerve as the baſis of negotiation; that the firſt points of conſideration are, the common neceſſity of a juſt and ſolid peace, the political equilibrium which abſolute retroceſſions might deſtroy, and then the means which the belligerent powers may poſſeſs —the one to retain conqueſts made at a time when it was ſupported by a great number of allies, now detached from the coalition; and the other, to recover them at a time when thoſe who were at firſt its enemies, have, almoſt all, become either its allies, or at leaſt neuter.

Nevertheleſs, the executive directory, animated with an ardent deſire of putting a ſtop to the ſcourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declares, that as ſoon as lord Malmeſbury ſhall exhibit to the miniſter for foreign affairs ſufficient powers, from the allies of Great Britain, for ſtipulating for their reſpective intereſts, accompanied by a promiſe on their part to ſubſcribe to whatever ſhall be concluded in their names, the executive directory will haſten to give an anſwer to the ſpecific propoſitions which ſhall be ſubmitted to them, and that the difficulties ſhall be removed, as far as may be conſiſtent with the ſafety and dignity of the French republic.

A true copy.

(Signed) L. M. Reveillere Lepeaux, preſident.

By the executive directory.

(Signed) Lagarde, ſecretary general.

A true copy.

The miniſter for foreign affairs.

Ch. Delacroix.

By the miniſter.

The ſecretary general,

J. Giraudet.

No. 16.

NOTE.

The underſigned has not failed to tranſmit to his court the anſwer of the executive directory to the propoſals which he was charged to make, as an opening to a pacific negotiation.

With regard to the offenſive and injurious inſinuations which are contained in that paper, and which are only calculated to throw new obſtacles in the way of the accommodation which the French government profeſſes to deſire, the king has deemed it far beneath his dignity to permit an anſwer to be made to them on his part in any manner whatſoever.

The progreſs and the reſult of the negotiation will ſufficiently prove the principles by which it will have been directed on each ſide; and it is neither by revolting reproaches wholly deſtitute of foundation, nor by reciprocal invective, that a ſincere wiſh to accompliſh the great work of pacification can be evinced.

The underſigned paſſes, therefore, to the firſt object of diſcuſſion brought

brought forward in the anſwer of the executive directory;—that of a ſeparate negotiation, to which it has been ſuppoſed, without the ſmalleſt foundation, that the underſigned was authorized to accede.

His full powers, made out in the uſual form, give him all neceſſary authority to negotiate and to conclude the peace; but theſe powers preſcribe to him neither the form, the nature, nor the conditions of the future treaty.

Upon theſe points, he is bound to conform himſelf, according to the long eſtabliſhed and received cuſtom of Europe, to the inſtructions which he ſhall receive from his court; and accordingly he did not fail to acquaint the miniſter for foreign affairs, at their firſt conference, that the king his maſter had expreſsly enjoined him to liſten to no propoſal tending to ſeparate the intereſts of his majeſty from thoſe of his allies.

There can be no queſtion then but of a negotiation which ſhall combine the intereſts and pretenſions of all the powers who make a common cauſe with the king in the preſent war.

In the courſe of ſuch a negotiation, the intervention, or, at leaſt, the participation of theſe powers, will doubtleſs become abſolutely neceſſary; and his majeſty hopes to find at all times the ſame diſpoſitions to treat, upon a juſt and equitable baſis, of which his majeſty the emperor and king, gave to the French government ſo ſtriking a proof at the very moment of the opening of the preſent campaign.

But it appears, that the waiting for a formal and definitive authority on the part of the allies of the king, before Great Britain and France begin to diſcuſs, even proviſionally, the principles of the negotiation, would be to create a very uſeleſs delay.

A conduct wholly different has been obſerved by thoſe two powers on almoſt all ſimilar occaſions; and his majeſty thinks, that the beſt proof which they can give, at the preſent moment, to all Europe, of their mutual deſire to put a ſtop, as ſoon as poſſible, to the calamities of war, would be to ſettle, without delay, the baſis of a combined negotiation, inviting, at the ſame time, their allies to concur in it, in the manner the moſt proper for accelerating the general pacification.

It is with this view that the underſigned was charged to propoſe at firſt, and at the very commencement of the negotiation, a principle, which the generoſity and good faith of his majeſty could alone dictate to him—that of making compenſation to France, by proportionable reſtitutions, for the arrangements to which ſhe will be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of the king's allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.

The executive directory has not explained itſelf in a preciſe manner, either as to the acceptance of this principle, or as to the changes or modifications which it may deſire to be made in it; nor has it, in ſhort, propoſed any other principle whatever to anſwer the ſame end.

The underſigned, then, has orders to recur to this point, and to demand, on that head, a frank and preciſe explanation, in order to abridge the delays which muſt neceſſarily reſult from the difficulty of form which has been ſtarted by the executive directory.

He

He is authorized to add to this demand the expreſs declaration, that his majeſty, in communicating to his auguſt allies every ſucceſſive ſtep which he may take, relative to the object of the preſent negotiation, and in fulfilling, towards theſe ſovereigns, in the moſt efficacious manner, all the duties of a good and faithful ally, will omit nothing on his part, as well to diſpoſe them to concur in this negotiation, by the means the moſt proper to facilitate its progreſs, and inſure its ſucceſs, as to induce them always to perſiſt in ſentiments conformable to the wiſhes which he entertains for the return of a general peace, upon juſt, honourable, and permanent conditions.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 17.

The underſigned is charged, by the executive directory, to invite you to point out, without the ſmalleſt delay, and expreſsly, the objects of reciprocal compenſation which you propoſe.

He is moreover, charged to demand of you, what are the diſpoſitions to treat, on a juſt and equitable baſis of which his majeſty the emperor and king, gave to the French government ſo ſtriking a proof at the very commencement of the campaign. The executive directory is unacquainted with it.—It was the emperor and king who broke the armiſtice.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 22 *Brumaire (Nov.* 12,) *5th year of the French Republic.*

No. 18.

The underſigned does not heſitate a moment to anſwer the two queſtions which you have been inſtructed by the executive directory to put to him.

The memorial preſented this morning by the underſigned, propoſes, in expreſs terms, on the part of his majeſty the king of Great Britain, to compenſate France, by proportionable reſtitutions, for the arrangements to which ſhe will be called upon to conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of the king's allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.

Before the formal acceptation of this principle, or the propoſal, on the part of the executive directory, of ſome other principle which might equally ſerve as the baſis of a negociation for a general peace, the underſigned cannot be authorized to deſignate the objects of reciprocal compenſation.

As to the proof of the pacific diſpoſition given to the French government by his majeſty, the emperor and king, at the opening of the campaign, the underſigned contents himſelf with a reference to the following words contained in the note of baron d'Egleman, on the 4th of June laſt.

" The operations of the war will in no wiſe prevent his imperial majeſty from being ever ready to concur, agreeably to any form of negotiation which ſhall be adopted, in concert with the belligerent powers, in the diſcuſſion of proper means for putting a ſtop to the further effuſion of human blood."

This note was preſented after the armiſtice was broken.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 12, 1796.

No. 19.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his

his Britannic majeſty requeſts the miniſter for foreign affairs to inform him, whether he is to conſider the official note, which he received from him yeſterday evening, as the anſwer to that which lord Malmeſbury delivered yeſterday morning to the miniſter for foreign affairs by order of his court. He applies for this information, that the departure of his courier may not be unneceſſarily delayed.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 13, 1796.

No. 20.

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs, declares to lord Malmeſbury, miniſter plenipotentiary from his Britannic majeſty, that he is to conſider the official note ſent to him yeſterday as the anſwer to that which lord Malmeſbury had addreſſed to him on the morning of the ſame day.

CHARLES DELACROIX.

23 *Brumaire, 5th year. (November,* 13, 1796.)

No. 21.

Lord Malmeſbury has juſt received the anſwer of the miniſter for foreign affairs, in which he declares that the official note which he ſent to him yeſterday is to be conſidered as the anſwer to that which lord Malmeſbury addreſſed to him on the morning of the ſame day.

Lord Malmeſbury will tranſmit it, this day, to his court.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 13, 1796.

No. 22.

The underſigned, in reply to your ſecond note of yeſterday, is ordered by the executive directory, to declare to you, that he has nothing to add to the anſwer which has been addreſſed to you. He is alſo inſtructed to aſk you, whether, on each official communication which ſhall take place between you and him, it will be neceſſary for you to ſend a courier to receive ſpecial inſtructions?

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.

Paris, 24 *Brumaire, (Nov.* 14.) 5*th year.*

No. 23.

The underſigned will not fail to tranſmit to his court the note which he has juſt received from the miniſter of foreign affairs. He declares likewiſe, that he ſhall diſpatch couriers to his court as often as the official communications made to him may require ſpecial inſtructions.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, Nov. 14, 1796.

No. 24.

NOTE.

The court of London, having been informed of what has paſſed in conſequence of the laſt memorial, delivered, by its order, to the miniſter for foreign affairs, does not think it neceſſary to add any thing to the anſwer made by the underſigned to the two queſtions which the directory thought proper to addreſs to him.

That court waits, therefore, and with the greateſt anxiety, for an explanation of the ſentiments of the directory, with regard to the principle it has propoſed as the baſis of the negotiation, and the adoption of which appeared to be the beſt means of accelerating the progreſs of a diſcuſſion ſo important to the happineſs of ſo many nations.

The underſigned has, in conſequence,

quence, received orders to renew the demand of a frank and precife anfwer on this point, in order that his court may know, with certainty, whether the directory accepts that propofal, or defires to make any change or modifications whatever in it; or laftly, whether it would wifh to propofe any other principle that may promote the fame end.

MALMESBURY.

Paris, November 26, 1796.

No. 25.

In anfwer to the note delivered yefterday (6 Frimaire, Nov. 26) by lord Malmefbury, the underfigned minifter for foreign affairs is inftructed by the directory to obferve, that the anfwers made on the 5th and 22d of laft Brumaire, contained an acknowledgment of the principle of compenfation, and that, in order to remove every pretext for farther difcuffion on that point, the underfigned, in the name of the executive directory, now makes a formal and pofitive declaration of fuch acknowledgment.

In confequence, lord Malmefbury is again invited to give a fpeedy and categorical anfwer to the propofal made to him on the 22d of laft Brumaire, and which was conceived in thefe terms: "the underfigned is inftructed by the executive directory to invite you to defignate, without the leaft delay, and expreffly, the objects of reciprocal compenfation which you have to propofe."

CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 7 Frimaire, (Nov. 27.) 5th year.

No. 26.

The underfigned, minifter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majefty, in anfwer to the note dated this morning, which was fent to him by the minifter for foreign affairs, haftens to affure him, that he will not delay a moment in communicating it to his court, from which he muft neceffarily wait for further orders, before he can explain himfelf upon the important points which it contains.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, 27th November, 1796.

No. 27.

NOTE.

The underfigned is charged to tranfmit to the minifter for foreign affairs the enclofed memorial, containing the propofals of his court, with refpect to the application of the general principle already eftablifhed as the bafis of the negotiation for peace.

He will, with the utmoft readinefs, enter with that minifter into every explanation which the ftate and progrefs of the negotiation will allow, and he will not fail to enter into the difcuffion of thefe propofitions, or of any counter-project which may be tranfmitted to him on the part of the executive directory, with that frankneſs and that fpirit of conciliation which correfpond with the juft and pacific intentions of his court.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Paris, December 17, 1796.

No. 28.

Confidential Memorial, on the principal Objects of Reftitution, Compenfation, and reciprocal Arrangement.

The principle, already eftablifhed as the bafis of negotiation, by the conſent of the two governments, is founded on reftitutions to be made by

by his Britannic majeſty to France, in compenſation for the arrangements to which that power may conſent, in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of the allies of the king, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe.

In order to accompliſh theſe objects in the manner the moſt complete, and to offer a freſh proof of the ſincerity of his wiſhes for the re-eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity, his majeſty would propoſe, that there ſhould be given to this principle, on each ſide, all the latitude of which it may be ſuſceptible.

I. His majeſty demands therefore,

1. The reſtitution to his majeſty, the emperor and king, of all his dominions on the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum.*

2. The re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a ſuitable arrangement conformable to the reſpective intereſts, and the general ſafety of Europe. This arrangement to be negotiated with his imperial majeſty, as conſtitutional head of the empire, either by the intervention of the king, or immediately, as his imperial majeſty ſhall prefer.

3. The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country; which ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, as far as poſſible, upon the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum.*

In the courſe of the negotiation, a more detailed diſcuſſion may be entered into of the further meaſures which may be proper to adopt reſpecting the objects of theſe three articles in order to the providing more effectually for the future ſecurity of the reſpective limits or poſſeſſions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majeſty, his majeſty demands, that there be reſerved to her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, a full and unlimited power of taking part in this negotiation whenever ſhe may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a ſtate of peace with France.

III. His majeſty alſo demands, that her moſt faithful majeſty may be comprehended in this negotiation, and may return to a ſtate of peace with France, without any ceſſion or burthenſome condition on either ſide.

IV. On theſe conditions his majeſty offers to France the entire and unreſerved reſtitution of all the conqueſts which he has made on that power in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, propoſing at the ſame time that a mutual underſtanding ſhould be eſtabliſhed as to the means of ſecuring, for the future, the tranquillity of the two nations, and of conſolidating, as much as poſſible, the advantages of their reſpective poſſeſſions. His majeſty offers, in like manner, the reſtitution of the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the fiſhery of Newfoundland, on the footing of the *ſtatus ante bellum.*

But if, in addition to this, his majeſty were to wave the right given to him by the expreſs ſtipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, of oppoſing the ceſſion of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo to France, his majeſty would then demand, in return for this conceſſion, a compenſation, which might ſecure, at leaſt in ſome degree, the maintenance of the balance of the reſpective poſſeſſions in that part of the world.

V. In

V. In all the cafes of ceffions or reftitutions which may come in queftion in the courfe of this negotiation there fhould be granted on each fide to all individuals the moft unlimited right to withdraw with their families and their property, and to fell their land and other immovable poffeffions; and adequate arrangements fhould be alfo made, in the courfe of this negotiation, for the removal of all fequeftrations, and for the fatisfaction of the juft claims, which individuals on either fide may have to make upon the refpective governments.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

No. 29.

Confidential Memorial on the Peace with Spain *and* Holland.

The allies of France not having hitherto expreffed any defire or difpofition to treat with the king, his majefty might have forborne to enter into any detail on their account; but in order to avoid any delays prejudicial to the great object which the king has in view, and to accelerate the work of a general peace, his majefty will not refufe to explain himfelf in the firft inftance on the points which concern thofe powers. If then the catholic king fhould defire to be comprehended in this negotiation, or to be allowed to accede to the definitive treaty, this would meet with no obftacle on the part of his majefty. Nothing having hitherto been conquered by either of the two fovereigns from the other, no other point could, at the prefent moment, come into queftion but that of the re-eftablifhment of peace, fimply, and without any reftitution or compenfation whatever, except fuch as might poffibly refult from the application of the principle declared at the end of the fourth article of the memorial already delivered to the minifter for foreign affairs.

But if, during the negotiation any alteration fhould take place in the ftate of things in this refpect it will then be proper to agree upon the reftitution and compenfations to be made on each fide.

With regard to the republic of the United Provinces, his Britannic majefty, and his allies, find themfelves too nearly intereffed in the political fituation of thofe provinces to be able to confent, in her favour to the re-eftablifhment of the *ftatu ante bellum*, as with refpect to territorial poffeffions, unlefs France could, on her part, reinftate them in all refpects, in the fame political fituation in which they ftood before the war.

If, at leaft, it were poffible to reeftablifh in thofe provinces, agreeably to what is believed to be the wifh of a great majority of the inhabitants, their ancient conftitution and form of government, his majefty might then be difpofed to relax, in their favour, from a very confiderable part of the conditions on which the prefent ftate of things obliges him to infift.

But if on the contrary, it is with the republic of Holland, in its prefent ftate, that their Britannic and Imperial majefties will have to treat, they will feel themfelves obliged to feek in territorial acquifitions, thofe compenfations and that fecurity which fuch a ftate of things will have rendered indifpenfable to them.

Reftitutions of any kind, in favour of Holland, could in that cafe be admitted in fo far only as they fhall be compenfated by arrangements calculated

calculated to contribute to the ſecurity of the Auſtrian Netherlands. The means of accompliſhing this object will be found in the ceſſions which France has exacted in her treaty of peace with Holland, and the poſſeſſion of which, by that power, would, in any caſe, be abſolutely incompatible with the ſecurity of the Auſtrian Netherlands, in the hands of his imperial majeſty.

It is on theſe principles that his Britannic majeſty would be ready to treat for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace with the republic of Holland in its preſent ſtate.—The details of ſuch a diſcuſſion muſt neceſſarily lead to the conſideration of what would be due to the intereſts and the rights of the houſe of Orange.

No. 30.

Paris, Dec. 20, 1796.

My Lord,

Mr. Ellis returned here from London on Thurſday laſt the 15th inſtant, at five P. M. and delivered to me the diſpatches, No. 11 and 12, with which he was charged by your lordſhip.

Although nothing can be clearer, more ably drawn up, or more ſatisfactory than the inſtructions they contain, yet as it was of the laſt importance that I ſhould be completely maſter of the ſubject before I ſaw the French miniſter, I delayed aſking for a conference till late on Friday evening, with a view that it ſhould not take place till Saturday morning.

He appointed the hour of eleven A. M. on that day, and it was near one before we parted. Although what is ſaid by M. Delacroix, before he communicated with the directory, cannot be conſidered as officially binding, and probably may, in the event, be very different from what I ſhall hear when he ſpeaks to me in their name; yet, as it is impoſſible they ſhould not nearly conjecture the nature of the overtures I ſhould make, and of courſe be prepared in ſome degree for them, it is material that your lordſhip ſhould be accurately acquainted with the firſt impreſſions they appear to make on M. Delacroix.

I prefaced what I had to communicate with ſaying, that I now came authorized to enter with him into deliberation upon one of the moſt important ſubjects that perhaps ever was brought into diſcuſſion:—that, as its magnitude forbade all *fineſſe*, excluded all prevarication, ſuſpended all prejudices; and, that, as I had it in command to ſpeak and act with freedom and truth, I expected that he, on his part, would conſider theſe as the only means which could or ought to be employed, if he wiſhed to ſee a negotiation, in which the happineſs of millions was involved, terminate ſucceſsfully. That, for greater preciſion, and with a view to be clearly underſtood in what I was about to propoſe, I would give him a confidential memorial, accompanied by an official note, both which, when he had peruſed them, would ſpeak for themſelves. The memorial contained the conditions, on the accompliſhment of which his majeſty conſidered the reſtoration of peace to depend.—The note was expreſſive of his majeſty's readineſs to enter into any explanation required by the directory on the ſubject; or to receive any *contre projet*, reſting on the ſame baſis, which the directory might be diſpoſed to give in. That, moreover, I did not heſitate declaring to him, in conformity to the principles which I had laid

down, and from which I certainly never ſhould depart at any period of the negotiation, that I was prepared to anſwer any queſtions, explain and elucidate any points on which it was poſſible to foreſee that doubts or miſconceptions could ariſe on the conſideration of theſe papers. And having ſaid thus much, I had only to remark, that I believed, in no ſimilar negotiation which had ever taken place, any miniſter was authorized in the firſt inſtance, to go ſo fully into the diſcuſſion as I now was.—That I was ſure, neither the truth of this remark, nor the manifeſt concluſion to be drawn from it, would eſcape M. Delacroix's obſervation.

I then put the two papers into his hands. He began by reading the note, on which, of courſe, he could only expreſs ſatisfaction.—After peruſing the confidential memorial with all the attention it deſerved, he, after a ſhort pauſe, ſaid, that it appeared to him to be liable to inſurmountable objections; that it ſeemed to him to require much more than it conceded, and, in the event, not to leave France in a ſituation of proportional greatneſs to the other powers of Europe. He ſaid, the act of their conſtitution, according to the manner in which *it was interpreted by the beſt publiciſts*, (and this phraſe is worthy remark) made it impoſſible for the republic to do what we required. The Auſtrian Netherlands were annexed to it; they could not be diſpoſed of without flinging the nation into all the confuſion which muſt follow a convocation of the primary aſſemblies; and he ſaid, he was rather ſurpriſed that Great Britain ſhould bring this forward as the governing condition of the treaty, ſince he thought he had, in ſome of our late converſations, fully explained the nature of their conſtitution to me. I replied, that every thing I had heard from him on this point was perfectly in my recollection, as it probably was in his; that though I had liſtened to him with that attention I always afforded to every thing he ſaid, yet I had never made him any ſort of reply, and had neither admitted nor controverted this opinion; that although I believed I could eaſily diſprove this opinion from the ſpirit of the French conſtitution itſelf, yet the diſcuſſion of that conſtitution was perfectly foreign to the object of my miſſion; ſince, even allowing his two poſitions, viz. that the retroceſſion of the Auſtrian Netherlands was incompatible with their laws, and that we ought to have known that beforehand, yet that there exiſted a *droit public* in Europe paramount to any *droit public* they might think proper to eſtabliſh within their own dominions; and that if their conſtitution was publicly known, the treaties exiſting between his majeſty and the emperor were at leaſt equally public; and in theſe it was clearly and diſtinctly announced, that the contracting parties reciprocally promiſe not to lay down their arms without the reſtitution of all the dominions, territories, &c. which may have belonged to either of them before the war. That the date of this ſtipulation was previous to their annexing the Auſtrian Netherlands to France; and the notoriety of this ought, at the very moment when they had paſſed that law, to have convinced them, that, if adhered to, it muſt prove an inſurmountable obſtacle to peace. I applied his maxim to the Weſt-India

iſlands,

iſlands, and to the ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; and aſked him, whether it was expected that we were to wave our right of poſſeſſion, and be required ſtill to conſider them as integral parts of the French republic which muſt be reſtored, and on which no value was to be ſet in the balance of compenſation? I alſo ſtated the poſſible caſe of France having loſt part of what ſhe deemed her integral dominions, inſtead of having added to them, in the courſe of the war; and whether then, under the apprehenſion of ſtill greater loſſes, the government, as it was now compoſed, ſhould conſider itſelf as not veſted with powers ſufficient to ſave their country from the impending danger, by making peace on the condition of facrificing a portion of their dominions to ſave the remainder? M. Delacroix ſaid, this was ſtating a caſe of neceſſity, and ſuch a mode of reaſoning did not attach to the preſent circumſtances. I readily admitted the firſt part of this propoſition, but contended, that if the power exiſted in a caſe of neceſſity, it equally exiſted in all others, and particularly in the caſe before us, ſince he himſelf had repeatedly told me that peace was what this country and its government wiſhed for, and even wanted.

M. Delacroix, in reply, ſhifted his ground, and, by a ſtring of arguments founded on premiſes calculated for this purpoſe, attempted to prove, that, from the relative ſituation of the adjacent countries, the preſent government of France would be reprehenſible in the extreme, and deſerve impeachment, if they ever ſuffered the Netherlands to be ſeparated from their dominions; that by the partition of Poland, Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, had increaſed their power to a moſt formidable degree; that England, by its conqueſts, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had redoubled its ſtrength.—Your Indian empire alone, ſaid M. Delacroix, with vehemence, has enabled you to ſubſidize all the powers of Europe againſt us; and your monopoly of trade has put you in poſſeſſion of a fund of inexhauſtible wealth. His words were, "*Votre empire dans l'Inde vous a fourni les moyens de ſalarier toutes les puiſſances de l'Europe contre nous; et vous avez accaparé le commerce de maniere que toutes les richeſſes du monde ſe verſent dans vos coffres.*"

From the neceſſity that France ſhould keep the Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine for the purpoſe of preſerving its relative ſituation in Europe, he paſſed to the advantages which he contended would reſult to the other powers, by ſuch an addition to the French dominions. Belgium (to uſe his words), by belonging to France, would remove what had been the ſource of all wars for two centuries paſt; and the Rhine, being the natural boundary of France, would enſure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come. I did not feel it neceſſary to combat this prepoſterous doctrine; I contented myſelf with reminding him of what he had ſaid to me in one of our laſt conferences, when he made a compariſon of the weakneſs of France under its monarchs, and its ſtrength and vigour under its republican form of government—"*Nous ne ſommes plus dans la décrépitude de la France monarchique, mais dans toute la force d'une republique adoleſcente,*" was his expreſ-

ſion; and I inferred from this, according to his own reaſoning, that the force and power France had acquired by its change of government, was much greater than it could derive from any acquiſition of territory; and that it followed, if France, when under a regal form of government, was a very juſt and conſtant object of attention, not to ſay of jealouſy, to the other powers of Europe, France (admitting his axiom) was a much more reaſonable object of jealouſy and attention under its preſent conſtitution than it ever had yet been, and that no addition to its dominions could be ſeen by its neighbours but under impreſſions of alarm for their own future ſafety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe. M. Delacroix's anſwer to this was ſo remarkable, that I muſt beg leave to inſert it, in what I believe to be nearly his own words:—"*Dans le tems révolutionnaire tout ce que vous dites, my Lord, etoit vrai—rien n'égaloit notre puiſſance; mais ce tems n'exiſte plus. Nous ne pouvons plus lever la nation en maſſe, pour voler au ſecours de la patrie en danger. Nous ne pouvons plus engager nos concitoyens à ouvrir leurs bourſes pour les verſer dans le trèſor national, et de ſe priver même du neceſſaire pour le bien de la choſe publique.*"—And he ended by ſaying, that the French republic, when at peace, neceſſarily muſt become the moſt quiet and pacific power in Europe. I only obſerved, that in this caſe the paſſage of the republic from youth to decrepitude had been very ſudden; but that ſtill I never could admit that it could be a matter of indifference to its neighbours, much leſs of neceſſary ſecurity to itſelf, to acquire ſuch a very extenſive addition to its frontiers as that he had hinted at.

This led M. Delacroix to talk of offering an equivalent to the emperor for the Auſtrian Netherlands: and it was to be found, according to his plan, in the ſecularization of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates, and ſeveral biſhopricks in Germany and in Italy.

He talked upon this ſubject as one very familiar to him, and on which his thoughts had been frequently employed.

He ſpoke of making new electors, and named, probably with a view to render his ſcheme more palatable, the ſtadtholder, and the dukes of Brunſwick and Wurtemberg, as perſons proper to replace the three eccleſiaſtical electors, which were to be reformed.

It would be making an ill uſe of your lordſhip's time, to endeavour to repeat to you all he ſaid on this ſubject; it went in ſubſtance (as he himſelf confeſſed) to the total ſubverſion of the preſent conſtitution of the Germanic body; and as it militated directly againſt the principle which both his majeſty and the emperor laid down ſo diſtinctly as the baſis of the peace to be made for the empire, I contented myſelf with reminding him of this circumſtance, particularly as it is impoſſible to diſcuſs this point with any propriety till his imperial majeſty becomes a party to the negotiation. I took this opportunity of hinting, that if, on all the other points, France agreed to the propoſals now made, it would not be impoſſible that ſome increaſe of territory might be ceded to her on the Germanic ſide of her frontiers, and that this, in addition to the duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be

be a very great acquiſition of ſtrength and power. M. Delacroix here again reverted to the conſtitution, and ſaid that theſe countries were already conſtitutionally annexed to France. I replied, that it was impoſſible, in the negotiation which we were beginning, for the other powers to take it up from any period but that which immediately preceded the war, and that any acquiſition or diminution of territory which had taken place among the belligerent powers ſince it firſt broke out, muſt neceſſarily become ſubject matter for negotiation, and be balanced againſt each other in the final arrangement of a general peace. You then perſiſt, ſaid M. Delacroix, in applying this principle to Belgium? I anſwered, moſt certainly; and I ſhould not deal fairly with you, if I heſitated to declare, in the outſet of our negotiation, that on this point you muſt entertain no expectation that his majeſty will relax, or ever conſent to ſee the Netherlands remain a part of France.

M. Delacroix replied, he ſaw no proſpect in this caſe of our ideas ever meeting, and he deſpaired of the ſucceſs of our negotiation. He returned again, however, to his idea of a poſſible equivalent to be found for the emperor; but as all he propoſed was the alienation or the diſmemberment of countries not belonging to France even by conqueſt, I did not conſider it as deſerving attention; and it is certainly not worth repeating to your lordſhip.

I need not obſerve that all the equivalents propoſed, however inadequate to the exchange, were offered as a return for our conſent that the Netherlands ſhould remain a part of France; of courſe, the admitting them in any ſhape, would have been in direct contradiction to my inſtructions.

M. Delacroix touched very ſlightly on Italy: and the courſe of our converſation did not bring this part of the ſubject more into diſcuſſion.

I muſt add, that whenever I mentioned the reſtoration of the Netherlands to the emperor, I always took care it ſhould be underſtood that theſe were to be accompanied by ſuch further ceſſions as ſhould form a competent line of defence, and that France could not be permitted to keep poſſeſſion of all the intermediate country to the Rhine; and I particularly dwelt on this point, when I held out the poſſibility of admitting an extenſion of the limits of France on the ſide of Germany. But as the French miniſter no leſs ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſtitution of the Netherlands to the emperor than I tenaciouſly inſiſted upon it, the further extenſion of my claim could not of courſe become a ſubject of argument.

I believe I have now, with a tolerable degree of accuracy, informed your lordſhip of all that the French miniſter ſaid, on my opening myſelf to him on that part of my inſtructions which more immediately relates to peace between Great Britain, his imperial majeſty, and France. It remains with me to inform your lordſhip what paſſed between us on the ſubject of our reſpective allies.

On the articles reſerving a right to the court of St. Peterſburg, and to that of Liſbon, to accede to the treaty of peace on the ſtrict *ſtatus ante bellum*, the French miniſter made no other remark than by mentioning the allies of the republic, and by inquiring whether I was prepared to ſay any thing relative

to their intereſts, which certainly the republic could never abandon. This afforded me the opportunity of giving in the confidential memorial B. relative to Spain and Holland; and I prefaced it by repeating to him the ſubſtance of the firſt part of your lordſhip's, No. 12.

Although I had touched upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo, when I had been ſpeaking to M. Delacroix on the peace with France, yet, as it did not become a matter of diſcuſſion between us till I came to mention the peace with Spain, I thought it better to place all that paſſed on the ſubject in this part of my diſpatch; it was the only point on which he entered: but I by no means infer, from his not bringing forward ſome claims for Spain, that we are not to hear of any in the courſe of the negotiation; on the contrary, I have little doubt that many, and moſt of them inadmiſſible, will be made before it can end. He, however, was ſilent on them at this moment, and confined all he had to ſay to combating the idea that Spain was bound by the treaty of Utrecht not to alienate her poſſeſſions in America. I had the article copied in my pocket, and I read it to him. He confeſſed it was clear and explicit, but that circumſtances had ſo materially altered ſince the year 1713, that engagements made then, ought not to be conſidered as in force now. I ſaid that the ſpirit of the article itſelf went to provide for diſtant contingencies, not for what was expected to happen at or near the time when the treaty was made, and that it was becauſe the alteration of circumſtances he alluded to was foreſeen as poſſible, that the clauſe was inſerted; and that if Spain paid any regard to the faith of treaties, ſhe muſt conſider herſelf as no leſs ſtrictly bound by this clauſe now, than at the moment when it was drawn up. I went on by ſaying that it did not, however, appear quite impoſſible that this point might be ſettled without much difficulty; and that means might be deviſed that his catholic majeſty ſhould not break his faith, and both England and France be equally ſatisfied. I then held out to him, but in general terms, that either Spain might regain her poſſeſſion of St. Domingo, by making ſome conſiderable ceſſion to Great Britain and France, as the price of peace; or that, in return for leaving the whole of St. Domingo to France, we ſhould retain either Martinico, or St. Lucia and Tobago. M. Delacroix liſtened with a degree of attention to theſe propoſals; but he was fearful of committing himſelf by any expreſſion of approbation, and he diſmiſſed the ſubject of the court of Madrid, by obſerving, that France never would forſake the intereſt of its allies.

Our converſation on thoſe of its other ally, Holland, was much longer, as the wording of the memorial inevitably led at once deep into the ſubject.

M. Delacroix affected to treat any deviation from the treaty of peace concluded between France and that country, or any reſtoration of territories acquired under that treaty to France, as quite impracticable. He treated as equally impracticable any attempt at reſtoring the ancient form of government in the ſeven United Provinces. He talked with an air of triumph of the eſtabliſhment of a national convention at the Hague; and, with an

an affectation of feeling, that by it the cauſe of freedom had extended itſelf over ſuch a large number of people, He, however, was ready to confeſs, that, from the great loſſes the Dutch republic had ſuſtained in its colonies, and particularly from the weak manner in which they had defended them, it could not be expected that his majeſty would conſent to a full and complete reſtitution of them, and that it was reaſonable that ſome ſhould be ſacrificed; and he aſked me if I could inform him, how far our views extended on this point? I ſaid I had reaſon to believe that what his majeſty would require would be poſſeſſions and ſettlements which would not add either to the power or wealth of our Indian dominions, but only tend to ſecure to us their ſafe and unmoleſted poſſeſſion. You mean by this, ſaid M. Delacroix, the Cape and Trincomale. I ſaid they certainly came under that deſcription, and I ſaw little proſpect of their being reſtored to the Dutch. M. Delacroix launched forth on this into a moſt laboured diſſertation on the value of the Cape of Good Hope, which he did not conſider at all as a *port de relâche*, but as a poſſeſſion which, in our hands, would become one of the moſt fertile and moſt productive colonies in the eaſt; and, according to his eſtimation of it, he did not ſcruple to aſſert that it would ultimately be an acquiſition of infinitely greater importance to England than that of the Netherlands to France; and, if acquieſced in, ſhould be reckoned as a full and ample compenſation for them. He added, if you are maſters of the Cape and Trincomale, we ſhall hold all our ſettlements in India, and the Iſlands of France and Bourbon, entirely at the tenure of your will and pleaſure: they will be ours only as long as you chooſe we ſhould retain them. You will be ſole maſters in India, and we ſhall be entirely dependent upon you. I repeated to him, that it was as means of defence, not of offence, that theſe poſſeſſions would be inſiſted on; and that if the matter was fairly and diſpaſſionately diſcuſſed, he would find that they afforded us a great additional ſecurity, but no additional power of attack, even if we were diſpoſed to diſturb the peace of that part of the world. If theſe, and perhaps ſome few other not very material ſettlements belonging to the Dutch, were to be inſiſted upon, and if he would be pleaſed to enumerate all, we ſhould ſtill have to reſtore to them, while they had nothing to reſtore to England, it was impoſſible not to conſider the terms on which his majeſty propoſed peace to Holland, as generous and liberal.

M. Delacroix was not at all diſpoſed to agree with me on this point; and ſaid, Holland, ſtripped of theſe poſſeſſions, would be ruined. He then held out, but as if the idea had juſt croſſed his mind, the poſſibility of indemnifying the Dutch for their loſſes in India, by giving them a tract of territory towards the Meuſe, (I could not find out whether he meant Aix la Chapelle, Liege, or the countries of Juliers and Berg) and hinted, that if this was not to be done, an additional ſugar iſland might, perhaps, be ceded to the Dutch republic. I told him all this might become a ſubject of future diſcuſſion, and I conceived, that if we could agree upon the more eſſential points, the treaty would not break off on theſe ſecondary con-

ſiderations. Our converſation had now been extremely long, and M. Delacroix ended by ſaying, that although he had taken upon himſelf to enter with me thus far upon the ſubject, yet I muſt not conſider any thing he ſaid as binding, or as pledging the republic, till ſuch time as he had laid the papers I had given him before the directory; and in order to do this with more accuracy, he again aſked me, whether in his report, he was to ſtate the diſuniting Belgium from France as a *ſine quâ non* from which his majeſty would not depart. I replied, it moſt certainly was a *ſine quâ non* from which his majeſty would not depart: and that any propoſal which would leave the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater benefit to that power, and loſs to the allies, than the preſent relative ſituation of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect.

M. Delacroix repeated his concern at the peremptory way in which I made this aſſertion, and aſked whether it would admit of no modification? I replied, if France could, in a *contre-projet*, point out a practicable and adequate one, ſtill keeping in view that the Netherlands muſt not be French, or likely again to fall into the hands of France, ſuch a propoſal might certainly be taken into conſideration.

M. Delacroix by no means encouraged me to explain myſelf more fully; he repeatedly ſaid, that this difficulty relative to the Netherlands was one which could not be overcome.

Juſt as I was taking leave of him, he begged me to explain what was meant by the words in the memoire (A.) in the 4th paragraph, beginning *de s'entendre mutuellement ſur les moyens d'aſſurer*, and ending at *leurs poſſeſſions reſpectives*. I told him it referred to the deſtructive ſyſtem adopted by France in the Weſt Indies, and went to expreſs a wiſh that the two powers ſhould agree on ſome general and uniform ſyſtem of internal police in the ſettlements there, which would contribute to the ſecurity of thoſe poſſeſſions to the reſpective countries, and at the ſame time to the happineſs of every deſcription of inhabitants in them.

M. Delacroix, a little hurt at my expreſſion relative to the ſyſtem adopted by France, endeavoured to recriminate upon us; but he ended by ſaying, that they ſhould certainly be willing to concur in any arrangement relative to the negroes, which did not militate againſt the principles of their conſtitution. Here our conference ended; and as, during the whole courſe of it, I bore in my mind the poſſibility, that although this, our firſt, might be the only favourable opportunity I ſhould ever have of ſpeaking on the general principles on which his majeſty was diſpoſed to treat, I endeavoured, by adverting more or leſs to almoſt every point in my inſtructions, to enable M. Delacroix, (if he reports faithfully) to ſtate to the directory what I ſaid, in ſuch a manner as to put it out of their power to miſconceive what were his majeſty's intentions; to remove all poſſibility of cavil on this caſe, and to bring them to a clear and diſtinct anſwer, whether they would agree to open a negotiation on the principle of the *ſtatus ante bellum*, or on one differing from it only in form, not in ſubſtance. I hope, in attempting to do this, I did not, in the firſt inſtance, commit

myſelf,

myſelf, or diſcover more of my inſtructions than it became me to do; and that, in the converſation with M. Delacroix, nothing eſcaped me which might, at ſome ſubſequent period, hurt the progreſs of the negotiation. I have, I believe, given this conference nearly verbatim to your lordſhip; and I was particularly anxious to do this correctly and minutely, as well that you may judge on the propriety of what I ſaid myſelf, as that what M. Delacroix ſaid to me may be accurately known and remain on record.

It muſt, however, be remembered (as I obſerved in the beginning of this diſpatch) that he ſpoke for himſelf, as miniſter, indeed, but not under the immediate inſtructions of the directory; and this conſideration will take a little away from the ſingularity of ſome of the poſitions he advanced.

I confeſs, my lord, from the civility of his manner, and from his apparent readineſs to diſcuſs the ſubject, the impreſſion which remained on my mind on leaving him was, that the negotiation would go on, but be liable to ſo many difficulties, and ſome of them ſo nearly inſurmountable, that, knowing as I do, the opinion of the directory, I ſaw little proſpect of its terminating ſucceſsfully. But I did not expect the conduct of the directory would immediately be ſuch as to evince a manifeſt inclination, and even determination, to break off on the firſt propoſals; and I was not a little ſurpriſed at receiving, on Sunday, at three P. M. the incloſed letter (A.) from M. Delacroix: he ſent it by the principal ſecretary of his department (M. Giraudet) who communicated to me the original of the arrêté of the directory, of which this letter, abating the alteration in the form, is a literal copy. After peruſing it, I aſked M. Giraudet whether he was informed of its contents; and this led to a ſhort converſation on them. I told him that both the demands were ſo unexpected, that I could not reply to them off hand: that as to the firſt, it was quite unuſual to ſign memorials which were annexed to a note actually ſigned, and that I ſcarcely felt myſelf authorized to depart from what was, I believed, an invariable rule. That, as to the ſecond demand, made in ſo peremptory and unprecedented a way, I could, without much heſitation, ſay at once that it could not be complied with. M. Giraudet lamented this much; and ſaid, that this being the caſe, he feared our principles of negotiation would never coincide. I agreed with him in my expreſſions of concern.—We converſed together afterwards for ſome time, but nothing paſſed at all worthy of remark. I told him I ſhould ſend my anſwer the next day. On reflecting more attentively on the requeſt that I would ſign the two memorials which I had given in, it ſtruck me, that the complying with it pledged me to nothing, and that it was merely gratifying them on a point inſiſted on peeviſhly, and that the doing it would put them ſtill more in the wrong.

As to the ſtrange demand of an ultimatum, it was perfectly clear what it became me to ſay; and I hope that in the incloſed anſwer (B.) which I ſent yeſterday morning at twelve o'clock, to M. Delacroix, I ſhall be found to have adhered as cloſely as poſſible to the ſpirit of my inſtructions.

Yeſterday evening, at half paſt nine,

nine, M. Giraudet brought me the note (C.) to which I immediately replied to the note (D). They require no comment; and as I intend leaving Paris to-morrow, and travelling with all convenient ſpeed, I ſhall ſo ſoon have it in my power to ſay the little which remains to ſay relative to this ſudden, though perhaps not unlooked for, cloſe to my miſſion, that I need not treſpaſs any further on your lordſhip's patience.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

P. S. I thought it would be proper for his majeſty's miniſter at Vienna to receive the earlieſt intelligence of the negotiation being broken off: I therefore have diſpatched a meſſenger to Vienna with a copy of the ſeveral papers which have paſſed between me and M. Delacroix ſince our conference, and alſo a ſuccinct account of what paſſed on it. The meſſenger left this place to-day at three P. M. M.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c. &c. &c.

No. 13.

Paris, 28th Frimaire, (December 18) 5th year.

SIR,

The executive directory has heard the reading of the official note ſigned by you, and of two confidential memorials without ſignatures, which were annexed to it, and which you gave in to me yeſterday. I am charged expreſsly by the directory to declare to you, that it cannot liſten to any confidential note without a ſignature, and to require of you to give in to me, officially, within four and twenty hours, your *ultimatum*, ſigned by you.

Accept, Sir, the aſſurance of my high conſideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

No. 32.

Paris, 19th December, 1796.

COPY. (B.)

Lord Malmeſbury, in anſwer to the letter which the miniſter for foreign affairs had the goodneſs to tranſmit to him through the hands of the ſecretary-general of his department, muſt remark, that in ſigning the official note which he gave in to that miniſter by order of his court, he thought he had complied with all the uſual formalities, and had given the neceſſary authenticity to the two confidential memorials which were annexed to it. Nevertheleſs, to remove all difficulties, as far as lies in his power, he willingly adopts the forms which are pointed out by the reſolution of the executive directory, and haſtens to ſend to the miniſter for foreign affairs the two memorials ſigned by his hand.

With reſpect to the poſitive demand of an *ultimatum*, lord Malmeſbury obſerves, that inſiſting on that point in ſo peremptory a manner, before the two powers ſhall have communicated to each other their reſpective pretenſions, and that the articles of the future treaty ſhall have been ſubmitted to the diſcuſſions, which the different intereſts which are to be adjuſted, neceſſarily demand, is to ſhut the door againſt all negotiation. He, therefore, can add nothing to the aſſurances which he has already given to the miniſter for foreign affairs, as well by word of mouth, as in his official note; and he repeats, that he is ready to enter with that miniſter into every explanation

planation of which the ſtate and progreſs of the negotiation may admit; and that he will not fail to enter into the diſcuſſion of the propoſals of his court, *or of any counter-project which may be delivered to him on the part of the executive directory*, with that candour, and that ſpirit of conciliation, which correſpond with the juſt and pacific ſentiments of his court.

Lord Malmeſbury requeſts the miniſter for foreign affairs to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

No. 33.

(C.)

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs is charged by the executive directory, to anſwer to lord Malmeſbury's two notes of the 27th and 29th Frimaire (17th and 19th December, O. S.) that the executive directory will liſten to no propoſals contrary to the conſtitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic.

And, as lord Malmeſbury announces at every communication, that he is in want of the opinion of his court, from which it reſults that he acts a part merely paſſive in the negotiation, which renders his preſence at Paris uſeleſs; the underſigned is further charged to give him notice to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with all the perſons who have accompanied and followed him; and to quit, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, the territory of the republic.

The underſigned declares, moreover, in the name of the executive directory, that if the Britiſh cabinet is deſirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow the negotiations, according to the baſis laid down in the preſent note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 29th Frimaire (19th December), 5th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

No. 34.

(D.)

Lord Malmeſbury haſtens to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the miniſter for foreign affairs, dated yeſterday. He is preparing to quit Paris to-morrow, and demands, in conſequence, the neceſſary paſſports for himſelf and his ſuite.

He requeſts the miniſter for foreign affairs to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

Paris, 20th Dec. 1796.

Manifeſto of the Britiſh *Government againſt* France.

THE negotiation which an anxious deſire for the reſtoration of peace had induced his majeſty to open at Paris, having been abruptly terminated by the French government, the king thinks it due to himſelf and to his people, to ſtate, in this public manner, the circumſtances which have preceded and attended a tranſaction of ſo much importance to the general intereſts of Europe.

It is well known that early in the preſent year his majeſty, laying aſide the conſideration of many circumſtances of difficulty and diſcouragement, determined to take ſuch ſteps as were beſt calculated to open the way for negotiation, if any correſponding deſire prevailed on the part of his enemies. He directed an overture to be made in his name,

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by his minifter in Switzerland, for the purpofe of afcertaining the difpofitions of the French government with refpect to peace. The anfwer which he received in return, was at once haughty and evafive; it affected to queftion the fincerity of thofe difpofitions of which his majefty's conduct afforded fo unequivocal a proof; it raifed groundlefs objections to the mode of negotiation propofed by his majefty (that of a general congrefs, by which peace has fo often been reftored to Europe); but it ftudioufly paffed over in filence his majefty's defire to learn what other mode would be preferred by France. It at the fame time aflerted a principle, which was ftated as an indifpenfable preliminary to all negotiation—a principle under which the terms of peace muft have been regulated, not by the ufual confiderations of juftice, policy, and reciprocal convenience; but by an implicit fubmiffion, on the part of all the powers, to a claim founded on the internal laws and feparate conftitution of France, as having full authority to fuperfede the treaties entered into by independent ftates, to govern their intereffs, to controul their engagements, and to difpofe of their dominions.

A pretenfion in itfelf fo extravagant could in no inftance have been admitted, or even liftened to for a moment. Its application to the prefent cafe led to nothing lefs than that France fhould, as a preliminary to all difcuffion, retain nearly all her conquefts, and thofe particularly in which his majefty was moft concerned, both from the ties of intereft, and the facred obligations of treaties: that fhe fhould in like manner recover back all that had been conquered from her in every part of the world; and that fhe fhould be left at liberty to bring forward fuch further demands on all other points of negotiation, as fuch unqualified fubmiffion on the part of thofe with whom fhe treated could not fail to produce.

On fuch grounds as thefe, it was fufficiently evident that no negotiation could be eftabliflied: neither did the anfwer of his majefty's enemies afford any opening for continuing the difcuffion, fince the mode of negotiation offered by his majefty had been peremptorily rejected by them, and no other had been ftated in which they were willing to concur.

His majefty was, however, not difcouraged, even by this refult, from ftill purfuing fuch meafures as appeared to him moft conducive to the end of peace; and the wifhes of his ally the emperor correfponding with thofe which his majefty had manifefted, fentiments of a fimilar tendency were expreffed on the part of his imperial majefty at the time of opening the campaign; but the continuance of the fame fpirit and principles, on the part of the enemy, rendered this freth overture equally unfuccefsful.

While the government of France thus perfifted in obftructing every meafure that could even open the way to negotiation, no endeavour was omitted to mislead the public opinion throughout all Europe with refpect to the real caufe of the prolongation of the war, and to caft a doubt on thofe difpofitions which could alone have dictated the ftcps taken by his majefty and his auguft ally.

In order to deprive his enemies of all poffibility of fubterfuge or evafion, and in the hope that a juft

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ſenſe of the continued calamities of war, and of the increaſing diſtreſſes of France herſelf, might at length have led to more juſt and pacific diſpoſitions, his majeſty renewed in another form, and through the intervention of friendly powers, a propoſal for opening negotiations for peace. The manner in which this intervention was received indicated the moſt hoſtile diſpoſitions towards Great Britain, and at the ſame time afforded to all Europe a ſtriking inſtance of that injurious and offenſive conduct which is obſerved on the part of the French government towards all other countries. The repeated overtures made in his majeſty's name were nevertheleſs of ſuch a nature, that it was at laſt found impoſſible to perſiſt in the abſolute rejection of them, without the direct and undiſguiſed avowal of a determination to refuſe to Europe all hope of the reſtoration of tranquillity. A channel was therefore at length indicated, through which the government of France profeſſed itſelf willing to carry on a negotiation; and a readineſs was expreſſed (though in terms far remote from any ſpirit of conciliation) to receive a miniſter authorized by his majeſty to proceed to Paris for that purpoſe.

Many circumſtances might have been urged as affording powerful motives againſt adopting this ſuggeſtion, until the government of France had given ſome indication of a ſpirit better calculated to promote the ſucceſs of ſuch a miſſion, and to meet theſe advances on the part of Great Britain. The king's deſire for the reſtoration of general peace on juſt and honourable terms, his concern for the intereſts of his ſubjects, and his determination to leave to his enemies no pretext for imputing to him the conſequences of their own ambition, induced him to overlook every ſuch conſideration, and to take a ſtep which theſe reaſons alone could juſtify.

The repeated endeavours of the French government to defeat this miſſion in its outſet, and to break off the intercourſe thus opened, even before the firſt ſteps towards negotiation could be taken; the indecent and injurious language employed with a view to irritate; the captious and frivolous objections raiſed for the purpoſe of obſtructing the progreſs of the diſcuſſion; all theſe have ſufficiently appeared from the official papers which paſſed on both ſides, and which are known to all Europe.

But, above all, the abrupt termination of the negotiation has afforded the moſt concluſive proof, that at no period of it was any real wiſh for peace entertained on the part of the French government.

After repeated evaſion and delay, that government had at length conſented to eſtabliſh, as the baſis of the negotiation, a principle propoſed by his majeſty, liberal in its own nature, equitable towards his enemies, and calculated to provide, for the intereſts of his allies, and of Europe. It had been agreed that compenſation ſhould be made to France, by proportionable reſtitutions from his majeſty's conqueſts on that power, for thoſe arrangements to which ſhe ſhould be called upon to conſent in order to ſatisfy the juſt pretenſions of his allies, and to preſerve the political balance of Europe. At the deſire of the French government itſelf, memorials were preſented by his majeſty's miniſter, which contained the outlines of the

terms

terms of peace, grounded on the baſis ſo eſtabliſhed, and in which his majeſty propoſed to carry to the utmoſt poſſible extent the application of a principle ſo equitable with reſpect to France, and ſo liberal on his majeſty's part. The delivery of theſe papers was accompanied by a declaration expreſsly and repeatedly made, both verbally and in writing, that his majeſty's miniſter was willing and prepared to enter, with a ſpirit of conciliation and fairneſs, into the diſcuſſion of the different points there contained, or into that of any other propoſal or ſcheme of peace which the French government might wiſh to ſubſtitute in its place.

In reply to this communication, he received a demand, in form the moſt offenſive, and in ſubſtance the moſt extravagant, that ever was made in the courſe of any negotiation. It was peremptorily required of him, that in the very outſet of the buſineſs, when no anſwer had been given by the French government to his firſt propoſal, when he had not even learnt, in any regular ſhape, the nature or extent of the objections to it, and much leſs received from that government any other offer or plan of peace, he ſhould in twenty-four hours deliver in a ſtatement of the final terms to which his court would in any caſe accede —a demand tending evidently to ſhut the door to all negotiation, to preclude all diſcuſſion, all explanation, all poſſibility of the amicable adjuſtment of points of difference --a demand in its nature prepoſterous, in its execution impracticable, ſince it is plain that no ſuch ultimate reſolution reſpecting a general plan of peace ever can be rationally formed, much leſs declared, without knowing what points are principally objected to by the enemy, and what facilities he may be willing to offer in return for conceſſion in thoſe reſpects. Having declined compliance with this demand, and explained the reaſons which rendered it inadmiſſible, but having, at the ſame time, expreſsly renewed the declaration of his readineſs to enter into the diſcuſſion of the propoſal he had conveyed, or of any other which might be communicated to him, the king's miniſter received no other anſwer than an abrupt command to quit Paris in forty-eight hours. If, in addition to ſuch an inſult, any further proof, were neceſſary of the diſpoſitions of thoſe by whom it was offered, ſuch proof would be abundantly ſupplied from the contents of the note in which this order was conveyed. The mode of negotiation on which the French government had itſelf inſiſted, is there rejected, and no practicable means left open for treating with effect. The baſis of negotiation, ſo recently eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent, is there diſclaimed; and, in its room, a principle clearly inadmiſſible is reaſſerted as the only ground on which France can conſent to treat; the very ſame principle which had been brought forward in reply to his majeſty's firſt overtures from Switzerland, which had then been rejected by his majeſty, but which now appears never to have been, in fact, abandoned by the government of France, however inconſiſtent with that on which they had expreſsly agreed to treat.

It is therefore neceſſary that all Europe ſhould underſtand that the rupture of the negotiation at Paris does not ariſe from the failure of any

any ſincere attempt on the part of France to reconcile by fair diſcuſſion the views and intereſts of the contending powers. Such a diſcuſſion has been repeatedly invited, and even ſolicited, on the part of his majeſty, but has been, in the firſt inſtance, and abſolutely, precluded by the act of the French government.

It ariſes excluſively from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace,—a determination which appeared but too ſtrongly on all the preliminary diſcuſſions; which was clearly manifeſted in the demand of an ultimatum made in the very outſet of the negotiation, but which is proved beyond all poſſibility of doubt by the obſtinate adherence to a claim which never can be admitted,—a claim that the conſtruction which that government affects to put (though even in that reſpect unſupported by the fact) on the internal conſtitution of its own country, ſhall be received by all other nations as paramount to every known principle of public law in Europe, as ſuperior to the obligations of treaties, to the ties of common intereſt, to the moſt preſſing and urgent conſiderations of general ſecurity.

On ſuch grounds it is that the French government has abruptly terminated a negotiation, which it commenced with reluctance, and conducted with every indication to prevent its final ſucceſs. On theſe motives it is that the farther effuſion of blood, the continued calamities of war, the interruptions of peaceable and friendly intercourſe among mankind, the prolonged diſtreſſes of Europe, and the accumulated miſeries of France itſelf, are by the government of that country to be juſtified to the world.

His majeſty, who had entered into the negotiation with good faith, who has ſuffered no impediment to prevent his proſecuting it with earneſtneſs and ſincerity, has now only to lament its abrupt termination, and to renew, in the face of all Europe, the ſolemn declaration, that, whenever his enemies ſhall be diſpoſed to enter on the work of a general pacification, in a ſpirit of conciliation and equity, nothing ſhall be wanting on his part to contribute to the accompliſhment of that great object, with a view to which he has already offered ſuch conſiderable ſacrifices on his part, and which is now retarded only by the exorbitant pretenſions of his enemies.

Weſtminſter, Dec. 27. 1796.

Treaty between his Britannic *Majeſty and the Landgrave of* Heſſe Darmſtadt, *ſigned at Frankfort, the* 10*th day of June* 1796.

BE it known to thoſe whom it may concern, that his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and his ſerene highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, in conſideration of the ſtrict ties which unite their intereſts, and having judged that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it would contribute to the reciprocal welfare of Great Britain, and of the dominions of Heſſe Darmſtadt, to cement and ſtrengthen, by a new treaty of alliance, the connection which ſubſiſts between them, his Britannic majeſty, in order to regulate the object, relative to this treaty, has thought proper to nomi-

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nate Charles Crauſurd, his envoy at the imperial and royal armies; and his ſerene highneſs has nominated on his part, for the ſame purpoſe, the baron Charles of Barkhaus, his privy councillor, and director of the council of war; who, being furniſhed with the neceſſary full powers, have agreed to take for baſis of the preſent treaty, the one formerly concluded between Great Britain and Heſſe, the fifth of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three, to adopt ſuch parts of it as may be applicable to the preſent circumſtances, or to ſettle by new articles, thoſe points which it may be neceſſary to regulate otherwiſe: and as it is not poſſible to ſpecify each particular caſe, every thing which ſhall not appear to be determined in a preciſe manner, either in the preſent treaty or in the former treaty, ſhall be ſettled with equity and good faith, in conformity to the ſame principles which have been adopted in former inſtances.

Art. 1. There ſhall be, therefore, in virtue of this treaty, between his majeſty the king of Great Britain and his ſerene highneſs the landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, their heirs and ſucceſſors, a ſtrict friendſhip, and a ſincere, firm, and conſtant union, ſo that the one ſhall conſider the intereſts of the other as his own, and ſhall ſtrive to promote them with good faith as much as poſſible, and to prevent and remove all diſturbance and injury.

2. His majeſty the king of Great Britain deſiring to have in his ſervice a body of troops, to be employed wherever he may think proper, excepting in the Eaſt Indies, or on board the fleet; and his ſerene highneſs, wiſhing for nothing more than to give his majeſty this freſh proof of his attachment, engages, by virtue of this article, to ſet on foot three battalions of infantry, forming a body of two thouſand two hundred and eighty-four men, according to the annexed ſpecification. Theſe troops ſhall be ready to paſs in review before his Britannic majeſty's commiſſary the fourteenth day of July of the preſent year, at Darmſtadt, and to begin their march the following day for the place of their deſtination. The general whom his Britannic majeſty ſhall appoint commander in chief in the countries where theſe ſhall ſerve, ſhall have authority to employ them, either together or in detachments, and even to diſperſe them amongſt the different iſlands or diſtricts of his command, in the manner which he ſhall judge the moſt advantageous for his majeſty's ſervice. It being, notwithſtanding, well underſtood, that theſe troops ſhall always remain under the immediate orders of their own chiefs. —The ſaid corps ſhall conſiſt of men diſciplined and exerciſed, and well armed and equipped.

3. In order to defray the expences to which the ſerene landgrave ſhall be put for the equipment of the ſaid corps of troops, his Britannic majeſty promiſes to pay to his ſerene highneſs for each man thirty crowns banco, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three ſols of Holland, or at four ſhillings and ninepence three farthings Engliſh money, of which payment ſhall be made immediately after the review, and according to the effective ſtate as ſhall then be verified. All the camp neceſſaries, as likewiſe all the horſes, waggons, draft-horſes, valets de bat, and waggoners, who may be neceſſary for the troops, as well

well for tranſporting the equipages, proviſions, ammunition, utenſils, ſick, and other objects of every kind, as for the field-pieces, with their implements, and artillery men, ſhall be furniſhed by his Britannic majeſty wherever they may be wanted.

4. Beſides the levy-money ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Britannic majeſty ſhall cauſe to be paid to every officer, as alſo to every one employed, not a fighting man of equal rank, the ſum of three months pay according to his rank, and upon the ſame footing as his national troops, in order to facilitate the expence of his private equipment, which payment ſhall be made immediately after the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

5. His majeſty the king of Great Britain engages himſelf, in like manner, to pay to the ſerene landgrave an annual ſubſidy during the ſix years this treaty is to continue. This ſubſidy ſhall commence from the day of the ſignature, and it ſhall be paid at the rate of eighty thouſand crowns banco per annum. The payment of this ſubſidy ſhall be made regularly, without abatement, every quarter, to the agent of his highneſs in London.

6. Theſe troops ſhall remain in the ſervice and at the diſpoſition of his Britannic majeſty during ſix years, and his majeſty ſhall allow them during this term—1. Every thing that is neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; namely, pay, bread, forage, and, in general all emoluments, as well ordinary as extraordinary, attached to every rank on the ſame footing that he allows them to his Britiſh troops in the different places of their deſtination; and for this purpoſe the ſtatements of payment ſhall be annexed to the preſent treaty.

2. Medicines and ſuſtenance for the ſick and wounded, with a place and the neceſſary means of conveyance wherein they may be treated and taken care of, preciſely on the ſame footing as the national Britiſh troops, by their own phyſicians and ſurgeons. The pay ſhall commence from the day of the review, according to the effective ſtate in which the ſaid corps ſhall be delivered, which ſhall be verified by a table, ſigned by the reſpective miniſters of the high contracting parties, which ſhall have the ſame force as if it had been inſerted word for word in the preſent treaty.

7. As in the before-mentioned table the ſtrength of each company, of which four make a battalion, amounts to one hundred and ſixty-three ſoldiers, it muſt be obſerved, that in this number are compriſed ſeven men unarmed, intended, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the Heſſian ſervice, to ſerve as ſervants to officers; and it is agreed upon that theſe men ſhall nevertheleſs paſs muſter as ſoldiers in every reſpect.

8. As it is to be feared that, notwithſtanding the care made uſe of, it will not be poſſible entirely to prevent deſertion until the arrival of the troops at the place of embarkation, and his ſerene highneſs promiſing to employ every means in his power that the ſaid corps ſhall be embarked complete, it is agreed upon, that there ſhall be at the ſaid review ten ſupernumerary men per company, to ſupply the place of deſerters on the march; ſo that, in caſe, on the arrival of the corps at the port, the number of ſupernumeraries ſhall exceed that of the deſerters, the remainder may be diſtributed amongſt the battalions; and

added to the amount, in order to increaſe, in ſuch caſe, the levy-money, pay, &c. and his highneſs engages himſelf moreover to cauſe the ſaid corps to be eſcorted by a detachment of cavalry, in order to pick up deſerters, procure quarters, &c. &c. it being well underſtood that the expences, as well of the march as of the return of the detachment of cavalry, ſhall be defrayed by his majeſty.

9. All the objects of pay and maintenance ſhall be calculated according to the table of the annual review, ſo that the vacancies happening from one review to another ſhall not make any alteration in the ſtate of payment. His majeſty ſhall cauſe theſe objects to be paid in advance from two to three months, either by aſſignments, payable in favour of the Heſſian commiſſioner upon whatever cheſt of his majeſty may be neareſt to the ſaid commiſſion, or in ready money to his ſerene highneſs's agent in London.

10. A freſh review ſhall take place regularly every year. His majeſty ſhall give three months notice of the number of recruits neceſſary to complete the corps, which number ſhall be fixed according to the official report of the firſt day of April, ſo that the recruits ſhall be ready to be delivered to the Engliſh commiſſary the 1ſt day of July, at the place of the firſt review, or one month after, at ſuch port in Germany, or at ſuch place on the frontiers of the empire, as his majeſty may chooſe for their reception. The form of their delivery ſhall be deemed to be that of the new review, and the total of the number of effective men remaining according to the report of the month of April, added to that of the recruits delivered to the Britiſh commiſſary, ſhall be conſidered as the effective ſtate of the new period, and ſhall not vary until the review of the following year.

11. There ſhall be paid, for each recruit, armed, equipped, diſciplined, and exerciſed, the ſum of twenty crowns banco; and his highneſs the landgrave takes upon himſelf the expences of tranſport to the place of embarkation, as well as of eſcort, which are to be reimburſed by his Britannic majeſty.

12. As during the continuance of this treaty, it will neceſſarily occur, that officers or ſoldiers, either for family reaſons, on account of preferment, or of ſickneſs, will be obliged to return home, his majeſty takes upon himſelf the expences of their tranſport in the two former caſes, as far as the frontiers of the empire, and in the latter to their own country; his highneſs promiſes, in return, to replace the non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers to whom he may give permiſſion to return for any other reaſon than that of ſickneſs, at his own expence, and without requiring the conſideration for recruits fixed in the preceding article, reſerving to himſelf nothing but the tranſport from the frontiers of the empire unto the place of their deſtination.—Moreover, his highneſs will never recal an officer or ſoldier without urgent cauſe, or without having acquainted his majeſty thereof; and he will take care that the number of officers ſhall be always complete.

13. The moſt ſerene landgrave being at the charge of furniſhing the ſaid corps with arms and cloathing, in conſequence of the pay upon the footing of Engliſh troops, as agreed upon in theſe articles, his majeſty

majeſty ſhall cauſe indemnification to be made for ſuch loſs only in cloathing, arms, and accoutrements, as ſhall be occaſioned by ſome accident of war or voyage; as well as for every expence incurred in the tranſport of the ſeveral articles to the troops, and alſo of every thing they may ſtand in need of. It being well underſtood that the aforeſaid articles ſhall be delivered to the Engliſh commiſſary at the ſame time as the recruits of the year, in order that the ſame veſſel may convey both.

14. In caſe an officer ſhall loſe his equipage, either on his route or by ſome accident of war, his majeſty ſhall grant him the ſame indemnification as Engliſh officers are allowed in ſimilar caſes.

15. As ſoon as his ſerene highneſs ſhall have put the corps in a ſtate to march, within the term agreed upon, he ſhall be conſidered as having fulfilled his preliminary engagements; ſo that the payment of the levy-money, ſubſidy, and pay ſhall take place according to the aforeſaid determination, even in caſe his majeſty, on account of ſome unforeſeen event, ſhould not think proper to have the corps reviewed, or to cauſe it to march or embark.

16. If before the period of the review, his Britannic majeſty ſhall find himſelf diſpoſed to renounce his treaty entirely, his ſerene highneſs ſhall receive, under the title of indemnification; 1ſt. the levy-money. 2d The equipage-money allowed to the officers. 3d. Three months pay for the whole of the troops, according to the table annexed to the ſecond article, &c. 4th. One year's ſubſidy.

17. At the end of ſix years, his Britannic majeſty ſhall ſend back the corps at the diſpoſal of his highneſs in the ſame ſtate in which it was taken into his ſervice, and being at the entire expence of tranſport until their arrival at Darmſtadt. It being underſtood that his majeſty ſhall not pay the levy-money for the men who may be wanting at that time, except in the caſe where he ſhall have failed to inform the ſerene landgrave of it ſix months beforehand, in order to ſave his highneſs the expence of a new completion. If by accident the return ſhould be retarded, the treaty ſhall be tacitly prolonged for one year, in every reſpect, and a certain ſum ſhall be agreed upon as an equivalent for levy-money, in proportion to the preſent arrangement.

18. If his majeſty ſhould think proper, after the expiration of the ſix years fixed for the duration of this treaty, to keep the ſaid corps for ſome years longer, his highneſs conſents to it, beforehand; and as it will be then only neceſſary to make an arrangement reſpecting the levy and equipage-money for the officers, which will be calculated according to the proportions of the preſent treaty.

19. His ſerene highneſs reſerves to himſelf the juriſdiction over his troops, as well as all diſpoſitions reſpecting promotion, diſcipline, and interior adminiſtration.

20. His Britannic majeſty grants to his highneſs the ſum of 15,000l. ſterling, to anſwer the firſt expences of equipping this corps; payment of which ſhall be made immediately after the ſignature of this treaty, and ſhall be carried to the account of levy-money.

21. Deſerters ſhall be faithfully delivered up on both ſides, and neither the ſoldiers, nor any other perſons belonging to the corps of Heſſe Darmſtadt, ſhall be permitted to ſettle in the dominions of his Britannic majeſty.

In witneſs whereof, we the underſigned, authorized by the full power of his majeſty the king of Great Britain on one ſide, and of his ſerene highneſs the reigning landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, on the other, have ſigned the preſent treaty, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Frankfort, this 10th day of June, 1796.

(L. S.) C. CRAUFURD.
(L. S.) C. B. DE BARKHAUS.

Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, Jan.* 21, 1796.

My lords and gentlemen,

I HAVE received his majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament.

It gives me the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction to be authorized to inform you, that notwithſtanding the advantages which the enemy poſſeſſed at the commencement of the laſt year, and the ſucceſſes which attended their operations in the former parts of the campaign, the general ſituation of affairs is on the whole moſt eſſentially improved.

The continued and brilliant ſucceſſes of the Auſtrian armies upon the Rhine, the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomale by his majeſty's forces, and the decided and confirmed ſuperiority of his fleets, are circumſtances of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe, and their effect is heightened by the internal diſtreſſes, the ruined commerce, and increaſing financial embarraſſment of the enemy.

The criſis lately depending in France has led to an order of things in that country, ſuch as will induce his majeſty to meet any diſpoſition to negotiation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect; and to conclude a treaty of general peace, when it may be effected on juſt and ſuitable terms for himſelf and his allies.

The treaty of commerce between his majeſty and the United States of America, having been mutually ratified, I have ordered copies of it, by his majeſty's command, to be laid before you.

I have the pleaſure to announce to you, that her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales has been happily delivered of a princeſs; an event which, by giving additional ſtability to his majeſty's auguſt houſe, cannot fail to afford you the higheſt ſatisfaction.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I obſerve with the ſincereſt pleaſure, that, notwithſtanding the continued preſſure of the war, the commerce and revenues of this kingdom have not in any degree fallen from that flouriſhing ſtate of advancement, which in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament was a ſubject of ſuch juſt congratulation. This circumſtance affords a deciſive proof, that your proſperity is founded on a ſolid baſis, and leads me to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional

additional burdens you may find it neceſſary to impoſe will not be materially felt by the people.

I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you, and have no doubt of your readineſs to provide ſuch ſupplies as a due ſenſe of the exigencies of the kingdom ſhall ſuggeſt, and the wiſe policy of ſtrengthening his majeſty's exertions for procuring a ſolid and permanent peace ſhall appear to render neceſſary.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with regret that I feel myſelf obliged to advert to thoſe ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have, in ſome degree, been diſcloſed in ſeveral trials; and to the diſturbances which have taken place in ſome parts of the kingdom. It has, at the ſame time, been a ſource of great ſatisfaction to me, to obſerve the ſucceſsful and meritorious exertions of the magiſtrates in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and the alacrity which his majeſty's regular and militia forces have univerſally manifeſted in aid of the civil power whenever they have been called upon for the preſervation of the peace, and ſupport of the laws. It remains for your prudence and wiſdom to deviſe ſuch meaſures as, together with the continuance of thoſe exertions, and with the additional power which, by the advice of the privy council, I have thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh in different counties, will prevent the return of ſimilar exceſſes, and reſtore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.

The ſuperior and increaſing importance of the agriculture and manufactures, and particularly of the linen manufacture of the kingdom, will command your accuſtomed ſupport. Under the preſent ſituation of Europe, you cannot fail to attend, with peculiar vigilance, to the general ſtate of proviſions; and, if circumſtances ſhall, at any time, render your interpoſition adviſable, I have no doubt of your adopting ſuch meaſures as ſhall beſt apply to the exiſting neceſſity of the times.

I am alſo deſirous of pointing your attention to the proteſtant charter ſchools, and other inſtitutions of public charity and improvement.

Your unanimity and zeal can never be of more importance than at the preſent criſis, in order to impreſs the enemy with a thorough conviction of the reſources of his majeſty's kingdoms, and to procure a favourable termination to your honourable efforts. His majeſty has the fulleſt reliance on your firmneſs and attachment, and on the fortitude, ſpirit, and perſeverance of his people,

It will be my ambition, as it is my duty, to repreſent your zeal in his majeſty's ſervice; and it will be my perſonal and moſt anxious wiſh to co-operate with your efforts in the common cauſe, in which we are all equally engaged and intereſted; and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall be uſed to ſecure the happineſs and proſperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its moſt excellent conſtitution,

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Speech of the Speaker of the Iriſh *Houſe of Commons, on preſenting the Bills of Supply to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for the Royal Aſſent.*

I SHOULD feel a pride in repeating the ſentiments of loyalty

which direct the commons in all their deliberations, but the bills of ſupply, which they now offer, declare them more effectually than it is in the power of any language to expreſs.

We are a part of the empire; we will ſtand or fall with Britain; it is our repeated, determined reſolution, and this nation will exert all its powers, and will call forth all its reſources, to ſupport, with her, the common cauſe, to uphold the ſafety of the laws, the religion, and the conſtitution, againſt the overthrow with which the preſent unprovoked and unexampled war attempts to threaten them.

Peace is an object moſt devoutly to be wiſhed; but an inſecure peace is only a ſmothered war; for a laſting and honourable one (and none can be laſting that is not honourable) we look to the powerful impreſſions which the abundant reſources of the empire, the vigour of his majeſty's exertions, and the cordial co-operation of all his ſubjects, muſt make on the common enemy.

We have, accordingly, with an unanimous voice, granted ſupplies to the utmoſt deſire expreſſed by his majeſty's miniſters, and in doing ſo we look back with great ſatisfaction on the energy, wiſdom, and economy, with which the very liberal ſupplies of the laſt ſeſſions have been adminiſtered under your excellency's government.

The defence of the kingdom has had due attention paid to it. The ſpirit of inſurrection has been vigorouſly ſuppreſſed wherever it has appeared, and we have the ſtrongeſt hope from the vigilance, the firmneſs, and conciliating moderation, which have marked your excellency's conduct ſince your arrival in this kingdom, that under the additional powers with which the laws of this ſeſſion will have armed the magiſtracy, it will be totally and ſpeedily ſubdued.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, April* 15, 1796,

My lords and gentlemen,

IN releaſing you from farther attendance in parliament, I am peculiarly commanded by his majeſty to thank you for that conſpicuous zeal and unanimity, ſo honourable to yourſelves, and ſo impreſſive on our enemies, which have marked your conduct through the whole ſeſſions, in promoting, by your energy and temper, the intereſts of your country, and in ſupporting, by your ſpirit and liberality, the common cauſe of the empire.

His majeſty has taken the ſteps which appeared moſt proper for ſetting on foot a negotiation for general peace, if the enemy ſhould be diſpoſed to enter into ſuch negotiation on grounds conſiſtent with the ſafety, honour, and intereſt of his majeſty's kingdoms, and of his allies.

If his majeſty's views in this reſpect ſhould fail, he has no doubt, that the valour of his ſubjects, the reſources of his kingdoms, and the exertions of the powers engaged with him, will ultimately produce this deſirable end.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his majeſty's name, for the cheerfulneſs and

and liberality with which you have provided for the current ſervices of the year, and it affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction, to reflect that theſe objects have been attained by burthens ſo judiciouſly impoſed, that they can ſcarcely affect the lower orders of the people. It is equally ſatisfactory to obſerve, that your ſtrength and proſperity remain undiminiſhed, notwithſtanding the preſſure of the war, and it will be my endeavour to cheriſh your reſources, and apply your liberality with economy and prudence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The inquiries I had ordered to be made with regard to the produce of the laſt harveſt, and the meaſures taken by you to prevent the export of grain, muſt relieve the public mind from an apprehenſion of ſcarcity. If any illicit means ſhould be attempted, to evade the proviſions of the laws, which have been enacted upon this important ſubject, I ſhall not be inattentive in exerciſing thoſe powers with which I am entruſted.

The vigorous meaſures you have adopted for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection and outrage, and the wiſe proviſions you have made for preventing the extenſion of ſimilar offences, muſt have the moſt ſalutary effects.

The new regulation of licences under the ſuperintendence of magiſtrates, will tend to promote tranquillity and ſobriety. The eſtabliſhment of more frequent ſeſſions of the peace will afford an eaſy and expeditious adminiſtration of juſtice in the different diſtricts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increaſe of the ſalaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil-bill juriſdiction, for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, will enſure the conſtant and regular attention of his majeſty's judges to the civil and criminal buſineſs that will remain to be done on the circuits.

Theſe meaſures cannot but demonſtrate to the people at large the firmneſs and the temper of parliament, which, whilſt it is determined to repreſs the exceſſes of licentiouſneſs and outrage, is at the ſame time anxious to enſure to the country thoſe permanent advantages of ſecurity, peace and good order, which are to be derived from a prompt and upright adminiſtration of juſtice.

I cannot too ſtrongly recommend it to you to give effect to theſe benefits by your example and preſence; and I am confident, that when you are relieved from your duty in parliament, all ranks and deſcriptions of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects will feel themſelves protected by your exertions and authority in your different counties.

Your kind declarations in favour of my adminiſtration make the deepeſt impreſſions upon my feelings. If I have any claim to your confidence and good opinion, it ariſes from the fidelity with which I have repreſented to his majeſty your loyalty and zeal, and from the ſincere deſire I feel to conform my conduct to your ſentiments.—Great Britain and Ireland form one empire; they are inſeparably connected; they muſt ſtand or fall together; and we are all equally engaged, becauſe we are all equally intereſted in the common cauſe of defending and upholding our religion, our laws, and our conſtitution.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houſes of Parliament, Oct. 13, 1796.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE his majeſty's commands to acquaint you that he has thought it neceſſary to require your attendance in parliament at this early period, and to reſort to your deliberate wiſdom, at a time when the ambitious projects of our enemies have threatened to interrupt the happineſs and proſperity of his people, by making a deſcent on this kingdom and Great Britain. And although his majeſty looks forward with the utmoſt confidence to the ſpirit, loyalty, and ability, of his faithful people of Ireland, to repel ſuch an attack; it will yet become your wiſdom to neglect no precautions which may preclude the attempt, or ſecure the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to the confuſion of the enemy.

His majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct an addition to be made to the regular forces in this kingdom, by troops ſent from Great Britain, the greater part of which is already arrived; and in purſuance of his majeſty's commands, I have alſo encouraged the loyal and zealous diſpoſition which has generally diſplayed itſelf, to aſſociate in arms under his majeſty's authority, for the better ſecurity of property, and the preſervation of tranquillity and good order.

In conſequence of the ſteps which his majeſty has taken to reſtore peace to Europe, and to ſecure its future tranquillity, a way has at length been opened for an immediate and direct negotiation; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majeſty's intention to ſend a perſon to Paris, with full powers to treat for the reſtoration of general peace.

The apparently hoſtile diſpoſitions and conduct of the court of Spain, have led to diſcuſſions, of which I am not able to acquaint you with the final reſult: but, whatever may be their iſſue, they cannot but afford to Europe a further proof of his majeſty's moderation and forbearance, and cannot fail to animate your utmoſt exertions in defending the dignity, rights, and intereſt of the empire, againſt every aggreſſion.

In reviewing the events of this year, it muſt afford you the greateſt ſatisfaction to obſerve, that, by the ſpirit and exertions of his majeſty's navy, the commerce of this kingdom has been protected in a degree almoſt beyond example; and in no part more completely, than by the ſkill, activity, and bravery of the ſquadron ſtationed on the coaſt of this kingdom.

The ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies has been highly honourable and advantageous to the empire; and evinces in the ſtrongeſt manner, the valour and good conduct of his forces both by ſea and land.

The ſteady and dignified conduct of the emperor, and the intrepidity and ſpirit of the Auſtrian forces under the command of the archduke Charles, have given ſo eſſential a change to the aſpect of affairs on the continent, as to inſpire a well grounded confidence that the final reſult of the campaign will be ſuch as materially to promote his majeſty's endeavours to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace for himſelf and his allies.

Gentleme

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered to be laid before you an account of ſuch articles of expence as are not included in the eſtimates for the current year, and which the preſent circumſtances have rendered neceſſary; and when you conſider the great intereſts for which we are engaged, and the objects for which we are contending, I doubt not that you will grant the ſupplies which may be requiſite for them with your accuſtomed liberality; and when the ordinary accounts and eſtimates for the enſuing year ſhall be laid before you, I truſt you will then proceed with the zeal you have always manifeſted in providing for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The expediency of the vigorous meaſures which you have adopted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament has been amply proved by the outrages which they were intended to ſuppreſs, having in a great meaſure ſubſided. I am, however, to lament that in one part of the country, good order has not yet been entirely reſtored, and that in other diſtricts, a treaſonable ſyſtem of ſecret confederation, by the adminiſtering of illegal oaths, ſtill continues, although no means within the reach of government have been left untried to counteract it.

You will not fail, at a proper time, to continue your attention to the manufactures, the agriculture, and the commerce of the country, and to extend your accuſtomed benevolence to the Proteſtant charity ſchools, and the other inſtitutions of education and charity which have been ſo long foſtered by your liberal encouragement.

The proſperity and reſources of the kingdom, ſo highly improved by your meritorious care, ſtill remain unimpaired by the preſſure of the war; and I truſt to your unremitting attention for the further advancement of your national proſperity.

You have learnt the ſteps which his majeſty has taken to procure the bleſſings of general peace upon a ſolid and permanent baſis. Should theſe gracious endeavours of his majeſty not be followed by the ſucceſs which he has every reaſon to expect, he is ſatisfied that the affections, courage, and perſeverance of his people, will enable him to fruſtrate the deſigns of our enemies, and to maintain the honour and dignity of the crown.

It will afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction to be aided at this important criſis by your advice; and I rely, with a confidence you have taught me to indulge, upon your liberal interpretation of my conduct, and upon that ſupport I have ſo amply experienced ſince I received his majeſty's commands to repair to this country; and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me if I ſhould have the good fortune, in the adminiſtration of the king's government, to impreſs upon your minds the full extent of his majeſty's paternal care of this kingdom, and of my own anxiety to promote, by every means, its intereſts, its ſafety, and its proſperity.

A Pro-

A Proclamation of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland *againſt illegal and treaſonable Aſſociations.*

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS, we have received information, that divers ill-affected perſons have entered into illegal and treaſonable aſſociations, in ſeveral parts of the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh, to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom; and for the effecting ſuch their treaſonable purpoſes, have aſſaſſinated divers of his majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, who have endeavoured, and threaten to aſſaſſinate others who ſhall endeavour, to detect or ſuppreſs their treaſon; and in further proſecution of their deſigns, have endeavoured to deter his majeſty's loyal ſubjects from inrolling themſelves under officers commiſſioned by his majeſty for the defence of this kingdom, during the preſent war, by maiming and deſtroying their cattle, and by aſſaulting and wantonly wounding one perſon, avowedly becauſe he had inrolled himſelf, and by threatening aſſaſſination againſt all perſons who ſhould ſo inroll themſelves; and in further proſecution of ſuch their purpoſes, have, by felonious and other illegal means, endeavoured ſecretly to procure ammunition and other warlike ſtores; and particularly, that ſeveral evil-diſpoſed perſons lately broke into one of his majeſty's ſtores in the town of Belfaſt, in the county of Antrim, and thereout took and carried away ten barrels of gunpowder.

And whereas we have alſo received information, that, on Tueſday the 1ſt of November inſtant, a conſiderable number of armed men, aſſociated in the aforeſaid treaſonable conſpiracies, entered the town of Stewarſtown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed ſeveral of the peaceable inhabitants of the ſaid town, who had refuſed to join in their aſſociations, and who had agreed to inroll themſelves in the corps under officers to be commiſſioned by his majeſty, for the preſervation of the public peace, and for the protection of the kingdom againſt foreign invaſion.

And whereas we have alſo received information, that, in further proſecution of the ſaid treaſonable purpoſes, many large bodies of men have aſſembled, and arrayed themſelves, and marched in military order, and with military muſic, through ſeveral parts of the ſaid diſtricts, under pretence of ſaving corn, and digging potatoes, (though they far exceeded the number neceſſary to be employed in ſuch ſervice) to the very great terror of the loyal and faithful ſubjects of his majeſty.

And whereas ſuch treaſonable outrages have cauſed well-grounded alarms in the minds of his majeſty's faithful ſubjects, and are of the moſt dangerous and pernicious tendency.

Now we, the lord lieutenant and privy council, being determined to maintain the public peace, and to afford protection to all his majeſty's loyal ſubjects, and immediately and effectually to exerciſe all powers with which the conſtitution has inveſted us for theſe purpoſes, do forewarn all perſons of the danger they may incur, and, on their allegiance, charge them to deſiſt from ſuch treaſonable practices.

And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and other peace

peace officers, and all officers civil and military in this kingdom, and all other his majeſty's loving ſubjects, as they tender their allegiance to his majeſty, and their own ſafety, to uſe their beſt endeavours to prevent, and, where that cannot be done, to diſcover and bring to juſtice thoſe concerned in the aforeſaid practices; and to prevent and diſperſe all treaſonable, ſeditious, or unlawful aſſemblies; the neceſſary orders having been already iſſued to the ſeveral officers of his majeſty's forces in this kingdom, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the civil magiſtrates in the execution of their duties for that purpoſe.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 6th day of November, 1796.

A Proclamation by the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, *declaring certain Parts of the County of* Down *in a ſtate of Diſturbance.*

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS, by an act of parliament paſſed in this kingdom, in the 36th year of his majeſty's reign, intituled, "An Act more effectually to "ſuppreſs Inſurrections, and to pre"vent the Diſturbance of the public "Peace," it is enacted, that it ſhall be lawful for the juſtices of the peace, of any county, aſſembled at a ſpecial ſeſſion in manner by the ſaid act directed, not being fewer than ſeven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they judge fit, upon due conſideration of the ſtate of the county, to ſignify by memorial, by them ſigned, to the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, that they conſider their county, or any part thereof, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming ſo, and praying that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim ſuch county, or part thereof, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, thereupon it ſhall be lawful for the lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his majeſty's privy council, by proclamation, to declare ſuch county, or any part of ſuch county, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming ſo, and alſo ſuch parts of any adjoining county or counties, as ſuch chief governor or governors ſhall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extenſion of ſuch diſturbance.

And whereas twenty-four juſtices of the peace of the county of Down (ſeveral of them being of the quorum) being the major part of the juſtices of the peace duly aſſembled, purſuant to the ſaid act, at a ſpecial ſeſſion of the peace, holden at Hillſborough, in the ſaid county, on Friday the 11th day of November inſtant, have, by memorial by them ſigned, ſignified to his excellency the lord lieutenant, that certain parts of the ſaid county are in a ſtate of diſturbance, and have thereby prayed that the lord lieutenant and council may proclaim the pariſhes of Tullyliſh, Aghaderg, Donaghcloney, Moira, Maralin, and Seapatrick, being parts of the ſaid county of Down, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, of which all juſtices of the peace, and other magiſtrates and peace officers of the ſaid county, are to take notice.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 16th day of November, 1796.

W. Armagh
Clare, C.
Carleton
Yelverton
Weſtmeath

Weſtmeath	Ch. Fitzgerald
Bellamont	J. Bereſford
Altamont	H. Cavendiſh
Portarlington	Her. Langriſhe
Clonmell	T. Pelham
Ely	Arthur Wolfe
Dillon	James Fitzgerald
Mountjoy	Robert Roſs
Muſkerry	Lodge Morres
Donoughmore	S. Hamilton

God ſave the King.

Treaty of Peace, concluded between the King of Sardinia *and the* French *republic.*

THE French republic and his majeſty the king of Sardinia, equally animated by the deſire of making a happy peace ſucceed to the war which divides them, have appointed, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter of foreign affairs, and his majeſty the king of Sardinia, M. M. the Chevaliers de Revel and de Tonſo, to negotiate the clauſes and conditions proper for re-eſtabliſhing and conſolidating good harmony between the two ſtates, who, after having exchanged their full and reſpective powers, have agreed to the following articles:

I. There ſhall be peace and good neighbourhood between the French republic and the king of Sardinia. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe between the two powers, reckoning from the time of ſigning the preſent treaty.

II. The king of Sardinia revokes all adheſion, conſent, or acceſſion, public or ſecret, given by him to the armed coalition againſt the French republic; and all the treaties of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, which he may have concluded againſt the ſaid republic with any power whatſoever. He ſhall not furniſh any contingent in men or money to any powers armed againſt France, upon any pretence, or under any authority whatſoever.

III. The king of Sardinia fairly and entirely renounces for ever, for himſelf or his ſucceſſors, in favour of the French republic, all the rights which he can pretend to have to Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Tenda, and Breuil.

IV. The limits between the ſtates of the king of Sardinia and the departments of the French republic ſhall be marked by a line through the moſt advanced points of the frontier of Piedmont, the ſummits, *plateaux* (flat tops of hills) mountains, and other places hereafter deſcribed, as well as the intermediate ſummits and *plateaux*, viz. from the point where the frontiers of *ci-devant* Faucigny, Duchy of Aoſte and Valais, unite to the extremity of the Glaciers, or Monts-Maudits.

1ſt. The ſummits or *plateaux* of the Alps at the riſing of the Col-mayor.

2d. Little Saint Bernard, and the hoſpital ſituated there.

3d. The ſummits or *plateaux* of Mont-Alban, of the Col-de Creſance, and of Mont-Iſeran.

4th. Turning a little towards the ſouth, the ſummits or *plateaux* of Cerat and of Gros-Caval.

5th. Great Mont-Cenis, and the hoſpital which ſtands to the ſouth eaſt of the lake of that mountain.

6th. Little Mont-Cenis.

7th. The ſummits or *plateaux* which ſeparate the valley of Bardonach from the Val-des-Pres.

8th. Mont-Genevre.

9th. The ſummits or *plateaux* which ſeparate the valley of Quiras from that of Vaudois.

10th. Mont-de-Vaudois.

11th. Mont de-Viſo.

12th. Mont de-l'Argentiere.

13th. The ſource of the Abayette and the Stura.

14th. The mountains between the valleys of Stura and Geſſo, on one part; and thoſe of Saint Stephen or Tinea, of Saint Martin or Vezubia, of Tenda, or of Roya, on the other.

15th. Leroche-Barbon, on the confines of the ſtate of Genoa.

If ſome communes, habitations or portions of territories of the ſaid communes, actually in friendſhip with the French republic, fall without the line of frontiers above deſcribed, they ſhall continue to make part of the republic, notwithſtanding any inference that may be made to the contrary from this article.

V. The king of Sardinia engages not to permit emigrants or perſons tranſported from the French republic to ſtop or reſide in his dominions. He may, however, retain in his ſervice the emigrants of the departments of Mont Blanc, and of the Maritime Alps, ſo long as they give no cauſe of complaint by enterpriſes or manœuvres tending to oppoſe the internal ſafety of the republic.

VI. The king of Sardinia renounces all demand of recovery, or perſonal claim which he might pretend to exerciſe againſt the French republic for cauſes anterior to the preſent treaty.

VII. There ſhall be immediately concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on an equitable baſis, and ſuch as may ſecure to the French nation advantages, at leaſt equal to thoſe enjoyed in the dominions of the king of Sardinia by the moſt favoured nations.

In the mean time, all communications and commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed.

VIII. The king of Sardinia obliges himſelf to grant a full and entire amneſty to all his ſubjects who have been proſecuted for political opinions. Every proceſs which may have been raiſed on this ſubject, as well as the judgments which have intervened, are aboliſhed. All their property, movable and immovable, or the value thereof, if it has been ſold, ſhall be reſtored without delay. It ſhall be lawful for them to diſpoſe of it, to return and reſide in the dominions of the king of Sardinia, or to retire therefrom.

IX. The French republic and his majeſty the king of Sardinia, engage to ſuperſede the ſequeſtration of all effects, revenues, or property, ſeized, confiſcated, detained, or ſold, belonging to the citizens or ſubjects of either power, relative to the actual war, and to admit them reſpectively to the legal exerciſe of the actions or rights, which may belong to them.

X. All the priſoners, reſpectively made, ſhall be reſtored in one month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The ſick and wounded ſhall continue to be taken care of in the reſpective hoſpitals. They ſhall be reſtored when cured.

XI. Neither of the contracting powers ſhall grant a paſſage through its territory to the troops of any enemy of the other.

XII. Beſides the fortreſſes of Coni,

Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, as well as the territory which the troops of the republic occupy, or ought to occupy, they ſhall occupy the fortreſſes of Exiles, Aſſiette, Suſa, Brunette, Chateau Dauphin, and Alexandria; for which laſt place Valence ſhall be ſubſtituted, if the general in chief of the French republic prefer it.

XIII. The fortreſſes and territories above deſcribed ſhall be reſtored to the king of Sardinia upon the concluſion of the treaty of commerce between the republic and his majeſty, of general peace, and the eſtabliſhment of the line of frontiers.

XIV. The country occupied by the troops of the republic, and which ſhould be definitively reſtored, ſhall remain under the civil government of his Sardinian majeſty, but ſhall be liable to levies of military contributions, and furniſhing proviſion or forage which have been, or may be enacted for the ſupply of the French army.

XV. The fortifications of Brunette and Suſa, as well as the intrenchments formed above that town, ſhall be demoliſhed, and deſtroyed, at the expence of his Sardinian majeſty, under the direction of commiſſioners appointed by the executive directory.

The king of Sardinia ſhall not be permitted to eſtabliſh or repair any fortification on this part of the frontier.

XVI. The artillery of occupied places, the demolition of which is not ſtipulated by the preſent treaty, ſhall be employed for the ſervice of the republic, but ſhall be reſtored with the other fortreſſes at the ſame epoch to his Sardinian majeſty. The ſtores and proviſions which may be there ſhall be conſumed, without recovery, for the ſervice of the republican army.

XVII. The French troops ſhall have free paſſage through the ſtates of the king of Sardinia, in entering or returning from the interior of Italy.

XVIII. The king of Sardinia accepts the mediation of the French republic for definitively terminating the differences which have long ſubſiſted between his majeſty and the republic of Genoa, and for deciding on their reſpective claims.

XIX. Conformable to the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floreal, 3d year, the Batavian republic is included in the preſent treaty. There ſhall be peace and friendſhip between that republic and the king of Sardinia. Every thing ſhall be eſtabliſhed between them on the ſame footing as before the preſent war.

XX. The king of Sardinia ſhall diſavow, by his miniſter to the French republic, the proceedings employed towards the laſt ambaſſador of France.

XXI. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in leſs than one month, reckoning from the ſigning of the preſent treaty.

Done and concluded at Paris, the 25th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible, anſwering to the 15th of May, 1796.

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.
LE CHEVALIER DE REVEL.
LE CHEVALIER DE TONZO.

The executive directory decree and ſign the preſent treaty of peace with the king of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the miniſter of foreign affairs, appointed by the executive directory,

directory, by a decree of the 22d Floreal, and charged with inſtructions to that effect.

At Paris, the 28th Floreal, 4th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR,
REWBELL,
CARNOT,
P. BARRAS,
L. M. REVEILLERE LEPAUX.

Offenſive and Defenſive Treaty of Alliance between the French *Republic and* Spain.

THE executive directory of the French republic and his catholic majeſty the king of Spain, animated by the wiſh to ſtrengthen the bonds of amity and good underſtanding happily re-eſtabliſhed between France and Spain by the treaty of peace concluded at Baſle on the 4th Thermidor, and the third year of the republic, (July 22, 1795) have reſolved to form an offenſive and defenſive treaty of alliance for whatever concerns the advantages and common defence of the two nations; and they have charged with this important negotiation, and have given their full powers to the under-mentioned perſons; namely the executive directory of the French republic to citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of diviſion of the republic, and its ambaſſador to his catholic majeſty the king of Spain; and his catholic majeſty the king of Spain, to his excellency Don Manuel de Godoi, prince of the peace, duke of Alcudia, &c. &c. &c. who, after the reſpective communication and exchange of their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall exiſt for ever an offenſive and defenſive alliance between the French republic and his catholic majeſty the king of Spain.

2. The two contracting powers ſhall be mutual guarantees, without any reſerve or exception, in the moſt authentic and abſolute way, of all the ſtates, territories, iſlands, and the places which they poſſeſs, and ſhall reſpectively poſſeſs. And if one of the two powers ſhall be in the ſequel, under whatever pretext it may be, menaced or attacked, the other promiſes, engages and binds itſelf to help it with its good offices, and to ſuccour it on its requiſition, as ſhall be ſtipulated in the following articles:

3. Within the ſpace of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requiſition, the power called on ſhall hold in readineſs, and place at the diſpoſal of the power calling, 15 ſhips of the line, three of which ſhall be three-deckers, or of 80 guns, twelve of from 70 to 72, ſix frigates of a proportionate force, and four ſloops or light veſſels, all equipped, armed, and victualled for ſix months, and ſtored for a year. Theſe naval forces ſhall be aſſembled by the power called on in the particular port pointed out by the power calling.

4. In caſe the requiring power may have judged it proper for the commencement of hoſtilities to confine itſelf to the one-half the ſuccour, which was to have been given in execution of the preceding article, it may, at any epoch of the campaign, call for the other half of the aforeſaid ſuccour, which ſhall be furniſhed in the mode and within the ſpace fixed. The ſpace of time

to

to be reckoned from the new requisition.

5. The power called on shall in the same way place at the disposal of the requiring power, within the space of three months, reckoning from the moment of the requisition, eighteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; with a proportionate train of artillery to be readily employed in Europe, and for the defence of the colonies which the contracting powers possess in the Gulf of Mexico.

6. The requiring power shall be allowed to send one or several commissioners for the purpose of assuring itself whether conformably to the preceding articles, the power called on has put itself in a state to commence hostilities on the day fixed with the land and sea forces.

7. These succours shall be entirely placed at the disposal of the requiring power, which may leave them in the ports and on the territory of the power called on, or employ them in any expeditions it may think fit to undertake, without being obliged to give an account of the motives by which it may have been determined.

8. The demand of the succours stipulated in the preceding articles, made by one of the powers, shall suffice to prove the need it has of them, and shall bind the other power to dispose of them, without its being necessary to enter into any discussion relative to the question whether the war it proposes be offensive or defensive; or without any explanation being required, which may tend to elude the most speedy and exact accomplishment of what is stipulated.

9. The troops and ships demanded shall continue at the disposal of the requiring power during the whole duration of the war, without its incurring in any case any expense. The power called on shall maintain them in all places where its ally shall cause them to act, as if it employed them directly for itself. It is simply agreed on, that during the whole of the time when the aforesaid troops or ships shall be on the territory or in the ports of the requiring power, it shall furnish from its magazines or arsenals whatever may be necessary to them, in the same way and at the same price as it supplies its own troops and ships.

10. The power called on shall immediately replace the ships it furnishes, which may be lost by accidents of war or of the sea. It shall also repair the losses the troops it supplies may suffer.

11. If the aforesaid succours are found to be, or should become insufficient, the two contracting powers shall put on foot the greatest forces they possibly can, as well by sea as by land, against the enemy of the power attacked, which shall employ the aforesaid forces, either by combining them, or by causing them to act separately, and this conformably to a plan concerted between them.

12. The succours stipulated by the preceding articles shall be furnished in all the wars the contracting powers may have to maintain, even in those in which the party called on may not be directly interested, and may act merely as a simple auxiliary.

13. In the case in which the motives of hostilities being prejudicial to both parties, they may declare war with one common assent against one or several powers, the limitations established in the preceding

articles ſhall ceaſe to take place, and the two contracting powers ſhall be bound to bring into action againſt the common enemy the whole of their land and ſea forces, and to concert their plans ſo as to direct them towards the moſt convenient points, either ſeparately or by uniting them. They equally bind themſelves, in the caſes pointed out in the preſent article, not to treat for peace unleſs with one common conſent, and in ſuch a way as that each ſhall obtain the ſatisfaction which is its due.

14. In the caſe in which one of the powers ſhall act merely as an auxiliary, the power which alone ſhall find itſelf attacked may treat for peace ſeparately, but ſo as that no prejudice may reſult from thence to the auxiliary power, and that it may even turn as much as poſſible to its direct advantage. For this purpoſe advice ſhall be given to the auxiliary power, of the mode and time agreed on for the opening and ſequel of the negotiations.

15. Without any delay there ſhall be concluded a treaty of commerce on the moſt equitable baſis, and reciprocally advantageous to the two nations, which ſhall ſecure to each of them, with its ally, a marked preference for the productions of its ſoil or manufactures, or at leaſt advantages equal to thoſe which the moſt favoured nations enjoy in their reſpective ſtates. The two powers engage to make inſtantly a common cauſe to repreſs and annihilate the maxims adopted by any country whatever, which may be ſubverſive of their preſent principles, and which may bring into danger the ſafety of the neutral flag, and the reſpect which is due to it; as well as to raiſe and re-eſtabliſh the colonial ſyſtem of Spain on the footing on which it has ſubſiſted, or ought to ſubſiſt, conformably to treaties.

16. The character and juriſdiction of the conſuls ſhall be at the ſame time recognized and regulated by a particular convention. Thoſe anterior to the preſent treaty ſhall be proviſionally executed.

17. To avoid every diſpute between the two powers, they ſhall be bound to employ themſelves immediately, and without delay, in the explanation and developement of the 7th article of the treaty of Baſle, concerning the frontiers, conformably to the inſtructions, plans, and memoirs, which ſhall be communicated through the medium of the plenipotentiaries who negotiate the preſent treaty.

18. England, being the only power againſt which Spain has direct grievances, the preſent alliance ſhall not be executed unleſs againſt her during the preſent war; and Spain ſhall remain neuter with reſpect to the other powers armed againſt the republic.

19. The ratifications of the preſent treaty ſhall be exchanged within a month from the date of its being ſigned.

Done at St. Ildephonſo, 2 Fructidor, (Aug. 19.) the 4th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) PERIGNON, and the PRINCE of the PEACE.

The executive directory reſolves on and ſigns the preſent offenſive and defenſive treaty of alliance with his catholic majeſty the king of Spain, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Dominique Catherine Perignon, general of diviſion, founded on powers

to that effect by a reſolution of the executive directory, dated 20 Meſſidor, (July 8.) and charged with its inſtructions.

Done at the National Palace of the Executive Directory, the 12th of Fructidor, (Aug. 29.) the fourth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

Conformable to the original.

(Signed)

REVEILLIERE LEPEAUX, preſ.

By the Executive Directory,

LAGARDE, ſecretary general.

Ratified the 26 Fructidor, (Sept. 12.) by the Council of Elders.

Treaty between France *and* Pruſſia.

HIS majeſty the king of Pruſſia and the French republic having deemed it proper to modify, in a manner agreeable to exiſting circumſtances, the ſtipulations relative to the neutrality of the northern part of Germany agreed upon by the treaty of Baſle, the 5th of April, 1795, and by the convention of the 17th of May; they have named, to concert on that ſubject, viz. his Pruſſian majeſty, Sieur Chretien Henry count de Haugwitz, his miniſter of ſtate for the war department; and the French republic, citizen Antoine Bernard Caillard, its miniſter plenipotentiary at Berlin, who, having mutually exchanged their powers, have agreed on the following articles:

The French republic will abſtain from extending the operations of the war, and from ſending troops, either by land or ſea, into the ſtates included in the following line of demarcation:

This line to begin from the part of the Duchy of Holſtein, ſituated on the North ſea, extending down the coaſt of that ſea, on the ſide of Germany, and including the territory in which the Elbe diſembogues itſelf, together with the Weſer and the Ems, as well as the iſlands ſituated in thoſe diſtricts, as far as Forcum, from thence to the frontiers of Holland, as far as Anholt, paſſing Herenbergh, and including the Pruſſian poſſeſſions near Sevenaer, as far as Bair on the Yſel; it will then continue down that river to the place where it mixes its waters with the Rhine; the line will then go up the latter river as far as Weſel, and farther on, to the place where the Roer throws itſelf into the Rhine; it will then extend along the left bank of the Roer to its ſource; after which, leaving the city of Nederbach to the left, it will take its direction towards the Eder, the courſe of which it will follow until that river meets the Fuld, and then it will go up that river as far as its ſource.

The French republic will conſider as neutral ſtates all thoſe in the line, on condition that they obſerve on their ſide a ſtrict neutrality; the firſt point of which will be to furniſh, for the future, for the continuation of the war, no pecuniary contributions of any kind whatever to order back immediately, if they had not already done ſo, their reſpective contingent troops, and that in the ſpace of two months, from the ſigning of the preſent treaty, and not to contract any new engagement, which may authorize them to furniſh troops to the powers at war with France. The ſtates which do not act agreeably to theſe conditions, ſhall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality.

As for that part of the count

of La Marck, which, being on the left bank of the Roer, is not included in the above line, it will nevertheleſs enjoy the benefits of this treaty in the fulleſt extent: but his Pruſſian majeſty conſents to allow the troops of the belligerent powers to paſs through it, on condition that they do not there eſtabliſh the theatre of war, nor poſſeſs themſelves of entrenched poſitions, &c. &c.

Given at Berlin, Auguſt 5th, 1796, old ſtyle, and the 18th Thermidor, 4th year of the French republic.

(Signed) CHRETIEN HAUGWITZ.
ANTOINE CAILLARD.

Treaty of Peace between the Duke of Wirtemberg *and the* French *Republic.*

THE French republic and his ſerene highneſs the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, equally animated with deſire of terminating the war in which they have been engaged, and for renewing that intercourſe of commerce and of good neighbourhood which muſt be reciprocally advantageous to them both, have appointed the undernamed plenipotentiaries; the directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter of external relations; and his ſerene highneſs the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, baron Charles Voepwart, miniſter of ſtate and reſident of the chamber of finances, and Abel, counſellor of legiſlation, who, after having reſpectively interchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

ART. 1. There ſhall be peace, amity, and good underſtanding, between the French republic and his ſerene highneſs the reigning duke of Wirtemberg and Teck: conſequently all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe between the contracting powers from the date of the preſent treaty.

2. The duke of Wirtemberg revokes all adherence, conſent, and acceſſion, open or ſecret, given by him to the armed coalition againſt the French republic, or any treaty of alliance, offenſive or defenſive, which he may have contracted with it. In future he ſhall withhold from the powers at war with the republic any contingent or aid in men, horſes, proviſions, money, warlike ſtores or otherwiſe, under whatever title they may be demanded--even though he ſhould be called upon as member of the Germanic empire.

3. The troops of the French republic ſhall have free paſſage into the ſtates of his royal highneſs, and permiſſion to reſide and to occupy all the military poſts neceſſary for their operations.

4. His ſerene highneſs the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck renounces, in favour of the French republic, for himſelf, his ſucceſſors, and all who have any claim, all his rights to the principality of Montbeliard, the lordſhips of Hericourt, Paſſavant, and other dependencies, in the county of Hobourg, alſo the lordſhips of Riquewir and Oſthein, and generally cedes to it all the property, rights, and landed revenue, which he poſſeſſes on the left bank of the Rhine, and the arrears due to him. He renounces all right againſt the republic for all claims he might pretend to have againſt the French republic, for the privation hitherto of the ſaid rights and revenues; and any other claim of whatever denomination

mination anterior to the preſent treaty.

5. His ſerene highneſs engages not to permit the emigrants and prieſts, baniſhed from the French republic, to reſide in his ſtates.

6. There ſhall immediately be concluded between the two powers, a treaty of commerce, on grounds reciprocally advantageous. In the mean time all commercial relations ſhall be renewed on the ſame footing as before the preſent war. All articles and commodities belonging to the ſoil, the manufactures, the colonies, or fiſheries of France, ſhall enjoy in the ſtates of his royal highneſs, liberty of tranſit, exempted from all duties except the tolls on carriages and horſes. French drivers ſhall, with reſpect to the payment of the ſaid tolls, be treated as the moſt favoured nation.

7. The French republic, and his ſerene highneſs the duke of Wirtemberg, reſpectively engage to remove the ſequeſtration of all effects, revenues, or goods, ſeized, confiſcated, detained, or ſold, belonging to French citizens on the one hand, and to the inhabitants of the dutchies of Wirtemberg and Teck on the other; and to admit them to a legal exerciſe of their reſpective engagements and rights.

8. All the priſoners reſpectively made ſhall be delivered up within a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The ſick and wounded ſhall ſtill be taken care of in their reſpective hoſpitals, and ſhall be delivered up immediately on their cure.

9. Conformably to the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floreal of the third year, the preſent treaty of peace and amity is declared to be common with the Batavian republic.

10. It ſhall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged within a month, reckoning from the ſignature, and ſooner, if poſſible.

Paris, 20th Thermidor, fourth year of the French republic one and indiviſible.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
CHARLES, baron de Woepwart.
ABEL.

The directory agrees upon and ſigns the preſent treaty of peace with the duke of Wirtemberg, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the miniſter of external relations, named by the executive directory, by an arret of the 11th Thermidor, (preſent month) and charged with inſtructions for that purpoſe, at Paris, 21ſt Thermidor 4th year of the French republic one and indiviſible.

(As an authentic copy)
(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, preſident.
LAGARDE, ſecretary general.

This treaty was ratified by the legiſlative body.

Treaty of Peace between the French *Republic and the Margrave* of Baden.

THE French republic, and his ſerene highneſs the Margrave of Baden, deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing between both countries the relations of friendſhip and good neighbourhood which exiſted between them before the preſent war, have appoint

pointed as their plenipotentiaries, namely, the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and his ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden, the baron de Reitzenſtein, his chamberlain, and great bailiff of Lorrach, who, after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have reſolved on the following articles:

ART. 1. There ſhall be peace and good underſtanding between the French republic and his ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden. In conſequence, all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe between the contracting parties, to reckon from the ratification of this preſent treaty.

2. The margrave of Baden revokes all adherence, conſent and acceſs, public or ſecret, by him given to the coalition armed againſt the French republic, every contingent or ſuccour, in men, horſes, proviſions, money, ammunition, or other ſtores, under any pretence whatever, even if he ſhould be required as member of the Germanic empire.

3. The troops of the republic ſhall paſs freely through the dominions of his ſerene highneſs, reſide there, and occupy all military poſts neceſſary for their operations.

4. His ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, cedes to the French republic all the rights that may belong to him upon the lordſhips of Rodemacheren and Heſperingen, in the *ci-devant* duchy of Luxemburgh; the portion belonging to him in the county of Sponheim, and his rights upon the other portion; the lordſhip of Grevenſtein, the bailiwicks of Beinheim and Rhod; and generally all the territories, rights, and revenues, which he poſſeſſed, or pretends to have a right to poſſeſs on the left bank of the Rhine. He renounces all demands upon the republic, reſpecting the arrears of the ſaid rights and revenues, and for every other cauſe anterior to the preſent treaty.

5. His ſerene highneſs, the reigning margrave of Baden, as well in his own name, as in that of his two ſons, the princes Frederick and Louis of Baden, for whom he intereſts himſelf ſtrongly, cedes and abandons, with entire guarantee to the French republic, the two-thirds of the manor of Kutzenhauſen, ſituate in the *ci-devant* province of Alſace, with all its rights and dependencies, together with the arrears of the ſaid rights and revenues, which might remain due, renouncing all demands upon the republic thereto relating, and for every other cauſe anterior to the preſent treaty.

6. His ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden alſo cedes for himſelf, and his ſucceſſors, all the iſlands of the Rhine which may belong to him, all the rights to which he may pretend upon the ſaid iſlands, as likewiſe upon the courſe and the different branches of that river; eſpecially the rights of tolls, high juriſdiction, direct lordſhip, civil or criminal juſtice, or police.

There ſhall not be included, under the denomination of the different arms of the Rhine, the ſmall branches, and the dead or ſtagnant waters left in conſequence of the inundations of the ancient courſe of the river, and known to the watermen by the names of Altwaſſer, Alt Rhine, or Old Rhine.

7. Each of the contracting par-

ties ſhall be at liberty to finiſh the work of the dykes, which may be thought neceſſary for the preſervation of his territory; but this is to be done ſo as not to injure the country on the oppoſite bank. All diſputes which may ariſe from this object, as alſo from the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of the towing path, ſhall be decided by juridical means, between the reſpective governments.

8. His ſerene highneſs engages to leave, or cauſe to be left, on the right bank of the Rhine, a ſpace of thirty-ſix feet broad, to ſerve as a towing road in the navigable parts, or in thoſe which may become ſo.

This road ſhall be cleared of every thing that may injure its uſage. It is, however, agreed, that the houſes which ſtand on the ground which it is to take up, or which would be neceſſary for continuing it, ſhall not be demoliſhed without paying a juſt and previous indemnity to the owner.

9. The puniſhment of offences relative to navigation, which may be committed on the ſaid towing road, ſhall belong to the French republic.

10. The portions of that road, as likewiſe the iſlands on that river, which belonged by ſpecial right to his ſerene highneſs, or which were poſſeſſed by eccleſiaſtical bodies or commonalties, are ceded, without reſerve, to the republic. The lay or private communities ſhall continue to enjoy, under the ſovereignty of the republic, the portions which were in their poſſeſſion. It is however agreed, that the ſaid ſovereignty ſhall not be exerciſed over houſes depending on the margraviate, which may be deemed neceſſary for continuing the towing-way, but only on their ſites, after they ſhall have been demoliſhed in execution of Art. 8.

11. The navigation of the river ſhall be free for the citizens and the ſubjects of both contracting parties.

12. The tolls gathered on that part of the river Rhine which flows between the dominions of the contracting parties are aboliſhed for ever. There ſhall be none eſtabliſhed hereafter on the natural bed of the river.

13. The ſtipulations contained in the preceding treaties between France on the one part, and his ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden, or the emperor and the empire on the other, relative to the courſe of the Rhine, its navigation, the works to be conſtructed for the preſervation of its bed and its banks, ſhall continue to be executed in as far as they are not contrary to the preſent treaty.

14. His ſerene highneſs engages not to permit the emigrants, and the prieſts tranſported from the French republic, to reſide in his territories.

15. There ſhall be concluded, without delay, between the two powers, a treaty of commerce on grounds of reciprocal advantage. Meanwhile all commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, ſuch as they were before the preſent war.

All commodities and merchandize, being the produce of the French ſoil, manufactures, colonies and fiſheries, ſhall enjoy in the territories of his ſerene highneſs the liberty of tranſit and ſtaple, exempted from all duties, except thoſe of the tolls upon waggons and horſes.

The French waggoners ſhall be treated

treated, with regard to the payment of thoſe duties of toll, like the moſt favoured nation.

16. The French republic and his ſerene highneſs the margrave of Baden, reſpectively engage to grant replevy on the ſequeſtration of all effects, revenues, or eſtates, confiſcated, detained, or ſold from French citizens on one part, and on the other, from the inhabitants of the margraviate of Baden, and to admit them to the legal exerciſe of the actions and rights which may belong to them.

17. All the priſoners of war reſpectively taken ſhall be delivered up within one month, to count from the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, on paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity.

The ſick and wounded ſhall continue to be taken care of in the reſpective hoſpitals; they ſhall be given up immediately after their recovery.

18. Conformably to the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 27th Floreal of the third year, the preſent treaty of peace and friendſhip is declared common with the Batavian republic.

19. It ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within one month, to reckon from its ſignature, and ſooner if practicable.

Paris, 5 Fructidor, of the fourth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX,
SIGISMUND CHARLES JOHN Baron de REITZENSTEIN.

The executive directory reſolve and ratify the preſent treaty of peace with the margrave of Baden, negotiated in the name of the French republic by the miniſter for foreign affairs, appointed by the executive directory by the reſolution of the 28th of laſt Thermidor, and charged with their inſtructions for that purpoſe.

Paris, 8th Fructidor, fourth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, preſi.

By the Executive Directory,

(Signed) LAGARDE, ſec. gen.

The council of Antients approved of the above treaty on the 31ſt of Auguſt.

Treaty of Peace between the French *Republic and the King of the Two* Sicilies.

THE French republic and his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with the deſire to make the advantages of peace ſucceed to the miſeries inſeparable from war, have named, viz. the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, the citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter for foreign affairs; and his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, the prince Belmonte Pignatelli, gentleman of the chamber, and his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his catholic majeſty, to treat, in their name, the clauſes and conditions proper to re-eſtabliſh good underſtanding and friendſhip between the two powers, who after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, between the French republic and

his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies: in conſequence, all hoſtilities ſhall definitively ceaſe, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty. Meanwhile, and till that period, the conditions ſtipulated by the armiſtice concluded on the 17th Prairial of the 4th year (5th of June 1796) ſhall continue to have full power and effect.

2. Every anterior act, engagement, or convention, on the one part or the other of the two contracting parties, which are contrary to the preſent treaty, are revoked, and ſhall be regarded as null, and of no effect; in conſequence, during the courſe of the preſent war, neither of the two powers ſhall furniſh to the enemies of the other, any ſuccours of troops, ſhips, arms, warlike ſtores, proviſions, or money, under whatever title or denomination that may be.

3. His majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies ſhall obſerve the moſt ſtrict neutrality towards all the belligerent powers; in conſequence, he pledges himſelf to prevent indiſcriminately acceſs to his ports to all armed ſhips of war belonging to the ſaid powers, which ſhall exceed four, according to the regulations acknowledged by the ſaid neutrality. All ſtores or merchandize, known by the name of contraband, ſhall be refuſed them.

4. All ſecurity and protection ſhall be granted againſt all perſons whatever, in the ports and roads of the Two Sicilies, to all French merchantmen, of whatſoever number they may be, and to all the ſhips of war of the republic, not exceeding the number ſpecified in the above article.

5. The French republic and the king of the Two Sicilies engage to take off the ſequeſtration from all effects, revenues, goods ſeized, confiſcated, and kept from the citizens or ſubjects of both powers, in conſequence of the preſent war, and to admit them reſpectively to the legal exerciſe of all civil rights that may belong to them.

6. All priſoners made on one ſide or the other, compriſing mariners and ſailors, ſhall be reciprocally reſtored within a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity; the ſick and wounded ſhall continue to be taken care of in their reſpective hoſpitals, and ſhall be reſtored upon their recovery.

7. To give a proof of his friendſhip for the French republic, and of his ſincere deſire to maintain the moſt perfect harmony between the two powers, his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies conſents to ſet at liberty every French citizen who may have been arreſted and detained in his ſtates, on account of his political opinions reſpecting the French revolution; all goods and property, movable or immovable, which may have been ſequeſtrated on the ſame account, ſhall be reſtored to them.

8. From the ſame motives which dictated the preceding articles, his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies engages to cauſe all proper ſearch to be made for diſcovering, by legal means, and for giving up to the rigour of the laws, the perſons who ſtole, in 1795, the papers belonging to the late miniſter of the French republic.

9. The ambaſſadors or miniſters of the two contracting powers ſhall

enjoy

enjoy in their reſpective ſtates, the ſame prerogative and precedence which they enjoyed before the war, excepting thoſe which were allowed them as family ambaſſadors.

10. Every French citizen, and all perſons belonging to the houſehold of the ambaſſador or miniſter, or to that of the conſuls and other authorized and acknowledged agents of the French republic, ſhall enjoy, in the ſtates of his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, the ſame freedom of religious worſhip as is enjoyed by the individuals of thoſe nations, not catholics, which are the moſt favoured in that reſpect.

11 There ſhall be negotiated and concluded, without delay, a treaty of commerce between the two powers, founded on the baſis of mutual utility, and ſuch as ſhall inſure to the French nation advantages equal to all thoſe which are enjoyed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the moſt favoured nations. Until the completion of this treaty, the commercial and conſular relations ſhall be reciprocally re-eſtabliſhed on the ſame footing as before the war.

12. In conformity with the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 27th Floreal, in the third year of the republic (16th of May 1795, old ſtyle), the ſame peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding, that are ſtipulated in the preſent treaty between the French republic and his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, ſhall ſubſiſt between his majeſty and the Batavian republic.

13. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, within forty days from the date hereof.

Done at Paris 19th Vendemiaire, in the 5th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible, correſponding with the 10th October, 1796, (old ſtyle).

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.
The Prince of BELMONTE PIGNATELLI.

Treaty of Peace between the French *Republic and the Infant Duke of* Parma, Placentia, *and* Guaſtalla.

THE French republic and his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, deſiring to re-eſtabliſh the ties of amity which formerly ſubſiſted between the two ſtates, and to put an end, as much as in their power, to the calamities of war, have accepted, with eagerneſs, the mediation of his catholic majeſty, and have named for the plenipotentiaries, that is to ſay, the executive directory, in the name of the French republic, the citizen Charles Delacroix, miniſter of foreign affairs, and his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma, Meſſieurs the count Pierre Politi and Don Louis Bolla; who, after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have determined upon and concluded definitively the following articles, under the mediation of his catholic majeſty, exerciſed by the marquis del Campo, his ambaſſador to the French republic, who has alſo preſented his full powers.

ART. 1. There ſhall be peace and amity between the French republic and his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma; the two powers ſhall carefully abſtain from every thing that may alter the good harmony and union eſtabliſhed between them by the preſent treaty.

2. Every

2. Every act, engagement, or anterior convention, on the part of one or other of the two contracting powers, which might be contrary to the preſent treaty, ſhall be conſidered as null and void. In conſequence, during the courſe of the preſent war, neither of the two powers ſhall furniſh to the enemies of the other any ſuccours in troops, arms, warlike ammunition, proviſions, or money, under whatever title and denomination it may be.

3. The infant duke of Parma engages not to permit the emigrants, or baniſhed perſons of the French republic, to ſtop or ſojourn in his ſtate.

4. The French republic and his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma engage to remove the ſequeſtration from all the effects, revenues, or goods, which may have been ſeized, confiſcated, detained, or ſold, from the citizens or ſubjects of the other power, relative to the preſent war, and to admit them to the legal exerciſe of the actions or rights belonging to them.

5. The contributions ſtipulated in the convention of armiſtice, ſigned at Placentia on the 20th of laſt Floreal, between general Buonaparte in the name of the French republic, and the marquiſes Pellevienne and Phillippo delle Roſa in the name of the infant duke of Parma, ſhall be fully diſcharged. There ſhall neither be levied nor exacted any other; if there have been levied any contributions in money, or required any ſupplies in proviſions, beyond what is ſettled by the ſaid convention, the contributions in money ſhall be reimburſed, and the proviſions paid for at the current price at the time of delivery. There ſhall be named on each part, if neceſſary, commiſſaries to execute the preſent article.

6. From the ſignature of the preſent treaty the ſtates of his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma ſhall be treated as thoſe of friendly and neutral powers; if there ſhall be ſupplied any neceſſaries to the troops of the republic, by his royal highneſs or his ſubjects, they ſhall be paid for at a price agreed upon.

7. The troops of the republic ſhall enjoy a free paſſage through the ſtates of the infant duke of Parma,

8. One of the contracting powers ſhall not grant a free paſſage to the troops of the enemy of the other.

9. The French republic and his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma deſiring to eſtabliſh and augment, by ſtipulations reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations that exiſted between their citizens and reſpective ſubjects, determine as follows.

10. Silks, grain, rice, olive-oil, cattle, cheeſe, wines, and other articles, the produce of the eſtates of his royal highneſs, ſhall be exported to the territories of the republic without any reſtrictions beyond thoſe which the exigencies of the country may render neceſſary. The ſaid reſtrictions ſhall never attach ſolely and eſpecially upon the French citizen. There ſhall even be granted every degree of preference for the purchaſe of the objects (mentioned or alluded to in the preſent article) of which circumſtances may ſuſpend or reſtrain the exportation.

11. All articles being the produce of the republic, its colonies or fiſheries, ſhall be imported, free of duty, into the ſtates of his royal highneſs

highneſs, and exported from France, ſubject only to ſuch reſtrictions as local circumſtances may render neceſſary.

12. All articles of French manufacture ſhall likewiſe be imported to the ſtates of his royal highneſs, unleſs he may deem it expedient, for the proſperity of his own manufactures, to impoſe certain reſtrictions or prohibitions; but theſe reſtrictions ſhall in no caſe operate againſt French manufactures excluſively, to which his royal highneſs even undertakes to give all the preference he can, conſiſtently with the proſperity of the manufactures of his own ſtates.

The above articles ſhall be executed with the moſt ſcrupulous reciprocity for the introduction of the manufactures of his royal highneſs's ſtates into France.

13. The mutual duties on exports and imports ſhall be regulated by a ſeparate convention: in caſe that ſuch convention ſhould not be ratified by the republic, it is expreſsly agreed that the ſaid duties ſhall be reciprocally aſcertained and collected in the mode obſerved with the countries the moſt favoured by the republic.

14. The produce of the lands of the republic, her colonies and fiſheries, ſhall be conveyed freely through the ſtates of his royal highneſs, or lodged in warehouſes on their way to the other ſtates of Italy, without the payment of cuſtoms, and liable only to a certain toll on their paſſage, for the ſupport of the highways; which ſhall be regulated with all poſſible diſpatch, and founded on a moderate footing between the contracting parties, at ſo much per quintal per league. The toll ſhall be payable at the firſt office for entering the goods.

The above article ſhall alſo be in force in all parts of the republic; and all goods and merchandize the produce of the ſtates of his royal highneſs the infant duke of Parma, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame regulations as above. And,

As the right of toll above-mentioned has been retained only with a view to contribute to the ſupport of the bridges and highways, it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that the goods and merchandize conveyed by the rivers and navigable canals ſhall be reciprocally exempt from duties of every deſcription.

The contracting parties reſpectively ſhall adopt the neceſſary meaſures for the due execution of the preſent and preceding articles.

15. In conformity to the ſixth article of the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 22d Floreal, 3d year, the peace concluded by the preſent treaty is declared common with the Batavian republic.

16. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in one month at moſt from the preſent day, excluſively.

Done at Paris, in the 5th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
COUNT POLITI.
LOUIS BOLLA.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

His royal highneſs ſtipulates to grant a remiſſion of one-fourth of the rights of importation on the goods and merchandize, being the produce of the republic, her colonies, fiſheries, and manufactures, deſtined for the home conſumption of

of the ſtates, and alſo the right of exportation on the goods and merchandize, the produce of the ſtates, and deſtined for the foreign poſſeſſions of the republic; provided the French republic agree to a reciprocal diminution of duties.

I. On the goods and merchandize ariſing from the ſtates of his royal highneſs, at their entry on the territory of the republic.

II. On all goods and merchandize the produce of the republic, on being exported for the ſtates of his royal highneſs.

Done at Paris, the day and year as above.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
COUNT POLITI.
LOUIS BOLLA.

The Ambaſſador of Sweden *to the Citizen Miniſter of Foreign Affairs.*

Paris, Auguſt 2, 1796.

Citizen Miniſter,

IT is by the expreſs order of my court, that I have the honour to renew, before the directory, the ſteps I had already taken for the admiſſion of M. de Rehauſen, in the quality of chargé d'affaires of his majeſty with the French republic.

Inviting you, citizen miniſter, to take again into conſideration a ſtep ſo conformable to the good intelligence which ſubſiſts between the two countries, I beg you will permit me to make ſome obſervations, which I ſubmit to the Directory.

The confidence which friendly and allied powers reciprocally owe each other, the reſpect which is its reſult, has always been indiſcriminately granted to the perſon choſen by his ſovereign to repreſent him; it is even inſeparable from it. Both have, however, been neglected in the perſon of M. de Rehauſen. His private ſentiments can the leſs give umbrage to the government, as he would certainly ſacrifice them in the exerciſe of his functions, if they could be contrary to the inſtructions he has received; and if in his conduct, or in his language, he could be wanting to the treaty which ſubſiſts between Sweden and France. And it is in this caſe only, if a miſunderſtanding ſhould take place between the two governments, that his recal would become neceſſary. But ſince this is not the caſe, his ſentiments cannot be conſidered as a valid motive of excluſion; and the refuſal becomes conſequently leſs an injury done to M. de Rehauſen than a want of reſpect to his ſovereign.

I muſt likewiſe remark, that M. de Rehauſen being at Paris, has been appointed to attend ad interim to the affairs of Sweden, at a time when a rupture with Ruſſia was every inſtant expected, and when the Swediſh ambaſſador at that court was on the eve of quitting his poſt. His appointment could not, therefore, have been influenced by the empreſs of Ruſſia, to whom he is otherwiſe an utter ſtranger.

It is for theſe reaſons, citizen miniſter, that I am unable to attribute to the perſon of M. de Rehauſen the refuſal of the directory to acknowledge him in his public character. This refuſal appears evidently to announce the intention of diſobliging, in the face of Europe, the moſt ancient friend of France. I heſitate to pronounce a more deciſive ſuppoſition; it is too repugnant to the known wiſhes

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of the Swedes and the French themſelves, as likewiſe to their reſpective intereſts; and at the ſame time, it would be difficult for the enemies of both countries, not to find great ſatisfaction in the diſunion of which the French republic may have given the ſignal. It is preſcribed to me to declare, that if M. de Rehauſen be not acknowledged, his majeſty will be obliged, in ſupport of his dignity, to uſe reciprocity with regard to citizen Perrochel. This neceſſity will otherwiſe have no influence on the deſire which his majeſty will always have to ſtrengthen the bands of friendſhip and good underſtanding which ought ever to ſubſiſt between the two powers. Pleaſe, citizen miniſter, to accept the aſſurance of my moſt ſincere attachment.

(Signed)

E. N. Stael de Holstein.
Ch. Delacroix.

Reſolution of the 18th Thermidor. (Auguſt 5.) Fourth year.

THE executive directory having ſeen the official note preſented by Monſ. the baron de Stael, ambaſſador of Sweden, dated Auguſt 2, 1796, old ſtyle;

Reſolves,

Article I. The executive directory perſiſting in their refuſal of admitting M. de Rehauſen; they conſequently charge the miniſter of general police to notify to him the laws of the republic concerning foreigners.

II. The executive directory recal citizen Perrochel, chargé d'Affaires, and citizen Marivaux, ſecretary of legation, and formerly chargé d'Affaires in Sweden.

III. The executive directory proteſt, nevertheleſs, that the Swediſh nation may always rely on their ſentiments of affection.

IV. The miniſters of foreign relations and of general police, are charged, each in his capacity, with the execution of the preſent reſolution, which ſhall be printed with the note.

(Signed)

Revellière Lepeaux, preſident.
By order of the executive directory.
(Signed) Lagarde, ſecretary.
(A true copy.)

Official Note from the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to the Ambaſſador (Barthelemy) *in* Switzerland.

THE French government is informed that the Engliſh, after having ſtopped, during the war, under the moſt frivolous pretexts, every neutral veſſel, have juſt given the moſt poſitive orders to the commanders of their ſhips of war, to ſeize, indiſcriminately, all the cargoes which they may ſuppoſe to be deſtined for the French.

Whatever injury France may have ſuſtained from this conduct, ſhe has, nevertheleſs, continued to give the only example of the moſt inviolable reſpect for the law of nations, which conſtitutes the pledge and ſecurity of their civilization. But after having long tolerated the offence of this Machiavelian ſyſtem of policy, ſhe at length finds herſelf compelled, by the moſt urgent motives, to have recourſe to repriſals againſt England.

The executive directory, therefore, orders all the political agents of the French republic to inform the different governments, that the ſquadrons

drons and privateers of the republic will act againſt the ſhips of every country, in the ſame manner in which thoſe governments ſuffer the Engliſh to act againſt them.

This meaſure ought not to ſurpriſe them, ſince it would be very eaſy to demonſtrate that it is imperiouſly preſcribed by neceſſity, and is only the effect of a lawful defence. If theſe powers had known how to make their commerce reſpected by the Engliſh, we ſhould have had no occaſion to have recourſe to this afflicting extremity.

They will recollect, that the French republic, ever generous, propoſed to all the belligerent powers to reſpect commerce; but that this propoſition, honourable to the government which made it, and dictated by a moſt perfect philanthropy, was rejected with pride, by a government accuſtomed to treat with contempt the moſt ſacred laws of humanity, &c.

20 *Thermidor (Auguſt 7.)*

Meſſage from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 6th Fructidor (Auguſt 23d). Read in a Secret Committee.

Citizens Legiſlators,

THE directory can no longer leave you ignorant of the afflicting details which they receive from all parts, relative to the ſituation of the troops ſtationed in the interior of the republic. For ſeveral months has their conſtancy been put to the teſt by the moſt painful privations; and bewailing their diſtreſs, the directory have admired more than once that reſignation with which French ſoldiers forget their wants, when thoſe of their country are put before their eyes. As long as the directory could flatter themſelves with ſeeing the end of ſo critical a ſituation in the amelioration of the finances, they propped up the courage of the troops by hopes, and ſhut up in their own boſom all uneaſineſs; but the evils are too great to be any longer concealed; and however painful ſuch a diſcloſure may be, it is impoſſible any longer to deny it to the alarming circumſtances by which it is exacted. Pay, that ſacred debt of the republic to thoſe who devote themſelves for her, has not been made for ſeveral months regardleſs of the urgent requeſts of government: the treaſury could not ſecure that part ſo intereſting to its ſervice; and the penury of its means ought alone to be reproached. All the bargains are ſuſpended by the impoſſibility under which the treaſury labours to fulfil the engagements made with contractors: proviſions begin to be exhauſted, and there remains no hope of renewing them: every where almoſt it has been forced to have recourſe to requiſitions; but this meaſure, the uſe of which is fatal, furniſhed but inſufficient reſources, and to execute them is dangerous above all in thoſe departments, where civil war has only left to agriculture great ravages to repair. In ſeveral parts of the republic, the ſubſiſtence of the troops was compromiſed; the diſtributions were rarely made in the proportions determined by the law, and often were they ſuppreſſed for ſeveral days; the ſervice of the magazines, which has only been ſupported till now by the officers of that branch, is on the point of failing in all the departments.

ments. In ſhort, this is the confeſſion moſt painful to the directory. There are hoſpitals where it has been found neceſſary to deny the ſick ſoldiers the nutriment neceſſary for the recovery of their health. Diſcouraged by the diſorganization of all branches of the ſervice, the officers abandon their poſts, to fly from the complaints which perſecute them, and which they are unable to anſwer. In ſeveral places, funds deſigned for other purpoſes were carried off by force from the public treaſury, to ſupply the wants of the troops; and thoſe illegal meaſures found an excuſe in the imperious law of neceſſity. Every day courier follows courier, to bring to the directory and to the minister at war the intelligence of ſome misfortune, or the fear of ſome new danger. The directory conjure you, citizens repreſentatives, to beſtow the whole of your attention upon the afflicting picture which they preſent to you, and to occupy yourſelves reſpecting the ſources for ſupplying the public treaſury with the means neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the troops in the interior: the exacteſt economy ſhall direct the uſe of thoſe funds; and ſome reforms which the directory prepare, will ſoon diminiſh the conſumption and the wants. The armies, ſupported by victory, engage no longer the attention of the government but by the accounts of their ſucceſs: all their ſolicitude ought therefore to be confined to the troops in the interior, who are not leſs entitled to the gratitude of the country; and who may expect from it the ſuccours which it owes to its defenders.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPAUX, preſi.
LAGARDE, ſecretary general.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Vendemaire, 25, (Oct. 16.) Fifth Year.

Citizen Repreſentatives,

THE Britiſh cabinet, for the purpoſe of inducing the parliament to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing campaign, has adopted two meaſures:—the one has for its object to open the way for an immediate and direct negotiation with the republic; and the other, to reſtore the courſe of exchange between Holland and London, and to authorize the exportation of Engliſh merchandize to the ports of the United Provinces, and the country which it ſtill affects to deſcribe as Auſtrian Flanders.

The Batavian government, ſenſible of its real intereſts, has already ſeen the latter meaſure in its true light. It has rejected the pretended favour, and by an energetic proclamation has taken the neceſſary precautions to prevent the introduction of Engliſh merchandize, and to look upon thoſe who ſhall purchaſe or uſe them as enemies to their country, a circumſtance which has ſpread conſternation over the Engliſh commerce and manufactories.

The executive directory, on its part, has publiſhed in the nine united departments, the 1, 2, 3. 5, and 6th articles of the 18th of the 2d year, and has rouſed, by particular orders, the attention of the officers of the cuſtoms in every part of the republic, who have already made many ſeizures and confiſcations. But it is in vain that every effort is made to hinder the introduction of Engliſh merchandize, if no ſteps are taken to prevent their

their conſumption in the interior of the republic.

The fourth article of the above-mentioned law ſpecified, that every perſon who introduced or ſold ſuch merchandize, ſhould be deemed ſuſpected perſons, and puniſhed accordingly, purſuant to the decree of the 17th September. This law can no longer be in force; it is for your wiſdom, citizens repreſentatives, to ſubſtitute ſome others in its ſtead.

In England, the public execute ſevere juſtice on thoſe who affect to prefer the produce of foreign to their own national manufactories. Can there be found in France, men, who are ſo far the enemies of their own country, as to oppoſe a meaſure ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the induſtry and proſperity of the nation, and which tends to leſſen thoſe reſources we furniſh our enemies for prolonging the war they have excited againſt us? You have ſtill, citizens repreſentatives, legiſlative acts to form againſt thoſe, who, in deſpite of the law, have, by their ſpeculation of mercantile avidity, obtained ſtores of Engliſh merchandize. If you do not think it proper they ſhould incur the penalty of confiſcation, and the other puniſhments preſcribed by the law, you may at leaſt appoint a ſhort period for their re-exporting the goods, which they ought not to have introduced, and that under ſuch penalties as you may dictate. Yes, citizens repreſentatives, the ſafety of the republic, perhaps depends on the rigour and promptitude of the meaſures you ſhall take on this occaſion. Do you deſire to re-animate your commerce, to relieve your manufactories, and to re-eſtabliſh your trade? Would you deprive our enemies of their great reſources for carrying on war againſt us?-Would you force the Britiſh government to treat ſincerely for peace, and would you have it brought to a concluſion? One of the moſt powerful means of promoting this great end of public proſperity, would be to take the moſt efficacious meaſures for prohibiting, until the return of peace, the ſale or conſumption of Engliſh merchandize in every part of the republic.

The executive directory invites you to take this object into immediate conſideration.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, preſident.
LAGARDE, ſec. general.

On the 26th of October, the Executive Directory of the French *Republic preſented a ſecond Meſſage upon the Subject to the Council of Five Hundred.*

Citizens Repreſentatives,

IT is of moment that the executive directory ſhould not conceal from you, that, by the official correſpondence of its agents, and by private informations which they receive from all parts, they are certain, that if the legiſlative body does not take ſpeedy meaſures to prevent the importation and ſale of Engliſh goods in France, the Batavian convention will not delay revoking the decree which it enacted, to extend the ſame prohibition to Holland.

The executive directory ought to enable you to obſerve at the ſame time, that the uncertainty reſpecting the reſolution you will deem proper to take on that ſubject,

ject, ſtops the progreſs of the happy effects, which had been produced by the ſole propoſition of ſeconding the meaſures taken by the Dutch, by reducing a pound ſterling to 21 livres, 10 ſous, which had been raiſed at that epoch to 24 livres, 5 ſous. by the exchange.

They ought finally to remark, that if the prohibition they requeſt is not decreed ſoon, if the delays on that point, or the modifications which deſtroy the main end of the principal object, ſhould occaſion the revocation of the meaſures taken by the Dutch, England will ſoon ſee vaniſh the embarraſſment ſhe feels to procure the ſupplies ſhe ſtands in need of, if ſhe wiſhes to proſecute the war, and that the Britiſh commerce would even then feel a mighty intereſt to ſee it prolonged.

The determination which you are about to take, citizens repreſentatives, will thus have a moſt ſtriking influence on the ſucceſs of the negotiations which occupy that government at this moment for the reſtoration of peace.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPEAUX, preſident.
LAGARDE, ſec. general.

On the 2d of November, the Council of Five Hundred paſſed the following Reſolutions.

ART. 1. All articles manufactured in England, or in Engliſh eſtabliſhments, ſhall continue to be prohibited throughout the whole of the republic. From the date of the publication of this law, all perſons are forbidden to expoſe ſuch articles to ſale, or to give notice that they are to be ſold.

2. No article, containing articles of Engliſh manufacture, ſhall, under any pretext, enter the ports of the republic.

3. The neceſſity of putting into a port ſhall not furniſh a plea for any deviation from the preceding article, where the veſſels exceed ten tons in burden.

4. With reſpect to veſſels above ten tons, proved to have been forced into port, the captain, on the moment of his arrival, ſhall produce to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms an exact ſtatement of the quantity, quality, and value of Engliſh merchandize according to the inventory; it ſhall be depoſited in a magazine with three keys; one to be kept by the captain, the other by the commiſſioners, and the third by the municipal agent of the commune; and the ſhip ſhall not depart till the captain has proved that they have been all re-embarked exactly as they were delivered.

5. Articles of Engliſh manufacture in veſſels taken from the enemy, or ſhipwrecked, or thoſe which ariſe from confiſcation, ſhall be depoſited in magazines till they are again exported.

6. Every perſon who ſhall have occaſion to viſit a magazine where Engliſh manufactures are depoſited, ſhall, within three days after the publication of the law, give in to the municipal adminiſtration of the canton a detailed account of their quantity, quality, and value.

7. Within the extent of three leagues from the frontiers, by land or ſea, the preceding declaration to be made to the neareſt office of cuſtoms, and the goods depoſited in magazines appointed for the purpoſe.

VIII. After the expiration of the

period fixed to make the declaration, the officers of the cuſtoms, accompanied by a municipal adminiſtrator, may viſit the houſes ſuſpected to contain or conceal articles fabricated in England. Viſits during the day may alſo be made by the proper officers, to diſcover whether any articles prohibited by this decree are concealed in magazines; and if any ſuch are found, the whole houſe of the owner of the magazine may be ſearched.

IX. All military corps ſtationed on the frontiers, and all public functionaries, are enjoined to ſtop any article of Engliſh manufacture found on the territory of the republic.

X. Violations of this decree to be puniſhed with arreſt (the criminal to be brought before the tribunal of correctional police) and confiſcation of the goods, veſſels, carriages, horſes, and beaſts of burden; and the delinquent, beſides, to be condemned to pay not leſs than double the value of the object ſeized; and impriſonment for a period not leſs than five days, nor more than three months. In caſe of a repetition of the offence the fine to be double, and the impriſonment for the ſpace of ſix months.

XI. The value of the goods confiſcated ſhall be given as a reward to the ſeizers, or to thoſe who have aſſiſted in the arreſt.

A ſixth of the confiſcation is granted as an indemnity to the municipal adminiſtrators and commiſſioners of the executive directory, in all caſes where their preence is appointed by the law.

XII. Of Engliſh manufacture are conſidered all goods, whether directly brought from England, or coming indirectly from other countries.

1. All kinds of cloth and ſtuffs of wool and cotton, or mixtures of theſe materials; tamboured nankeens, muſlins, ſtriped woollen and cotton cloths, and Engliſh tapeſtry.

2. All kinds of cotton or woollen caps, ſimple or mixed.

3. Buttons of every kind.

4. All kinds of metal; all wrought iron, cutlery, clock-work, ſteel copper, tin, white iron, poliſhed or rough, pure or mixed.

5. Tanned leather, dreſſed hides or plain for carriages or boots, harneſs, and all ſadlery wares.

6. Ribband, hats, gauzes, known as Engliſh wares.

7. All kinds of ſkins for glove or breeches, and theſe articles in manufactured ſtate.

8. All kinds of glaſs and cryſtal except vaſes of glaſs uſed in chymiſtry, and glaſſes for ſpectacles and watches.

9. Refined ſugars.

10. All kinds of pottery known by the name of pipe-clay.

XIII. The refined ſugars comprehended in the preceding article actually in the interior, are not ſubject to theſe declarations, and to be lodged in the magazines according to the preceding articles.

XIV. All the objects of foreign manufacture different from thoſe pointed out in Article XII. which the import is not prohibited by former laws, ſhall not be admitted unleſs accompanied with certificate that they are the produce of countries, at peace with France.

XV. Certificates ſhall be delivered by the French conſuls, or by the public offices; they ſhall contain a formal atteſtation that the articles have been manufactured

the ſaid country, and ſhall mention the name of the artiſt.

XVI. In addition to the penalties above pronounced, the names, ſirnames, ages, profeſſions, and places of abode of the violators of the law and of their agents, ſhall by the ſpecial interference of the miniſter of the interior, be ſtuck up in all public places, and inſerted in the periodical papers, under the general title of brokers of England, deſtroyers of French induſtry. For this purpoſe the commiſſioners of the executive directory, with the tribunals of correctional police, ſhall be bound to ſend to the miniſter of the interior the names, ſirnames, ages, profeſſions, and places of abode, of all thoſe againſt whom they ſhall have pronounced ſentence in conformity to the preſent law.

XVII. All the regulations of the former laws, contrary to the preſent, are repealed.

The above reſolutions were afterwards ſanctioned by the council of ancients.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred.

20 *Frimaire*, *Dec.* 10.

THE multiplied wants of the republic call imperiouſly upon you to diſplay and employ all her reſources. You are not ignorant, that every branch of the public ſervice experiences the utmoſt diſtreſs. The pay of the troops remains unſettled; the defenders of the country ſuffer all the horrors of nakedneſs; their courage is decreaſed by the painful ſenſe of their wants; the diſguſt ariſing from them naturally occaſions deſertion; the hoſpitals are in want of fuel, medicines, and all other neceſſaries; the public alms and workhouſes experience the ſame want, and for this reaſon they reject the needy and infirm citizens, who uſually found an aſylum in them. The creditors of the ſtate, the contractors, who daily ſupply the wants of the armies, with great difficulty obtain only a ſmall part of the ſums due to them, and the diſtreſs which they experience on this account deters others who might ſupply theſe wants with more exactneſs, and on terms more advantageous for the republic. The public roads are impaſſable, and the communications interrupted. The ſalaries of the public functionaries remain unpaid. From one end of the republic to the other, the judges and adminiſtrators are reduced to the dreadful dilemma, either to expoſe themſelves and their families to the utmoſt miſery, or diſgracefully to ſell themſelves to intriguers. The diſaffected agitate every part of the republic; murder and aſſaſſination are organized in many places; and the adminiſtration of police, without activity and without force from want of proviſionary means, is unable to check theſe diſorders.

It is in your power to make this afflictive picture diſappear; you can diffuſe new life through all the parts of the public adminiſtration, and re-eſtabliſh the ſocial harmony, the ſprings of which are impeded, but not deſtroyed.

An important work, a ſimple work, but which tends directly to the end which you will wiſh to propoſe to yourſelves, has already been preſented to you on this ſubject, and you have adopted it. Wiſe principles, equitable baſes,

have been ſubmitted to you for the eſtabliſhment of contributions, and means ſufficient to provide for the ordinary and extraordinary expences, which the conſolidation of the republic and the happineſs of the people require.

But until the laws which you are to lay down on thoſe baſes are enacted, until the reimburſements are in activity, until by a certainty of receipts the neceſſary order can be eſtabliſhed for giving an invariable application to every branch of the public revenue; waiting the happy inſtant which is near, if you chooſe, you ought by a proviſional reſource to foſter and re-animate all: you muſt reſtore motion to the divers departments of adminiſtration, which all hold together, and ſecond each other, and which it becomes indiſpenſable to extricate from the dangerous ſtate of decline in which they are plunged.

(Here the directory points out the employments of the arrears due upon the laſt fourth part of the national domains ſold by the law of the 28th Ventoſe, as the means of obtaining that deſirable end: every purchaſer of national domains, by virtue of the ſaid law, who has not paid the whole amount of his purchaſe, is to pay the ſame in bills payable to order, and in ready ſpecie, ten days after the promulgation of a law to be paſſed for the purpoſe, in his department; thoſe ſums are to be paid at the expiration of each term of payment ſtipulated, unleſs the purchaſer will come forward ſooner with his payments, and thus benefit his capital by receiving intereſt. The bills or ſecurities are to be mortgaged upon the property bought by the purchaſer, who, in caſe of default, is to ſuffer forfeiture: the eſtate is, of courſe, to be put up to ſale by auction. If any adminiſtration neglects to enforce this payment, by putting up the eſtate to ſale, its members are to be perſonally reſponſible. The bills thus iſſued by the purchaſers of national domains as aforeſaid, are not to have any forcible circulation, but they are to paſs by confidence, at the reſponſibility of the drawers, and endorſers, for metallic ſpecie; their actual and natural value being mortgaged and ſecured upon the value of the eſtates in payment of which they iſſued.)

BARRAS, preſident

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred in Jan. 1796.

Citizens Legiſlators,

THE executive directory can no longer defer to call the moſt ſerious attention of the legiſlative body to the emigrants in the colonies.

The national convention thought proper to adjourn this diſcuſſion, of the greateſt urgency and importance; on the 25th Meſſidor, third year, when the committee of public ſafety propoſed, in a report concerning the ſtate of St. Domingo to enforce the execution of the laws reſpecting emigrants in the colonies, as well as in the mother country. The moment is arrived when the legiſlators of the republic ſenſible of the miſchief of too much indulgence, ought to cruſh with their anathema the moſt irreconcileable enemies of liberty and equality. It is neceſſary that the emigrants, in whatever place they reſide, or whatever diſguiſe they aſſum

aſſume, ſhould no longer be able to elude the ſentence of the law pronounced againſt them.

Any diſtinction between the emigrants of France and thoſe of the colonies would be extremely unjuſt and impolitic. It would occaſion the loſs of our colonies, whom liberty alone can attach to us, and along with the loſs of our colonies, would deſtroy every hope of re-eſtabliſhing our commerce, and of procuring to the republic an inexhauſtible ſource of real opulence and proſperity.

The national convention was for a long time led into an error in conſequence of the prevalence of a factious and unfounded opinion. They retained an idea, that it was poſſible to diſpenſe with nature and juſtice with reſpect to the freedom of the blacks, and to ſave our colonies; by committing a criminal outrage againſt the rights of man.

Some legiſlators, deceived by the artifices of the colonial ariſtocracy, were ignorant of the real cauſes of thoſe calamities which deſolated our colonies; but the report of the commiſſion appointed to inveſtigate the truth, which ſo much intrigue had been employed to conceal, could not fail to open their eyes.

Will the protectors, the defenders of the emigrant coloniſts, who have ſucceſſively been demagogues, royaliſts, and moderés, according to the different periods of the revolution, ſtill be able to intereſt your compaſſion, by repreſenting to you the loſs of their fortune, and deſtitute ſituation in which they are placed?

But have not the clergy and nobility of France, and all the emigrants in Europe, cauſe to regret the loſs of the privileges on which they founded the ſlavery of the people? And have they not been the authors of their own wretchedneſs and diſgrace?

They alſo appeal to the compaſſion of the French people—they alſo ſtyle themſelves the victims of a revolution, which has compelled them to abandon their homes, and yet the conſtitution for ever interdicts all of them from returning to the country.

Will theſe emigrant coloniſts ſay, that they only retired to the United States to avoid the horrors of war, and that they have remained in a neutral country?

But did not a great number of thoſe very emigrants from France, who occaſioned ſo many miſchiefs to the country, reſort to a neutral country? Why did not theſe coloniſts, always rebels to the laws, not take up arms to defend them, as well as the magiſtrates, who were their organs? It can now be no longer doubted, from letters that have been intercepted, and the official reports of the agents of the republic, that Philadelphia was the ſeat of an Engliſh committee, which, without doubt, eluded the vigilance of the American government, and of which the coloniſts were the agents in the ſame manner as the Auſtrians at Baſle were the more oſtenſible agents of an Auſtrian committee.

Even ſuppoſing that the emigrant coloniſts were only ſo cowardly as to withdraw themſelves from the evils of the war, which they provoked by their reſiſtance to the laws reſpecting the emancipation of the blacks, and that they only ſought an aſylum in the United States, ought they not to have taken the firſt ſafe and honourable opportunity which preſented, in order to return to the French territories? Yet in vain did the miniſters of the re-

public, in America, invite them by official intimations, by journals, and by placards, to return to France, offering them a free paſſage aboard the ſhips of the republic. They ſtill refuſed, hoping that the triumphs of England and of Spain would ſpeedily facilitate their return to their native ſoil again, polluted by ſlavery; and would enable them to carry along with them the pride of dominion, inſolence, and death. Men who call themſelves refugees, and victims of perſecution, to whom the republic ſtretches out her arms when ſhe has the right to be ſevere, and who rather chuſe to keep at a diſtance during that revolution, which calls for the united efforts of all, are not ſuch in reality emigrants? After this ſtatement, is it poſſible, without criminality, to make any diſtinction between the emigrants of France, and thoſe of the colonies? Undoubtedly, citizens legiſlators, you never can be of that opinion, and your juſtice will never be diſarmed by the arts of perfidious men, who now baſely and hypocritically cringe before the triumphs of the republic.

Their property, juſtly forfeited to the republic, will amount to two milliards of crowns, when it ſhall have been reſtored to its proper value by wiſe and diſcreet management. You will thus, by enforcing the juſt ſeverity of the laws, find a new fund for the expence of ſeveral campaigns, which the wiſdom and moderation of the people may not be able to avoid; or, in caſe of peace, a particular reſource, which will raiſe to the higheſt pitch the proſperity of the republic.

The executive directory, impreſſed with the importance of the object which they have now ſuggeſted, propoſe to the legiſlative body to take their meſſage into the moſt ſerious conſideration, and to declare, that the laws reſpecting emigrants ſhall be ſent and executed in all the colonies, as well as in France.

(Signed). REUBELL, Preſi.
By the Executive Directory,
LAGARDE, Sec.

Meſſage from the Directory addreſſed to the Council of Ancients, dated the 5th Pluvioſe (Jan. 25) and read in a Secret Committee.

Citizens Legiſlators,

THE enemies of France have ſpoken of peace, but it was to relax our preparations, while they themſelves redoubled their efforts for continuing the war; they wiſh to weaken the courage of our defenders, by lulling them with the hopes of approaching peace, which they themſelves do not ceaſe to elude by the moſt evaſive forms, and the moſt frivolous pretexts. This perfidy on their part is not new, and the reports they have affected to circulate on this ſubject, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, have always been ſeized and believed by the foreign faction which they maintain among us. But theſe manœuvres have never been countenanced by the executive directory, who, in offering peace to the coaleſced powers on conditions as moderate as are conſiſtent with the national dignity, have neglected nothing for aſſuring new triumphs to the republican arms.

The French ſhould know, that they never can have peace with their enemies till they ſhall have rendered it impoſſible for them to

purſue

purſue their diſaſtrous projects. This epoch is not far off; it muſt crown a vigorous campaign: and we have reaſon to think that that which is about to be opened will yield in nothing to that of the third year. The government already acquires ſtrength every day, and the hopes of the enemies of the interior of a diſagreement between the legiſlative body and the directory diſappear every day; the circulation of proviſions begins to be re-eſtabliſhed; the young citizens are deſirous of rejoining their colours; the general activity contributes to ſecond the ſalutary and deciſive meaſure of the forced loan; the certainty, in ſhort, of ſeeing all the factious puniſhed, whether their royaliſm be open or concealed, or whether they diſſemble it under the laſt forms of anarchy: every thing, in ſhort, announces, that if we are forced by our implacable enemies to cover ſtill their bloody plains with our ſoldiers, it will be to gain ſoon new laurels; to enjoy from henceforward the unalterable repoſe that is aſſured by the conſtitution, ſworn to by all Frenchmen, and the return of morality and juſtice, the love of labour and economy. Citizens legiſlators, you are aware that what renders the ſervice ſo painful in the preſent moment, notwithſtanding the prodigious reſources which are ſtill to be found in the republic, is the abſence of repreſentative ſigns of exchange, ſwallowed up by that avarice which renders it impoſſible to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the armies. We muſt deviſe ſome ſubſtitute; and the directory can perceive no other except that of raiſing articles in kind, at leaſt thoſe which are at preſent moſt neceſſary and indiſpenſable, ſuch as horſes for carriages, and for the uſe of cavalry.

The principal cauſe of the little ſucceſs of the laſt campaign was the deficiency of the means of conveyance, and the ſuperiority of our enemies' cavalry. The evil increaſed every day, and we are obliged to tell you, citizens legiſlators, that if there is not taken, in this reſpect, a meaſure prompt and efficacious, we muſt expect defeats. The directory requeſts that you will authorize it to raiſe the thirtieth horſe in every part of the republic. Experience aſſures the ſucceſs of this meaſure; all others will only have doubtful conſequences, ſlow, and attended with much expence, and the ſending out a prodigious quantity of ſpecie.

The directory had determined not to make to the legiſlative body the propoſition of an extraordinary levy of horſes, till after the ſubject had been long conſidered, and it ſhall be ſenſible that there exiſt no other means of aſſuring the ſervice.

This levy ſhall be made by the adminiſtrative bodies. The legiſlative body may itſelf ſtate the mode of the execution, or leave it to the directory, who will follow the moſt economical and the leaſt vexatious to the citizens; whatever deciſion you may make in this reſpect, circumſtances require that this meaſure may not be deferred.

Citizens legiſlators, the directory invites the council to take the object of its demand into the moſt ſerious and the moſt prompt conſideration.

REUBELL, Preſident.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory of France *to the Council of Five*

Hundred, reſpecting the Emiſſion of Territorial Mandats.

Citizens Legiſlators,

YOUR reſolution of the 20th of this month, relative to the creation of "Territorial Mandats," payable to the bearer, is one of thoſe grand and happy meaſures, which at the moſt critical æras of the revolution, have operated to the welfare of the republic. But it would be fatal if you did not haſten to make an addition which is indiſpenſable, by giving to thoſe mandats a compulſive currency. Without ſuch a law, the new paper and the old would both fall into equal depreciation. The ſtock jobbers would ſeize upon both, they would plunder the nation of its demeſnes, and the government of its reſources.

Certainly when paper money has but a remote, a doubtful, or inſufficient ſecurity, nothing ſhort of deſpotiſm can force its currency. Such would be the caſe, if it were intended to recal the aſſignats to their nominal value, before their maſs was reduced to the amount of the national property at the diſpoſal of government. But it would be a weak abandonment of the rights of the people, to leave to malignity and avarice to fix the value of a mandat, which can be immediately converted into real property at the choice of the bearer, amongſt the beſt poſſeſſions of the republic. The citizens may be deceived as to their real intereſts by the cruel manœuvres of ſtock-jobbing. They have been deceived, and will be ſo ſtill, unleſs their repreſentatives foreſee and warn them of the danger.

Have you not been compelled to pronounce certain penalties againſt thoſe who refuſed the republican money, though it was evidently of more value than that which bore the royal ſtamp? Why ſhould you heſitate to take the ſame part againſt thoſe who may wiſh to depreciate a paper, which has more need of confidence; as it is not diviſible into ſmall portions, and therefore leſs fitted for ordinary tranſactions? If you do not take this ſtep, this paper muſt fall, and with its own, will infallibly cauſe the ruin of the aſſignats.

It is in your power, on the contrary, to raiſe the one through the other, and to breathe thus new life through all the ramifications of the body politic, robuſt in itſelf, but weakened and dried up through the want of circulation.

There are thoſe, however, who ſeem to deſcry in this paper the annihilation of the aſſignats. This is an error to which ſtock-jobbers will labour to give credit, as wiſhing to monopolize this repreſentative ſign, and to poſſeſs themſelves of the public fortune. But it is evident, that, on the contrary, ſtock-jobbing will find its death in the compulſive circulation of this paper, and that in twenty-four hours the government will triple the value of aſſignats.

The aſſignat is now at the three hundredth part of its nominal value. When the mandats ſhall be at par with money, the aſſignats are to be exchanged at every office in the republic for the hundredth part of their nominal rate. Thus is their value tripled. In a word, the aſſignats thus exchanged are to be burned, until there ſhall be no more than three milliards in circulation. The circulation will then be brought back to its uſual courſe, and the paper

paper to its natural proportion to the land which it repreſents. The mandat being on a par with money, and the relation of the aſſignats with the former being preſcribed by the laws, ſtock-jobbing can no longer maintain its ground. It dies; and France is delivered from a ſcourge more horrible than all the inflictions of her combined enemies!

This proportion of one to an hundred between the mandat and the aſſignat appears to be more ſuitable for the preſent. It accords with the meaſures which have been taken for raiſing the forced loan. It leaves to the nation the reſources which may be neceſſary for its occaſions, until the ſyſtem of contribution ſhall be ſettled, and the receipts collected regularly. In proportion as the circulating maſs of aſſignats ſhall be diminiſhed by burning thoſe which are exchanged, the relative value of one hundred for one may be gradually ameliorated until the equilibrum ſhall be reſtored without any ſhock between the remaining aſſignats and the demeſnes which form their ſecurity.

But it is neceſſary for this purpoſe, that ſevere penalties ſhall be decreed againſt thoſe who attempt to make the ſmalleſt alteration in the relative value of republican money. Thoſe who exchange mandats againſt money otherwiſe than at par, muſt be rigorouſly puniſhed. It was by relaxing from this eſſential point that aſſignats have fallen into their preſent ſtate of depreciation; and that it is impoſſible to raiſe them ſuddenly to their primitive value, without paſſing beyond the value of the ſecurity, and ſtripping the nation of its laſt reſource.

It is ſolely from your firmneſs and fidelity in the adoption and execution of theſe meaſures, that France can be ſaved and revivified, and that ſhe can ariſe free, glorious, and happy, after all the ſtorms of the revolution.

We invite you, therefore, citizens legiſlators, to give this meſſage an immediate conſideration.

(Signed) LETOURNEUR, Preſi.
LEGARDE, Sec.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory of the French *Republic.*

Frenchmen,

YOUR Legiſlators have juſt created a new ſpecies of money, founded at once upon juſtice and the neceſſity of providing for the immenſe wants of the ſtate; they have conciliated the intereſt of the republic with the intereſt of individuals, or rather it is in this private intereſt even that they have found new and abundant reſources for the government; and ſuch will be always the calculations of a true and only policy. In ſhort, after ſo terrible a war, after ſo many violent ſhocks, the nation is, all at once, lifted by the creation of territorial mandates to the ſame ſtate of fortune and of means which ſhe poſſeſſed in the firſt period of the revolution. To render theſe means fruitful—to recover the ſame degree of opulence and ſplendour, we muſt only have the ſame latitude of confidence in the repreſentatives of the nation—the ſame obedience to the laws—the ſame fraternal union between citizens.

Your fate, O Frenchmen! is then entirely in your hands; let the law relative to territorial mandats be faithfully obſerved, and France will

come

come out from the revolution happy and triumphant; if the law be deſpiſed, a profound abyſs will be immediately dug under all our feet.

The territorial mandats have a precious advantage which the aſſignats had not—it was the want of it that occaſioned their depreciation.—This advantage is the faculty attached to the mandat of being realized in a moment, without hindrance, obſtacle, or ſale, by the immediate and inconteſtable tranſer of the national domain, upon which the bearer of mandats may have fixed his choice in the whole extent of the republic. It is a territorial bank, with funds well aſcertained, whoſe notes may be exchanged in open market, and whoſe guarantee is fortified by the authority of the law which gives them the forced currency of money. It was neceſſary thus to prevent the criminal efforts of ſtock-jobbing and diſaffection, which inceſſantly endeavouring to convert the moſt wholeſome remedies into poiſon, would not have failed to have depreciated and monopolized the new money, before the maſs of the citizens could have been informed of its real value.

When, by his ſordid avarice, the ſtock-jobber depreciates by one ſol a note of 100 franks, it is not ſolely the one ſol of which he has robbed the public credit, it is a loſs to the national treaſury of ſo many ſols as there are 100 franks in the treaſury; it is an immenſe ſum which he has annihilated in the public banks, and in the hands of all the bearers of bills. He has ruined his fellow-citizens, he has aſſaſſinated his country; and it is not, therefore, by the ſmallneſs of his robbery in itſelf that we muſt meaſure his crime, it is by the enormity of miſery which it produces. Never was it more evidently true, that the ſafety of a whole nation may reſide, and, in fact, does reſide, in the inviolable probity of all the members that compoſe it.

Yes, morals and obedience to the laws, each day ought, Frenchmen, to convince you, are the ſole ſafeguard of free countries. The ſlighteſt attack made upon them ſhakes the ſtate to its foundation. All our evils ariſe from our diſſenſions, from the ſpirit of rapacity, the neglect of labour, from refuſal to pay the contributions, from the depreciation of the national money.

Theſe evils cannot be cured but by a contrary *regime*: by the reciprocal eſteem of citizens, by their eagerneſs to acquit themſelves to the public treaſury, by the reſtoration of induſtry, by the rigorous ſupport of the integral value, and without the leaſt alteration, of the money eſtabliſhed by the legiſlature.

The executive directory will know how to diſplay, on this important occaſion, the whole extent of the power depoſited in their hands; they will make the national will, expreſſed by the repreſentatives of the people, be reſpected.

It is to you, good citizens, friends of wiſdom and liberty; immenſe majority of Frenchmen! it is to you that it belongs to ſecond the efforts of the government; form a ſacred league to defend the conſtitutional edifice, which reſts now upon the ſucceſs of the mandats; repel thoſe who flatter you to draw you into a frightful abyſs. You can only ſave yourſelves by auſtere truths. What have thoſe operated

for

for your good, who have laboured hitherto to render you immoral; who have only irritated alternately and cherifhed your paffions; who have fharpened hatred among you, and formed parties? What elfe have they done but favoured your external enemies; who long ago would have demanded peace of you, if they had not been enabled to fet you againft each other, and to make you tear out your entrails with your own hands?

It is againft thefe external enemies that we muft wake the vengeance of the ftate. Cover with indignation and contempt their eternal advocates; thofe cowardly writers who connect themfelves with traitors; who have nothing to prefent but frightful portraits; who avail themfelves of an object only to make the citizens miferable, and divide to defame them. It is time that each of us fhould be proud of being Frenchmen! What are the crimes of fome miferable men to the national glory; men whom nature has caft upon the territory of freemen? view the revolution with the fame eyes that pofterity will view it; with the fame eyes with which the foreigners whom you combat view it. Refume that proud energy that produced victory; recollect your triumphs, and let them be the pledge of new triumphs.

Frenchmen, be aflured of this great truth; it is, that the fafety of all and each of you is in the rigid execution of the law relative to mandats. Already have the happy effects of their creation been felt by the bearers of affignats, which increafe in value rapidly; although it has been pretended that it would complete their depreciation.

Let no infringement be made upon this law, and foon a beneficent dew will vivify the happy foil that nature has adjudged to us. France will rife from that deplorable languor, a devouring ftock-jobbing will ceafe her ravages, activity in arts and commerce will fucceed, the roads and canals will no longer be in ruins, the public functionaries of the ftate will be indemnified for their painful labours, the long fufferings of the creditors and penfioners of the ftate will be at an end, the melancholy lot of our intrepid brethren in arms will be ameliorated; and the national felicity, which a diabolical fpirit had thought to be able to feparate from public probity and the focial virtues, will revive and affume new life in thofe immortal and fruitful fources of all profperity.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, Prefident.

The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris.

ROYALISM, at length defpairing of being able to feduce you in its own colours, now takes to bring you under its odious yoke, a way, perhaps, more winding, but far more perfidious and lefs dangerous. For feveral days incendiary papers and placards have been profufely diftributed. Seditious propofitions and menacing difcourfes are heard, and groups are formed in the public fquares. The heads of the party no longer conceal their object; they audaciouſly declare it. They wifh to overturn the republican conftitution, to deftroy the national repreſentation and the government; to put in force the atrocious and impracticable

impracticable code of 1793; and to effect the pretended equal diviſion of all property, even in the moſt inconſiderable nature, ſuch as little ſhops, &c. They are deſirous of plunder.

They are, in a word, deſirous to re-erect ſcaffolds, and to bathe as formerly in your blood; gorging themſelves with your riches and the ſmalleſt produce of your labours. The foreigner who pays them, knows very well that the preſent government being once deſtroyed, the multitude, wearied at length with various agitations, which muſt tend to augment their ſufferings, will throw themſelves into the arms of a king. The miſerable agitators, whom he makes his inſtruments, muſt themſelves deſire this, to place their plunders under the ſafeguard of an authority which would be their work; and to ſecure the means of committing freſh ones with impunity, by ſharing in all employments. Who can indeed doubt but that they are in agreement with foreigners to royaliſe France, or to reduce it to a ſtate of debility and confuſion; the inevitable conſequence of which would be its diſmemberment. Do our moſt declared enemies hold another language and another conduct? They ſay openly that they will carry revenge and fire every where, rather than allow peace to be made; and at the ſame time they circulate a thouſand lying reports to diſcredit the national money, and thus deprive the government of the means of ſecuring to our armies the faculty of haſtening, by new trials, a glorious and durable peace; which is the conſtant object of the views of the directory, and the aim of all its labours. To theſe odious manœuvres they add atrocious calumnies, to deprive the government of the force it needs; they even aſſert, that the executive directory has done nothing towards the conſolidation of the republic. Well-intentioned men! go back to the moment of the inſtallation of the directory, and judge whether in a few months it could have done more.

La Vendée has been diſarmed, and its chiefs either killed or taken. The revolt in l'Indre and le Cher was extinguiſhed at the very moment when it broke out; and the war againſt the Chouans is carried on with activity and ſucceſs. The armies, which were in a complete ſtate of diſſolution, are now re-organized; and are in a condition to cope with the enemy, and to fix victory on the ſtandard of liberty. Severe meaſures againſt the refractory prieſts and the emigrants have been called for, and thoſe which exiſted have been executed with vigour. Adminiſtrators, whoſe patriotiſm was ſuſpected, have been replaced by energetic republicans; and, finally, ſubſiſtences have been procured, and their circulation, which was impeded on all ſides, re-eſtabliſhed. Theſe emiſſaries of foreigners dare to add, that the directory does not cheriſh the patriots, but abandons them to perſecution. Certainly it does not ceaſe to cheriſh them; it has not deſiſted, and will not deſiſt to ſupport and defend the patriots; and will never ſuffer the errors into which they may have been led, by an ardent zeal for liberty, to be confounded with guilt. It has an affectionate

fectionate regard for thoſe pure and ſincere patriots, who unite wiſdom to the ardour of a burning civiſm; who, impatient of every yoke but that of the laws, are equally averſe to the eſtabliſhment of their own nomination. It will always know how to diſtinguiſh theſe from the diſguiſed partizans of royaliſm, from the brigands, who uſurp the glorious title of patriots, merely to diſhonour it. The directory is the warmeſt friend to patriots; and is not the fate of the patriots and that of the directory intimately connected? Are not their deſtinies common? Citizens, and you generous defenders of the country, inſtructed by a long experience, you have repulſed, with contempt, theſe daſtardly and atrocious miſcreants. You are not ignorant, brave warriors, that if the government is deſtroyed, the republic is loſt. You will know how to preſerve, by the wiſdom and energy of your conduct, a liberty ſecured by your triumphs. You, citizens, who live by the fruit of your labours, will not forget the magnificent promiſes which the tyrants, covered with a cloak of popularity, have ſo often made to you, and which have never had any other reſult than their own fortune, and the public miſery. You will conſtantly perceive, that a regular government, ſolidly eſtabliſhed, can alone ſecure good order and tranquillity; which on their ſide can alone procure the reſources neceſſary for the ſupport of your families. You who are apprehenſive for your property, judge what you have to expect from the ſyſtem now on foot, if inſtead of rallying round the republican conſtitution, you favour by your neglect the diſſolution of the government. As to us faithful to our duty we will maintain the republic and the conſtitution with an unſhaken firmneſs; we will cauſe public order to be reſpected; we will keep a watch on thoſe who attempt to diſturb it; and will repreſs them with all the force of the laws, the execution of which is conſided to us. Incapable of being the accomplices or the inſtruments of any faction, we will return with honour to the private life that awaits us, or will periſh with glory at the poſt to which we have been called.

(Signed)

LETOURNEUR, Preſident.

Addreſs of the Executive Directory to the French *Armies, April*, 1796.

DEFENDERS of the country, the moment approaches when you are again to take up your victorious arms; the moment approaches, when you are to quit a repoſe to which you conſented, in the hope alone that it would lead to an honourable peace; but the ſeas of blood which have flowed, have not yet ſatiated the rage of your enemies. They unqueſtionably imagine, that we are about to abandon the fruits of our victories, at the very moment when ſucceſs is ready to crown them. They imagine, that we are about to demand of them, as cowards, a peace which we have offered them as generous enemies. Let them conceive theſe unworthy expectations: we will not be ſurprized; they have never combated for liberty — but what they cannot be ignorant of, is, that the brave armies with which they

with

wiſh again to try their ſtrength, are the ſame by which they have been ſo often ſubdued. No; they have not forgotten the prodigies of French valour; they ſtill recollect with terror, both the redoubts of Gemappe, and the plains of Fleurus, and the frozen rivers of Holland: they recollect that the Alps and Pyrenees have oppoſed to you but feeble barriers; and that the peninſula of Quiberon became the tomb of all the parricidal ſlaves, who, in the hope of ſubjecting you to the yoke of a maſter, dared to ſet their feet on the ſoil of the republic. If they could have forgotten all this, you will bring it to their recollections by blows ſtill more terrible; you will teach them, finally, that nothing can reſiſt the efforts of a great nation which determines to be free.

Brave warriors, you have afforded the example of a diſintereſtedneſs which cannot exiſt unleſs among republicans. Oftentimes, in the midſt of the greateſt ſcarcity of proviſions, of an almoſt abſolute want of the moſt indiſpenſable objects, you have diſplayed that heroical patience, which, joined to your impetuous valour, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes you; and will ſignalize you to all nations, and to the eyes of poſterity. Republican ſoldiers, you will preſerve this great character; and at the moment when your ſituation has been ameliorated, when with an unanimous voice the repreſentatives of the nation have taken meaſures to provide efficaciouſly for your wants, you will redouble alſo your vigour and courage, to put an end to a war which can be terminated by new victories alone.

In vain has the French government manifeſted to all the powers which wage war againſt France, a ſincere wiſh to reſtore at length the repoſe of exhauſted Europe; it has in vain made to them the moſt juſt and moderate propoſitions; nothing has been capable of removing their deplorable blindneſs. Yes, brave warriors, we muſt ſtill have victories; and it is your energy alone that can put a ſtop to this devaſtating ſcourge. Prepare, therefore, for a laſt effort, and let it be deciſive; let every thing yield to, let every thing be diſſipated by your phalanxes; let the new flags of your enemies, carried off by your triumphant hands, form, with the preceding ones, the trophy with which, in the name of France, always great in her misfortunes, always juſt in her proſperity, the equitable peace you will give to the world will be proclaimed.

And you, generous defenders, who ſhall have cemented that peace with your blood, you will ſoon return to the boſom of your families among your fellow citizens, to enjoy your glory—terrible ſtill in your repoſe, to all the enemies of the republic.

LETOURNEUR, Preſident.

Proclamation by Buonaparte, *Commander in Chief of the Army of* Italy, *to his Brothers in Arms; dated Head-Quarters at* Milan, *Prairial* 1, (*May* 20.)

SOLDIERS! you have precipitated yourſelves like a torrent from the heights of the Appenines; you have routed and diſperſed all who have oppoſed your progreſs: Piedmont, delivered from Auſtrian tyranny, diſplays its natural ſenti-

ments

ments of peace and friendſhip for France. Milan is ours, and the republican flag flies over all Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political exiſtence to your generoſity. The army that with ſo much pride threatened you, has no barrier of protection againſt your courage: the Po, the Teſſin, the Adda, have been unable to ſtop you a ſingle day; thoſe boaſted bulwarks of Italy have been inſufficient to delay your progreſs; you have ſurmounted them as rapidly as you paſſed the Appenines. So much ſucceſs has carried joy to the boſom of our country; your repreſentatives have ordained a fête, dedicated to your victories, which will be celebrated in all the communes of the republic. Your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your ſiſters, your lovers, will enjoy your ſucceſs, and boaſt with pride that they belonged to you. Yes, ſoldiers, you have done much; but does there remain nothing more to be done? Though we have known how to vanquiſh, we have not known how to profit of our victories. Poſterity will reproach us with having terminated our courſe in Lombardy; but already I ſee you run to arms: a ſlothful repoſe fatigues you. Let us depart! We have yet forced marches to make, enemies to ſubdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let thoſe tremble who have whetted the poniards of civil war in France, who have baſely aſſaſſinated our miniſters, and burnt our ſhips at Toulon: the hour of vengeance and retribution is near at hand. But let the people remain tranquil; we are friends to all the people, and more particularly the deſcendants of Brutus, of Scipio, and the great men we have taken for our models. Re-eſtabliſh the capitol, and place there, with honour, the ſtatues of the heroes that rendered it celebrated; awaken the Roman people, debaſed by many centuries of ſlavery: ſuch will be the fruit of your victories; they will form an epoch for poſterity; you will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the fineſt country in Europe. The free French people, reſpected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify them for the ſacrifices they have made during ſix years; you will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens will ſay, ſhewing you, *this man was of the army of Italy.*

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Buonaparte *to the Republic of* Venice.

Breſcia, 10 *Prairial*, (*May* 29)

IT is to deliver the fineſt country in Europe from the iron yoke of the proud houſe of Auſtria, that the French army has braved obſtacles the moſt difficult to ſurmount. Victory, in union with juſtice, has crowned its efforts. The wreck of the enemy's army has retired beyond the Mincio. The French army, in order to follow them, paſſes over the territory of the republic of Venice; but it will never forget that antient friendſhip unites the two republics. Religion, government, cuſtoms, and property, ſhall be reſpected. That the people may be without apprehenſion the moſt ſevere diſcipline ſhall be maintained. All that may be provided for the army ſhall be faithfully paid for in money. The general

general in chief engages the officers of the republic of Venice, the magiſtrates, and the prieſts, to make known theſe ſentiments to the people, in order that confidence may cement that friendſhip which has ſo long united the two nations faithful in the path of honour, as in that of victory. The French ſoldier is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The general of diviſion, chief of the etat-major of the army of Italy,

(Signed) ALEX. BERTHIER.

Proclamation by General Buonaparte, *Commander in Chief of the Army of* Italy, *to the People of the* Milaneſe.

THE nobles, the prieſts, and the agents of Auſtria have miſled the people of theſe fine countries; the French army, as generous as it is powerful, will treat with fraternity the peaceable and tranquil inhabitants; but they will prove as terrible as the fire of heaven to the rebels, and the villages which protect them.

Art. 1. In conſequence, the commander in chief declares as rebels, all the villages which have not conformed to his order of the 6th prairial. The generals ſhall march againſt ſuch villages the forces neceſſary for ſubduing them; ſetting them on fire, and ſhooting all thoſe taken with arms in their hands. All the prieſts and nobles who remain in the rebel communes, ſhall be arreſted as hoſtages, and ſent into France.

2. Every village where the tocſin ſhall be ſounded, ſhall be inſtantly deſtroyed. The generals are reſponſible for the execution of this order.

3. Every village on the territory of which any Frenchman ſhall be aſſaſſinated, ſhall be fined in a ſum amounting to a third part of the contribution they pay annually to the archduke, unleſs they make known the aſſaſſin, arreſt him, and ſend him to the French army.

4. Every man found with a muſquet, and ammunition of war, ſhall be immediately ſhot by the order of the general commandant on duty.

5. Every field wherein ſhall be found concealed arms, ſhall be condemned to pay one-third more than its actual revenue, by way of penalty. Every houſe in which ſhall be found a muſket, ſhall be burnt, unleſs the proprietor declares to whom ſuch muſket belongs.

All the nobles, or rich people, who ſhall be convicted of having ſtirred up the people to revolt, whether by diſmiſſing their domeſtics, or by deſigns againſt the French, ſhall be arreſted as hoſtages, ſent into France, and the half of their eſtates confiſcated.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

10 *Prairial*, (29*th May.*)

Buonaparte, *Commander in Chief of the Army of* Italy, *to the Inhabitants of* Tyrol.

Head-Quarters at Tortona, 26 *Prairial*, (*June* 14,) 4*th year.*

BRAVE Tyrolians, I am about to paſs through your territory to force the court of Vienna to a peace, as neceſſary to Europe, as it is to the ſubjects of the emperor. The cauſe I am about to defend is your own.

own. You have been long vexed and fatigued by the horrors of a war, undertaken not for the intereſt of the people of Germany, but for that of a ſingle family.

The French army reſpects and loves all nations, more eſpecially the ſimple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. Your religion, your cuſtoms, will be every where reſpected. Our troops will maintain a ſevere diſcipline; and nothing will be taken in the country without being paid for in money.

You will receive us with hoſpitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendſhip.

But ſhould there be any ſo little acquainted with their true intereſts as to take up arms, and treat us as enemies, we will be as terrible as the fire from heaven: we will burn the houſes and lay waſte the territories of the villages which ſhall take a part in a war which is foreign to them.

Do not ſuffer yourſelves to be led into an error by the agents of Auſtria. Secure your country, already haraſſed by five years of war, from new miſeries. In a little time the court of Vienna, forced to a peace, will reſtore to the nations their privileges which it has uſurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has diſturbed.

The commander in chief,

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Decree of the National Aſſembly of the United Provinces *for the Abolition of a Privileged Church.*

1. THERE cannot, nor ſhall be longer any reigning or peculiarly privileged church permitted in the United Netherlands.

2. All placards and reſolutions of the former ſtates-general, tending to oppreſs the diſſenting churches, are revoked and rendered void.

3. No diſtinctive dreſs ſhall be worn, or church ceremonies be exhibited except within the reſpective buildings of either religious perſuaſion. Nor ſhall any bells be rung, in future, for the ſervice of the church.

4. A commiſſion ſhall be appointed, as ſpeedily as poſſible, to inveſtigate all thoſe difficulties, which are the remains of a predominant church; to examine into the funds of payment; and to deviſe regulations, in ſome wiſe, for the future ſubſiſtence of teachers, and others connected with the church.

5. A circular miſſive ſhall be diſpatched throughout all quarters of the republic, exhorting the proper perſons to remit and do away all perſonal ſuppreſſive burdens laid on thoſe of the diſſenting churches, and requeſting their immediate anſwer, for the ſatisfaction of this aſſembly.

13*th Auguſt.*

Proclamation of the National Aſſembly of the Batavian *People againſt the Importation of* Britiſh *Manufactures.*

The National Aſſembly, repreſenting the Batavian People, to the Batavians, Health and Fraternity.

THE Britiſh miniſter iſſued on the 3d of this month a royal proclamation, by which, "the free navigation of Great Britain to the "United Provinces is granted, as "well as the exportation of all kinds "of merchandize, except military

" and naval ammunition, provided " they be exported under a neutral " flag." France, however, is excepted. This is an artifice which the Batavian people ſee and properly appreciate—a lure which they diſdain. Have we not ſketched to the eyes of all Europe, in our manifeſto of the 2d May of the preſent year, the perfidious traits of the conduct of this ſame miniſter? Did we not evince in the moſt evident manner, how this miniſter completed his want of faith, when, on the flight of the laſt ſtadtholder, he ſeized more than a hundred ſhips richly laden, and ſeveral ſhips of war; when, deaf to every repreſentation, he dared to appropriate this booty; when, by falſe advices, he enticed into the Engliſh ports ſeveral ſhips which were then at ſea; when, violating the rights of nations, and conſidering as nothing the moſt ſolemn treaties, he changed the protection which he had promiſed, into a declaration of good and legal capture of the Dutch ſhips; when he endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of our colonies in the moſt traitorous manner; when he effectually eſtabliſhed himſelf in ſeveral of our moſt important poſſeſſions; when he furniſhed money to the unnatural emigrants, who were more influenced by love for the Orange party than for their country, and whom he continually excited to come and tear down the ſtandard of liberty in their own country, and to waſte it with fire and ſword? In a word, is not the Britiſh miniſter the ſworn enemy to the well-being of the United Provinces, and is not he furious that the republic ſtill exiſts? Let him delude himſelf with the artificial calculation of the conſequences of the preſent meaſure! Let him imagine that his lure of the love of gain may either open a ſource of finance, or in caſe the Batavian republic diſdain it, may ſow diſcord, inflame the ſpirit of party, and alienate the hearts of the people from the legitimate government! But your repreſentatives, oh, Batavian people! are and will remain, notwithſtanding, faithful to their deſtination; they will not engage in a meaſure which would render the moſt eſſential ſervice to the enemy of the nation, check the wiſe and great project of their grand ally, and retard that peace which is the object of our wiſhes.

The Engliſh people are on the eve of awaking, and of forcing the miniſter to accept an equitable and ſpeedy peace. To avoid carefully every thing that may prolong the moſt terrible war of which hiſtory makes mention, is our moſt ſacred duty: and to ſpare no means that may haſten the moment of a peace ſuitable to the intereſts of the Batavian people, of their faithful ally, of the Britiſh nation itſelf, and of humanity—ſuch is our moſt ſerious object.

The momentary advantage of the few muſt not be balanced againſt the well-being of the public, the well-being and proſperity of the public which you wiſh, fellow-citizens, is our principal object. We know that the Britiſh miniſter at this moment wants ſpecie and circulating capital. He has waſted millions of money and rivers of blood; the preſent meaſure evinces his embarraſſment. The glorious victories of the French have ſhut up ſeveral ports againſt the Engliſh, and will ſhut up ſtill more. England, on the other hand, is full of her manufactures, of pillaged merchandize,

chandize, particularly of thoſe articles with which our rich ſhips returned from the Eaſt Indies have furniſhed him. The Britiſh miniſter muſt beſides make at this period his uſual contracts in the Baltic for the maintenance of his marine, and for the ſupplying of his other wants: and without drawing upon the Dutch merchants, it appears, that he could not ſucceed in this.—Good faith, Batavian glory, feel all your dignity!

What Batavian heart is not filled with indignation, on conſidering, that the enemy of our country would offer us for ſale thoſe very effects which he has robbed us of ſo ſhamefully? And is it permitted to us to heſitate a ſingle moment, in conſoling ourſelves for this loſs of gain, and in fruſtrating the grand object of this enemy? Citizens, his object is no other than to exchange for money innumerable Britiſh merchandize; the faculty of being able to diſpoſe of the price of theſe purchaſes to his own advantage: to put an end to the juſt murmurs of the Engliſh people; to prolong the war; and, above all, to excite the indignation of the French republic, which the proclamation excludes from the free navigation. It is therefore, in virtue of all theſe motives, that we have thought proper to determine upon what follows, as we do determine by theſe preſents.

Article 1. It ſhall not be permitted to import into the United Provinces any Britiſh manufactures whatever, any Britiſh merchandize in general, and particularly any effects of whatever nature they are, which proceed from the effects laden on board the ſhips of the Eaſt India company, ſeized or carried to Great Britain, in any manner, or under any pretext, whether the ſaid effects come directly from Great Britain, or by any other channel.

2. Upon the importation of all effects of this kind, they ſhall be firſt confiſcated to the profit of the Batavian people, and depoſited in proper magazines, in order to remain there in depôt, and not to be ſold until it ſhall be ulteriorly demanded on the part of the Batavian people.

3. All perſons who may have participated directly or indirectly in ſuch importation, or who may have favoured it, or to whoſe conſignment ſuch effects may have been addreſſed and expedited with their knowledge, ſhall not only be reſponſible, independently, and beſides confiſcation of the effects, but ſhall be proceeded againſt before the judge of their domicile, as having entered into a connection with the enemy, to the ruin of the country; in caſe it appears, that after the promulgation of the proclamation they have had any knowledge of it, and have not informed the office of convoys and licences within twenty-four hours, or have not informed the adminiſtration of the place where they dwell.

4. It is alſo forbidden, under the ſame penalties, to the inhabitants of this republic, to accept or pay any bills of exchange drawn from Great Britain.

5. The exact execution of our preſent ſerious reſolution is confided to our committee for the affairs of the marine, with the particular injunction to neglect no means to watch over ſuch an importation, with the authority to eſtabliſh in the neceſſary places, either in the

towns or in the flat counties, ſuch extraordinary ſurveyors, receivers, or clerks, as they ſhall judge neceſſary, in order to fulfil our intentions.

6. The committee for the affairs of the marine is qualified, in caſe of the ſeizure of the effects prohibited in Art. 1. to order *de plano* (without form of proceſs) upon its reſponſibility, the confiſcation, and to effect the depoſit in the neceſſary magazines mentioned in Art. 2. In conſequence, in this reſpect, the ordinary form of proceeding is ſuſpended in caſes of frauds committed with regard to the marine rights, and to every contravention of the placards iſſued on that ſubject, which ſhall remain ſuſpended with reſpect to thoſe who ſhall preſent themſelves as defenders in the affairs abovementioned.

7. The preſent proclamation ſhall be publiſhed and ſtuck up. We direct and entreat the ſupreme authorities to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions, in order that our preſent object may be duly effected; and more eſpecially to direct all the municipalities in each province, to lend every aſſiſtance to the committee for the affairs of the marine, and to ſupport it againſt all oppoſition to the accompliſhment of the duties impoſed on our committee, by our preſent proclamation.

8. This proclamation ſhall be ſent to the committees for the affairs of the marine, and for the Eaſt India trade, in order to ſerve as information and advice to them.

Done in the national aſſembly at the Hague, Sept. 16, 1796, ſecond year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed J. J. CAMBIER.
D. VAN LAER.

Manifeſto againſt Great Britain, *by the National Aſſembly repreſenting the* Batavian *Nation.*

THE Batavian nation, once more unjuſtly attacked by the kingdom of Great Britain, has juſt taken up arms. This nation, ſo often ill treated, oppreſſed, trod upon, and pillaged, under the maſk of friendſhip, now animated and excited by liberty, and at length breathing for the firſt time after ſo long an interval, reſumes the primitive energy of its brave and valorous character, courageouſly rears its head, and will no longer ſuffer its proſperity to be undermined by envious neighbours. It will no longer allow itſelf to be dragged in the duſt; and it will ceaſe to be the ſport of the infamous and ambitious miniſters of England, who, by the dazzle of piratical treaſures, blind the Engliſh nation, which fancies itſelf to be free, with reſpect to the terrible calamities they have brought on Europe, and on the whole of the human race. The Batavian people will defend their rights and their independence; they will ſave their country from the ruin by which it is threatened.

Will Europe ſtill doubt, that the Batavian republic has not rightfully drawn the ſword from the ſheath, when ſhe is conſtrained to a juſt defence? Will Europe ſtill doubt that the Batavian republic has been led to the very brink of utter deſtruction, by the diſaſtrous policy of the ſame miniſtry? Will Europe ſtill doubt that the regenerated Batavian republic will not, with the help of its illuſtrious ally, vigorouſly repel the arrogant domination of the Engliſh cabinet, and will not conſolidate the liberty ſo dearly and perilouſly

perilouſly acquired, at the expence even of all by which ſhe is intereſted?

When England attempted, by the force of arms, to ſubjugate her American colonies, which ſhe had driven to a juſt inſurrection, and when the ſcourge of war extended to other empires, the ſtates general of the united provinces were careful to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; they did not ſuffer Dutch veſſels to tranſport any other commodities to America, thoſe excepted which were declared free by the expreſs terms of treaties. The moſt efficacious precautions were carefully taken to prevent warlike ſtores from being conveyed to the American colonies, as well as to prevent any fraudulent commerce from being carried on with them; precautions which did not a little ſhackle and injure our own commerce to the Weſt Indies.

It availed the republic, however, but little, to obſerve the conditions of treaties with exactneſs, as to what was by them prohibited; the Engliſh miniſters, conſulting merely their temporary convenience, went ſo far as to diſpute what theſe very treaties allowed; they would not ſuffer the republic to enjoy thoſe very advantages of treaty which England herſelf had enjoyed in a ſimilar caſe; but violating the rights of nations, they condemned the cargoes as prizes to the crown, and employed the materials in the royal arſenals: other veſſels were forfeited by the arbitrary ſentences of partial courts of juſtice. The privateers and armed ſhips of England, ſeeing that their piracies were legalized, multiplied their depredations, and the merchant veſſels of Holland daily became the victims of their brutalities. Finally, the atrocities of the Britiſh miniſters were carried to ſuch a point, that they no longer reſpected the flag of the ſtates, but carried a convoy of Dutch veſſels into the ports of England; declaring ſhips richly laden to be lawful prizes, and violating, as well in Europe as elſewhere, our neutral territory. The only mode which could be adopted to put a ſtop to theſe unprecedented injuries, without, however, breaking with the kingdom of Great Britain, was employed by their high mightineſſes.—This mode conſiſted in joining with all poſſible ſpeed the alliance of the three northern powers, concerted by the empreſs of Ruſſia, and deſtined to protect, by the force of arms, the rights of the neutral nations, each of them more or leſs violated by England.

Their high mightineſſes, we ſay, would have acceded to this treaty, had not an obſtacle been thrown in the way by the perfidious machinations of the Engliſh cabinet. This was the ſignal which led England to break every tie, to diſtribute letters of marque for making repriſals on the inhabitants of the republic and their poſſeſſions, and to declare open war againſt the United States. A miniſtry to which all means were alike, could not want pretexts for that purpoſe. It was not at the ſame time difficult for their high mightineſſes to demonſtrate the frivolity of all theſe pretended grievances; but what purpoſe could this anſwer with a rapacious, obſtinate, and unjuſt miniſtry, which was deſirous to revenge on a peaceable ally the loſs of the Britiſh colonies; and to appeaſe, for a time at leaſt, by the booty obtained by an unforeſeen attack, the murmurs of the Engliſh nation?

It was ſoon after learned, that

the ſquadrons and armed veſſels of England captured, by virtue of orders already furniſhed, the Dutch veſſels they fell in with beyond ſeas, without the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion on our ſide, and againſt the faith of treaties. We learned the cruel manner in which the iſland of St. Euſtatia was devaſtated, by ſeizing on the poſſeſſions of the merchants, which, when collected, formed treaſures; while richly laden veſſels returning from the ocean, were ſurpriſed unawares in the channel by ſmall veſſels, which readily made them their prey. By ſuch vile means, unworthy of a generous nation, did the Britiſh miniſters diſhonour the flag of their king; for can it be conſidered in any other point of view, than that of acting, under the royal flag, the part of pirates?

The Batavian republic was at length, after ſo many loſſes, forced to provide for her defence, to maintain her rights and independence by the dint of arms, and to protect her commerce and her poſſeſſions. Ah! If ſhe could then have combated under the banners of liberty, how would the Engliſh miniſtry have repented of its raſhneſs and perfidy! But the Engliſh cabinet knew all its influence in this country. It was aware that it could ſucceed in ſhackling within the republic the preparations of war: it was certain of finding in Holland partizans who would contrive to put into its poſſeſſion our ſhips of war, and who would find the means to prevent the diſplay of all our ſtrength. The event ſoon proved that the Engliſh miniſters were not miſtaken. They mocked our feeble efforts, which, even before they were carried into effect, were paralized in their outſet by the adherents they had in this country. Theſe adherents ſupplied them with intelligence of all that was concerting here. Supported by the ſtadtholderian influence, they even contrived to render nugatory the orders given by their high mightineſſes for the junction of the Batavian ſquadron with the French fleet. It was eaſy for the Engliſh miniſtry, after ſuch treaſons, to obtain ſucceſſes in that war. And this is what they call glory! But when a particular occaſion preſented itſelf—when a fleet belonging to the ſtates accidentally met with an opportunity to diſplay its courage and its valour, the Batavian mariners, although novices in fighting, proved that they had not degenerated from the bravery of their anceſtors. They drove the Engliſh fleet, covered with confuſion and ſhame, into its own port, without having loſt one of the merchant veſſels they had under convoy.

A war carried on in ſuch a way neceſſarily terminated in a treaty of peace burthenſome to the States. Inſtead of being indemnified for the incalculable loſſes they had ſuſtained in their commerce, they conſidered themſelves as fortunate to be enabled by the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of the French forces, which checked the Engliſh in the two Indies, to ſave a part of their poſſeſſions; while they found themſelves obliged to yield to the enemy the important factory of Negapatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel; and to allow to Britiſh veſſels the free navigation of the coaſts of the Molucca iſlands, notwithſtanding it might have been foreſeen that the navigation of the Engliſh in thoſe ſeas would tend to nothing leſs than the complete deſtruction of our trade in the Eaſt Indies.

We ſhall not enter into details concerning

concerning what paſſed in the ſequel, when the Batavian nation, ſeeing how much its intereſts were conſtantly every where ſacrificed to thoſe of its ancient rival, even by the perſons appointed to defend its rights, meditated a fundamental regeneration in the form of the government. We ſhall not retrace how England, knowing that the limitation of the ſcandalous uſurpation of power and influence, on the part of the ſtadtholder, would alſo diminiſh its influence in this republic. How, we ſay, the Britiſh miniſtry, far from interceding for the Batavian nation, or coming to its ſuccour, when legions of foreign troops ſeized on theſe countries, committing the moſt atrocious diſorders, pillages, and violences, conſidered, on the contrary, this devaſtation and this oppreſſion with a malignant ſatisfaction; and concurred, when the miſchief was completed, in guaranteeing, in a ſolemn manner, the ſyſtem of tyranny which reſulted from it.

When the French nation, wearied with the inſupportable tyranny of kings, ſhook off its yoke, and formed itſelf into an independent republic, the Britiſh miniſters thought that they could not have a better opportunity to diſmember a part of that fine empire. They accordingly united in the treaty concluded at Pilnitz, on the 27th of Auguſt, 1791, by the princes of Germany. The French republic, well knowing that that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands would be conſtrained by England to take a part in this plot againſt its liberty, declared war againſt the Britiſh miniſters, as well as againſt their ſubject William V. ſtadtholder of the Seven United Provinces, and his partizans.—It is thus that the Batavian nation was once more drawn, againſt its will, into this bloody war by its dependence on thoſe ſame miniſters: its treaſures were laviſhed, and its arſenals nearly emptied, to aid the extravagant plans of Pitt and his cabal. Auxiliary Engliſh troops were ſent to this republic; and when a defeat, ſuſtained near the Meuſe by a part of the French army, had procured a momentary advantage, the army of the States was forced to paſs the limits of our frontiers, and thoſe of France, and to wage an offenſive war on the French territory. Soon, however, the victorious French repulſed their enemies on all ſides; and from day to day the armies of England and the States retrograded towards our frontiers. The republic found itſelf on the brink of its ruin; ſince appearances pointed out, that the theatre of war would be removed to the very heart of its provinces, and all the country inundated. Never were the States in ſo critical a poſition ſince the war with Spain; but this danger brought about their deliverance: Providence defeated the perfidious plans of its enemies, who were deſirous rather that the republic ſhould be deſtroyed than that it ſhould be free. When the froſt permitted the croſſing of the rivers, the valorous French troops drove before them the Engliſh bands with ſo much ſpeed, that the latter had not time to effect their infernal deſign; they fled, but their road was traced by fire and pillage. It was nothing but their ſpeedy and precipitate retreat that preſerved the republic from a total devaſtation. We ſoon witneſſed the extraordinary ſpectacle which the citizens preſented on all ſides, holding

out their arms to their conquerors as to their only deliverers. We ſaw the allied troops ſack and plunder, and thoſe who were called our enemies reſpect public and private properties.

It was thus that the Netherlands were delivered from their moſt dangerous enemies. The ſtadtholder abandoned, in a daſtardly way, his country and his friends, and ſought an aſylum at the court of the king of England. The ſtandard of liberty was planted in all places, while the French republic declared the Batavian nation free, and re-eſtabliſhed it in its primitive rights.

The Britiſh miniſters, enraged at ſeeing this republic ſtill exiſt without being in their hands, attempted at leaſt to deſtroy it another way, by totally undermining its extenſive commerce. Upwards of one hundred ſhips, the greater part richly laden, which either through foul winds, or as a meaſure of precaution, had ſought ſhelter in Britiſh ports, as well as ſeveral Dutch ſhips of war, were laid under embargo, as if to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Their high mightineſſes, it is true, ſent commiſſioners to London to claim them, demonſtrating by the moſt ſolid proofs, that the Batavian republic was no longer under the dominion of France, ſince the ſolemn declaration of its independence, and that England ought to conduct itſelf towards the Batavian nation, as towards a free people; they added, that the Dutch merchants would not riſque the entry of their veſſels into the ports of the republic, if it was for no other purpoſe than to ſurrender them to the French. The Britiſh miniſters had, however, already made up their minds to appropriate this booty to themſelves; and to augment it, they diſſeminated on all ſides falſe rumours touching the ſituation of affairs in this country, to the end that they might, in the ſame way, allure into their ports the merchant veſſels belonging to the republic, which were ſtill at ſea. They have ſince entirely violated the rights of nations; and all the Dutch veſſels, to which his majeſty the king of Great Britain had granted his high protection, were, in violation of the treaty of Breda, perfidiouſly declared lawful captures.

But what puts the ſeal to the acts of hoſtility and bad faith which the preſent Britiſh miniſters have exerciſed againſt this republic, is the treacherous mode in which they have endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of her colonies. For this purpoſe they ſent letters, ſigned by the prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of Feb. 1795, to ſeveral of the colonies of the republic of the Netherlands in the Eaſt Indies, and to the Cape of Good Hope. In theſe letters, this perfidious and ci-devant miniſter and commander in chief of theſe ſtates, after having abandoned all his poſts, ordered, on his individual authority, the reſpective governors to put the colonies of the States under the protection of the Britiſh arms; that is to ſay, in the artful and cuſtomary language of the Engliſh miniſtry, to ſurrender them to England. Notwithſtanding this felonious ſtratagem has failed in the greater part of the colonies, through the fidelity of their governors, it was impoſſible to prevent the Cape of Good Hope, from falling into the hands of the Engliſh; and ſeveral important poſſeſſions of theſe States, in the Eaſt Indies, have ſhared the ſame fate.

While

While all this was taking place, the Britiſh miniſtry conceived the plan of attacking alſo by land this free republic, and of employing for that purpoſe thoſe ſoldiers, who being more attached to the prince of Orange than to their country, emigrated on the flattering promiſes of England.—The fugitives were not only well received in the States of his Britannic majeſty in Germany, but were even kept in the pay of England; and if the deſertion of the greater part of the army of the republic could have been brought about, there is no doubt but they would have been led againſt their country under Engliſh commanders, for the purpoſe of renewing here, if the fact were poſſible, the ſcenes of 1787: of kindling up, as in La Vendée, a diſaſtrous civil war, and of thus deſtroying the Batavian republic by inteſtine commotions.

Is it therefore ſurpriſing that the Batavian nation, now free, ſeeks to reinforce itſelf againſt ſuch unprecedented and numerous outrages, by an intimate alliance with a republic which ſnatched it from the gripe of its enemies? A treaty of peace and alliance was accordingly concluded at the Hague, on the 16th of May, 1795, between the two free republics of France and Holland. The treaty of mutual defence by which the independent Batavian nation, ſupported by a powerful neighbour, and unſhaken by the influence of a foreign miniſter, will be put into a condition to employ for the future its forces againſt its aggreſſors, and of paying them in their own coin, has alſo been cemented.

His majeſty, the king of Great Britain, after ſo many hoſtilities have been exerciſed, was at length pleaſed to proclaim, on the 19th of September, 1795, by his council of ſtate, a manifeſto of war againſt the republic, but in which no ground of complaint was alledged. His majeſty, it is true, ſays in this manifeſto, "that for ſome time divers "acts of outrage, contrary to the "honour of his majeſty's crown, "and of the legitimate rights of his "ſubjects, had been committed in "the United Provinces, and that "the ſhips of war which ſailed from "the ports of the United Provinces, "had received orders to take and "ſink all Britiſh veſſels." The acts contrary to the honour of his majeſty's crown which have been committed in the Netherlands, are the acts of his majeſty's own troops, and the Engliſh nation will, undoubtedly, ſooner or later, puniſh their authors; and with reſpect to the orders given to the ſhips of war of the republic, to repel violence by violence, has not the independent republic, ſo cruelly treated, a right of reſiſtance? his majeſty had forgotten that the Netherlands were no longer under the ſtadtholderian yoke; and that his majeſty's miniſters had loſt for ever, as we truſt, for the ſafety of the country, all influence over the independent Batavian republic.

It is therefore with a perfect confidence in that love of the country, in that energy, and in that courage with which liberty alone can inſpire a nation, for a long time inſulted and oppreſſed, that the independent Batavian nation ſolemnly declares in the face of Europe, through the organ of its legitimate repreſentatives, that, obliged to defend itſelf againſt the acts of perfidy and violence of the neighbouring kingdom of Great Britain, it will repel every act of aggreſſion on its liberty, its independence, its rights, and its legitimate

gitimate poſſeſſions; and that it will put in execution, all poſſible means to receive ſatisfaction and indemnity for the incalculable loſſes it has ſuſtained through a perfidious ally:—in the firm hope that Divine Providence, who has ſo miraculouſly preſerved this country from a total ruin, will bleſs its arms, and will not allow violence and oppreſſion ever to fix their fatal abode on its free territory.

Done at the Hague, May 2, 1796, ſecond year of Batavian freedom.

Manifeſto of Spain *againſt* Great Britain.

Madrid, October 11.

HIS Majeſty has tranſmitted to all his councils a decree of the following tenor:

One of the principal motives that determined me to make peace with the French republic, as ſoon as its government had begun to aſſume a regular and ſtable form, was the manner in which England behaved to me during the whole of the war, and the juſt miſtruſt which I ought to feel for the future from the experience of her bad faith, which began to be manifeſted at the moſt critical moment of the firſt campaign; in the manner with which Admiral Hood treated my ſquadron at Toulon, where he was employed ſolely in ruining all that he could not carry away himſelf; and afterwards in the expedition which he undertook againſt the iſland of Corſica—an expedition which he undertook without the knowledge, and which he concealed with the greateſt care from Don Juan de Langara, while they were together at Toulon.

This ſame bad faith the Engliſh miniſter has ſuffered clearly to appear by his ſilence upon the ſubject of all his negotiations with other powers, particularly in the treaty concluded on the 19th November, 1794, with the United States of America, without any regard to my rights, which were well known to him. I remarked it again in his repugnance to the adoption of my plans and ideas which might accelerate the termination of the war, and in the vague reply which lord Grenville gave to my ambaſſador, the marquis del Campo, when he demanded ſuccours of him to continue it. He completely confirmed me in the certainty of his bad faith, by the injuſtice with which he appropriated the rich cargo of the Spaniſh ſhip le St. Jago, or l'Achille, at firſt taken by the French, and afterwards retaken by the Engliſh ſquadron, and which ought to have been reſtored to me according to the convention made between my ſecretary of ſtate and lord St. Helens, ambaſſador from his Britannic majeſty; afterwards by the detention of all the ammunition which arrived in the Dutch ſhips for the ſupply of my ſquadrons, by affecting always different difficulties to put off the reſtitution of them. Finally, I could no longer entertain a doubt of the bad faith of England when I learnt the frequent landing from her ſhips upon the coaſts of Chili, in order to carry on a contraband trade, and to reconnoitre the ſhore under the pretence of fiſhing for whales, a privilege which ſhe pretended to have granted her by the convention of Nootka. Such were the proceedings of the Britiſh miniſter to cement the ties of friendſhip and reciprocal confidence, which he had

engaged

engaged to maintain according to our convention of the 25th May, 1793.

Since I have made peace with the French republic, not only have I had ſtronger motives for ſuppoſing an intention on the part of England to attack my poſſeſſions in America, but I have alſo received direct inſults, which perſuade me that the Engliſh miniſter wiſhes to oblige me to adopt a part contrary to the intereſts of humanity, torn by the bloody war which ravages Europe, for the termination of which I have not ceaſed to offer my good offices, and to teſtify my conſtant ſolicitude.

In fact, England has developed her intentions, has clearly evinced her project of getting poſſeſſion of my territories, by ſending to the Antilles a conſiderable force, and particularly deſtined againſt St. Domingo, as the proclamations of her general in that iſland clearly demonſtrate. She has alſo made known her intentions by the eſtabliſhments which her commercial companies have formed upon the banks of the Miſſouri, in South America. with a deſign of penetrating through thoſe countries to the South Sea. Finally, by the conqueſt which ſhe has made of the colony of Demerary, belonging to the Dutch, and whoſe advantageous poſition puts her in a condition to get poſſeſſion of poſts ſtill more important.

But there can no longer remain any doubt of the hoſtile nature of theſe projects, when I conſider the frequent inſults to my flag, the acts of violence committed in the Mediterranean by her frigates, which have carried away ſoldiers coming from Genoa to Barcelona, on board Spaniſh ſhips, to complete my armies; the piracies and vexations which the Corſican and Anglo-Corſican corſairs, protected by the Engliſh government of that iſland, exerciſe againſt the Spaniſh trade in the Mediterranean, and even upon the coaſts of Catalonia, and the detention of different Spaniſh ſhips, laden with Spaniſh property, and carried to England, under the moſt frivolous pretences; and eſpecially the rich cargo of the Spaniſh ſhip the Minerva, on which an embargo was laid in the moſt inſulting manner to my flag, and the removal of which could not be obtained, though it was demonſtrated before the competent tribunals that this rich cargo was Spaniſh property.

The attack committed upon my ambaſſador, Don Simon de las Caſas, by a tribunal of London, which decreed his arreſt, founded upon the demand of a very ſmall ſum, which was claimed by the undertaker of an embarkation. Finally, the Spaniſh territory has been violated in an intolerable manner, upon the coaſts of Gallicia and Alicant by the Engliſh ſhips the Cameleon and the Kanguroo. Moreover, captain George Vanghan, commodore of the Alarm, behaved in a manner equally inſolent and ſcandalous in the iſland of Trinadad, where he landed with drums beating and flags flying, to attack the French, and to avenge the injuries which he pretended to have received, diſturbing, by the violation of the rights of my ſovereignty, the tranquillity of the inhabitants of the iſland.

By all theſe inſults, equally deep and unparalleled, that nation has proved to the univerſe, that ſhe recognizes no other laws than the aggrandiſement of her commerce; and by her deſpotiſm, which has exhauſted

hauſted my patience and moderation, ſhe has forced me, as well to ſupport the honour of my crown, as to protect my people againſt her attacks, to declare war againſt the king of England, his kingdom and vaſſals, and to give orders to take the neceſſary meaſures for the defence of my domains and my ſubjects, and to repulſe the enemy.

Signed by the King, and the Secretary of the Council of War.

Done at the palace of St. Laurence, October 5, 1796.

On Saturday, the 8th of October, war was proclaimed at Madrid in the uſual form.

Proclamation of the Queen of Portugal *for making* Liſbon *a free Port.*

Donna Maria, by the Grace of God, Queen of Portugal and the Algarves, &c. &c.

BE it known to all to whom this law ſhall come, that taking into my royal conſideration the many and very important advantages which would neceſſarily reſult to the commerce of the ſubjects of theſe kingdoms and their dominions, by the eſtabliſhment of a free port; and well aware that the port of Liſbon, from its ſituation, ſecurity, and facility and navigation with the ocean, is preferable to thoſe of other nations which have adopted ſimilar eſtabliſhments; conforming myſelf to the opinion of my royal board of commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and navigation, of thoſe kingdoms and their dominions, and of others of my council, very learned and zealous for the good of my royal ſervice, and of the public utility—It is my will, and I am pleaſed to create and eſtabliſh, at Junquiera, joining to the city of Liſbon, a free port, to take entire and due effect from the firſt day of January, in the year next enſuing of 1797, having deſtined for its exerciſe and the depoſit, the houſes and warehouſes of Fort St. John, with the ground adjoining, whereon to build the further neceſſary accommodations, there to receive and depoſit all goods and merchandize, of whatever quality or kind they may be, as well for foreign countries, (except for the preſent ſugar and tobacco) as from national ports ſituate beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpoſe, at the option of the proprietors of the ſaid goods, of diſpoſing of them for the internal conſumption of the kingdom, provided they are entitled to lawful entry, and on paying the cuſtomary duties, at the reſpective cuſtom-houſes; or to be exported to foreign ports, or national ones beyond the ſaid Cape of Good Hope, on paying only towards the benefit of my royal revenue, for protection and depoſit, the duty of 1 per cent. on the amount of their value, calculated on the invoice to be produced by the captains of the veſſels, or their conſignees, by them ſigned and certified on oath; the liberty of franquin ſtill, however, to remain as heretofore, for all veſſels that ſhall require it, according to the rules as eſtabliſhed by the cuſtom-houſe of this city; ſuppreſſing all other duties, and revoking all and whatever diſpoſitions that may oppoſe or infringe on the liberty and freedom, which are to conſtitute the advantages of the eſtabliſhment.

Further to animate and promote in this capital, a concurrence and abundance

abundance of articles of the firſt neceſſity, I am pleaſed to declare, that all qualities of grain, meat, and food, which are free from paying duties inward, ſhall not only enjoy the free liberty of exportation, but ſhall be alſo free from payment of the aforeſaid contribution impoſed on other goods, and continue to be received and diſpatched through the ſame departments as heretofore.

In caſe it ſhould happen that the crown of Portugal ſhould enter into war (which God forbid) with any power whoſe ſubjects might be intereſted in goods in the free port, in which condition it is to be underſtood the aforeſaid grain, meat and food, are included, no arreſt, embargo, ſequeſtration, or repriſal, ſhall on that account be made thereon; but on the contrary, they ſhall remain in the utmoſt freedom and ſecurity, as if each individual had them placed in his own houſe, to diſpoſe of them as he may judge moſt ſuited to his intereſt.

The adminiſtration of the aforeſaid free port ſhall be conſtituted under the ſuperintendance of a general comptroller, with the neceſſary officers under him that I may be pleaſed to appoint; and it is my will to order, that he ſhall be independent of all and every juriſdiction, and only ſubordinate to the tribunal of the royal board of commerce, through which will be forwarded the neceſſary orders to meet occurring circumſtances, and bring up to my royal preſence all repreſentations tending to maintain, and preſerve inviolate, the good faith of this eſtabliſhment, in due conformity to the particular regulations which I have ordered to be formed for the government of the aforeſaid adminiſtration, and officers employed in conducting it; and alſo to ſerve as a guidance to all captains of ſhips and their conſignees, for their conduct on the entry and ſhipping of all goods claiming the benefit of this inſtitution.

Dated at the palace of Quelus, May 13, 1796.

Copy of the Letter ſent by the King of Naples *to the Marquis del* Vaſto, *who, after the receipt of it, ſet out for* Rome *as Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and concluded there the offenſive and defenſive Treaty between* Naples *and the* Pope.

HIS holineſs acquaints me, by letter, of his determination to reject the unjuſt and execrable conditions of the French, on which account he demands of me, though rather late, ſpeedy ſuccour. Notwithſtanding this is againſt my original plan, I heſitate not a moment to grant it to him, as it concerns our holy religion, to which I have conſtantly been devoted. As his holineſs demands of me, at the ſame time, to ſend ſome perſon with whom he may conſult on our common affairs, I have appointed you, the marquis del Vaſto, for this purpoſe. Depart immediately, and have at heart the honour of God and the holy church, the good of the ſtate, and the tranquillity of my ſubjects, who duly give freſh proofs of their attachment and fidelity to me.

Done in the camp of
St. Germano.

FERDINANDO REX.

Proclamation of the King of Naples.

THE long war which ſtill deſolates Europe, which afflicts ſo many nations, and coſts ſo much blood, and ſo many tears, is not a mere political conteſt, but a religious war. Our enemies are the foes of chriſtianity; not content with deſtroying it in the breaſts of their own nation, they would alſo baniſh it from every quarter of the globe, and replace it by atheiſm, or enthuſiaſtic idolatry. Religion openly reprobates their projects. They aim at the overthrow of all princely government: and to attain this, they diſturb the peace of nations, ſtimulate them to revolt againſt their lawful ſovereigns, plunge them into the moſt dreadful anarchy, and ſink them in an abyſs of confuſion and miſery. Belgium, Holland, and ſo many German and Italian provinces have become the wretched victims of their ſeduction, and thirſt for plunder. Thoſe unfortunate countries groan and lament, but in vain, under the vain deſpotiſm of their oppreſſors, while the calls of juſtice and humanity are unattended to. It was neceſſary that religion, the moſt powerful obſtacle of their horrid projects, ſhould be removed and deſtroyed, in order that this fence being once broken down, all laws, both divine and human, might be violated without ſhame or reſerve.

Religion, whilſt it informs us of our duties, ought alſo to inſpire us with courage. The religious citizen well knows that he was born for himſelf and for others; that at the moment of his birth he contracts the obligation to love his native land, to protect it in times of diſtreſs, and even to hazard his life in the defence of the country where he repoſes in ſafety, and finds a livelihood for himſelf and his family; eſpecially when that country is invaded by an enemy, who ſpares neither law nor property, neither life nor religion; who, wherever he makes his appearance, inſults, profanes, and deſtroys the churches, breaks down the altars, perſecutes the prieſts, and tramples under foot the moſt ſacred emblems of the church of Chriſt. It is impoſſible that a citizen, devoted to the cauſe of religion, ſhould remain unconcerned at the dangers which threaten his country; prompted by the impulſe of his conſcience, and a proper ſenſe of his own welfare, he will haſten to its defence, join the military force, and co-operate in a vigorous reſiſtance; he will place his confidence in the God of Hoſts, who often ſtrikes an unexpected blow, and diſperſes his enemies like chaff before the wind.

I myſelf will ſet you the example of zeal and courage; I will put myſelf at the head of my dearly beloved ſubjects, aſſembled for the defence of their country; fully relying on the protection of the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords, who guides the counſels of princes, and enlightens their minds, if with ſincerity they implore his holy name. Yet at the ſame time I ſhall neglect no proper means for procuring peace and tranquillity to the people whom Divine Providence has entruſted to my care. But in order to obtain this end, we ought not to neglect the neceſſary precautions, that we may be prepared for every event. Negotiations for peace ſhall occaſionally be ſet on foot, but they muſt be carried on with arms in our hands,

that

hat we may not be obliged to submit to deſtructive and diſgraceful onditions, which this enemy, ſo pt to avail himſelf of the weakneſs f his adverſaries, might chooſe to ictate. For this purpoſe lend me our aſſiſtance, ye prelates of the ealm, ye who are the depoſitaries nd firſt defenders of our holy reigion; and ſupport my exertions ith a zeal worthy of your apoſtolic niſſion. Summon the inhabitants f your dioceſes to join me and my roops, to repel the enemy, if he hould dare to approach our froners. Explain to them the juſtice nd importance of our cauſe, and onvince them that it is their boundden duty to concur in its defence. et the voice of the church be eard through her miniſters; and nvite her children to ſupport the auſe of God, and to offer up prayrs to him, that, in his mercy, he ay grant us either a juſt peace, or glorious triumph.

(Signed) FERDINAND.

Naples, May 18, 1796.

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dict of his Majeſty the King of Naples *and the two* Sicilies, *addreſſed to his Subjects.*

We, FERDINAND IV. by the grace of God, &c. &c.

SINCE the time when peace was nterrupted in Europe, we redoubled our care to preſerve the public ranquillity, and to put the ſtate in ſafe condition of defence. We ere, therefore, diſpoſed to augent our land and ſea forces, and raiſe a conſiderable hoſt of brave arriors on the frontiers of this ngdom. We afterwards put ourlves at the head of our courageous troops, firmly reſolved to uſe all the means in our power, and even to ſacrifice our royal perſon. Theſe effective preparations, added to lawful and becoming ſteps to obtain peace, give us hopes that our dominions will forthwith enjoy tranquillity. At the ſame time we ought not to conceal, that in order to gain the propoſed end of our deſigns, it is abſolutely neceſſary to double the ſaid preparations for the defence of the ſtate, and the acceleration of a laſting and honourable peace, and to ſtation a ſtill greater force than the preſent on the frontiers of our kingdom. We addreſs ourſelves to all the claſſes of our beloved ſubjects, and hereby do require them to contribute with all their power to the ſpeedy augmentation of the army ſtationed in cantonments. We expect, amongſt others, that the brave young men who have enrolled themſelves for the defence of religion, the throne, and the country, will now repair without delay to the frontiers, in order to put themſelves under our immediate and perſonal command, with their brave comrades; and we hope that in conſequence of this, other volunteers will, in greater number, repair to the cantonments, that we may bring together a formidable army, and be enabled to ſecure the ſafety and tranquillity of the ſtate, either by a permanent peace, or by brilliant victories.

Done at Naples, Sept. 12, 1796.

Letter from his Excellency M. Barthelemy, *Ambaſſador of the* French *Republic, to the Burgomaſters, Chief Magiſtrates, Landamman, and*

and Council of the Twelve Swiss *Cantons.*

Magnificent lords,

THE executive directory having thought proper to renew the credentials of several of the envoys of the French republic to foreign powers, has just transmitted to me those by which it has been pleased to accredit me to the very respectable Helvetic body, in quality of ambassador of the French republic. I enclose them in this.

I flatter myself, magnificent lords, that the knowledge you already have of my sentiments for all the members of the illustrious Helvetic confederation, will leave you no doubt of my zeal to cultivate the confidence of which you have already given me such satisfactory proofs; and I also hope, magnificent lords, that you will be persuaded beforehand, that, as the faithful interpreter of the constantly amicable dispositions of the French government to your country, I shall not cease to exert myself zealously in concurring to the success of its views, in whatever may be the best calculated to strengthen the indissoluble ties which constitute the happiness of the two nations, and to secure the tranquillity and prosperity of the Helvetic body.

I pray God, &c.

(Signed) BARTHELEMY.

Basle, March 2, 1796.

Letter of the Executive Directory to the Highly Respectable Helvetic *Body.*

Very dear, great friends, allies, and confederates,

THE wish we entertain to keep up and cultivate a friendship and good understanding with you, induces us to appoint citizen Barthelemy to reside in Switzerland, in quality of ambassador of the French republic.

The knowledge we have of the principles and sentiments of citizen Barthelemy authorizes us to think that the choice we have made of him to fill this important post, cannot but be agreeable to you. It is with this persuasion that we pray you, very dear, great friends, allies, and confederates, to grant him a full confidence in whatever he may be charged to say to you from us, and more particularly when he shall express to you our wishes for the prosperity of the Helvetic body, our anxiousness to concur in whatever may contribute to its satisfaction, and to strengthen the bonds which unite the two republics.

Given at Paris under the seal of the French republic, 15 Pluviose, fourth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

REUBEL, President.

By the executive directory,

The secretary general,

LAGARDE.

By the minister of external relations,

CH. DELACROIX.

Declaration of the Executive Directory, dated Paris *the* 16*th Germinal* (5 *April*) *to the Senate of* Basle.

THE executive directory is credibly informed, that last year a plan was formed to attack the French frontiers, by marching the corps of emigrants, commanded by the prince of Condé, first into the Frickthal, and from thence through th

the territory from Baſle, againſt the department of the Upper Rhine, the Mont-Terrible, Doubs, and Jura; that this plan, ſo far from being laid aſide, is again reſumed; and that preparations are actually making to carry it into effect. This plan is ſupported by ſeveral inhabitants of Switzerland, who employ all their intereſt and influence to facilitate its execution. The known ſentiments of ſeveral magiſtrates of Baſle, and other inhabitants of note, are by no means qualified to appeaſe the ſolicitude of the directory on this head, it being notorious that they treat with as much averſion the friends of the French republic, as they ſhew predilection for whatever concerns the imperial armies, and the intereſt of the emperor.

Thus it muſt be ſuppoſed, that if, in the execution of that plan, the enemy violated the territory of the canton of Baſle, the magiſtrates who compoſe the government of this city, would endeavour, by pleading the impoſſibility of reſiſtance, to ward off the conſequences of the violated neutrality of the canton; of courſe, there does not exiſt, at preſent, ſufficient ſecurity that its neutrality will be reſpected. Under theſe circumſtances, the directory finds itſelf obliged to declare to the magiſtrates of the city and canton of Baſle, that unleſs they adopt vigorous, ſufficient, and unſuſpicious meaſures for the defence of their own territory, and the maintenance of the reſpect due to their neutrality, it is reſolved to take every ſtep that ſhall be requiſite for the protection of the frontier departments againſt every kind of inſult; and the directory renders them anſwerable for all the unhappy conſequences that may reſult from the military operations which circumſtances may require.

Letter from the Sovereign Council of Baſle *to his Excellency* M. Barthelemy, *Ambaſſador from the* French *Republic in* Switzerland.

WE have received, with your excellency's letter of the 16th Germinal, (5 April) a paper, coming from the executive directory, and, as it appears, extracted from their regiſters—we paſs over this unuſual form, becauſe it is to be ſuppoſed that it was through miſtake that the paper was ſo tranſmitted to us, and that without doubt the intention of the directory was ſolely to tranſmit to us, through the medium of the miniſter for foreign affairs, the reſult of their deliberations. But if the form ſurpriſed us, the contents of the paper excited our ſurpriſe in a much greater degree; of this our reply will convince your excellency.

The executive directory announces to us, that the corps of emigrants meditates an invaſion of our territory. It does not belong to us to call in queſtion the proofs which the directory ſay they have received; we ſhall confine ourſelves to obſerve, that at the opening of each campaign mention has always been made of a project of this kind, and that nevertheleſs it has never been carried into execution; ſo that we are ſtill to know, whether the reports that are ſpread are merely a trick of war, or whether ſuch a deſign has been renounced either from the uncertainty of deciſive ſucceſs, or the want of accordance with other events that were to concur with it; or finally, whether,

and much more probably, it be, becauſe the emperor, faithful to his engagement to reſpect our neutrality, has forbidden the peace of an independent people to be diſturbed, who, for ſeveral ages, contented with their limits, have taken no part in the diſſenſions of the great powers of Europe. In ſhort, we can aſſure you that at preſent the danger, if danger does exiſt, does not appear to be imminent. The corps of emigrants is at too great a diſtance from our frontiers; it does not form a ſufficient force to dare to attempt an invaſion, and we do not yet perceive preparations which are the forerunners of hoſtilities, and indiſpenſable to the execution of hoſtilities.

The ſecond point of the note of the executive directory, concerns the defence of our territory and the demand of a ſufficient guarantee. No people can give ſuch a guarantee. If belligerent powers, with their fortreſſes, their arms, their efforts in every ſenſe, cannot procure the guarantee, that their territory ſhall not be violated, much leſs can a neutral ſtate procure and aſſemble forces, whoſe maſs would perhaps afford more umbrage than it would inſpire ſecurity. Beſides, the expence of ſuch a force, and the proviſions that it would require, are above our means, which the circumſtances of the times weaken more and more. But there is another kind of guarantee, which we deem more ſure than a great aſſemblage of troops; it is the firm reſolution of all the governments of Switzerland, not to depart from the principles of neutrality which they have inherited from their anceſtors, and of which all our neighbours have a poſitive conviction; it is the ſacred word, which the members of the Helvetic body, either ſeparately or united, in ſolemn diet, have given It is the local difficulties that would attend a paſſage through our territory, without being expoſed to a certain loſs from the meaſures of prudence, which the attacked canton might take, and without renouncing every hope of retreat, by the arrival of contingents from our confederates, as zealous to aveng the outrages offered to neutrality as religious in the obſervance of the duties of neutrality. It is the diſpoſitions taken to be warned in time of every ſpecies of danger, to circulat the alarm, and to be in a conditio even to repel and puniſh aggreſſio when the danger ſhould have mad its appearance. Finally, it is th experience and the ſucceſs of thoſ diſpoſitions, during four years of war the moſt bloody of which mo dern hiſtory has preſerved the re membrance.

We proceed to the accuſation which the executive directory hav made againſt certain magiſtrate and private perſons of our canto and of the other ſtates of the He vetic body. So vague an accuſa tion, and of ſuch a kind, is probabl without example. The moral pe ſon of the ſovereign in republi is manifeſted only by reſolutio emanating from the council of th ſtate, and not from the particul opinions of individuals; and wha ever be the difference of opini amongſt the latter, there is a fi opinion, which is as general as it eſſential and fundamental; it is th love of our country, and the de and univerſal conviction, that ne trality is the baſis of our politic exiſtence. It unites all minds, a

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ſounſels, all governments. We invite the executive directory to conſider here only the aſſembly. We are to be gained by proceedings of uſtice, benevolence, and friendſhip; our hearts are to be alienated by ndefinite reproaches and random ſuſpicions. What if theſe ſuſpicions hould perhaps be founded only on documents, dictated by men, whoſe reprehenſible views either of vengeance or malevolence, of ambition or cupidity, ſhould have led them to exaggerate what is inſignificant, to blacken what is innocent, and to diſguiſe what our political actions n their true point of view would diſcloſe?

Finally, the executive directory render us reſponſible for the fatal effects which may reſult from military operations. Governments, we know, are reſponſible for the faults which they commit with the intention of violating their duties. But tranquillifed by our principles, and proud of the ſenſe of the purity and equity of our meaſures, we accept this reſponſibility. We are one for all in the boſom of our councils; and it is in the ſame ſenſe that we rely not only upon all our own reſources, but upon all the members of the Helvetic confederation. Reſponſibility can only alarm thoſe who, breaking the ties which have united for ſeveral ages the two nations, ſhould prepare evils, of which human prudence cannot calculate the iſſue to their authors.

Very different ſentiments have animated your excellency during the courſe of your painful miſſion. The executive directory have teſtified in the renewal of your credentials, their juſt and honourable ſatisfaction. We have no doubt that they will receive with favourable diſpoſitions the anſwer which we have the honour to addreſs to your excellency, after having deliberated in concert with the Helvetic repreſentatives.

We pray God to take you into his holy and powerful keeping.

(Signed) The burgomaſters and council of the city and canton of Baſle.

Baſle, April 9, 1796.

Letter of M. Barthelemy, *Ambaſſador from the* French *Republic, to the Canton of* Baſle, *20th Floreal* (*May* 9) 1796, *Fourth Year of the* French *Republic.*

Magnificent Lords,

THE orders of the executive directory of the French republic oblige me to recall the attention of your honourable canton to the circumſtances and motives which dictated the declaration of the directory, which I was charged to tranſmit to you, on the 16th of Germinal laſt. The anſwer you have made has not been ſuch as was expected. Charged with the care of the defence of the territory of the republic, and of its glory, the executive directory was bound to look forward to events, and to render abortive, by denouncing to you, the projects of the enemies of France, and of its republican conſtitution. It was bound to invite you to take meaſures capable of removing its apprehenſions, and making your neutrality reſpected; and it has demanded of you what were theſe meaſures.

If the terms of its declaration were ſevere, it was becauſe the object of it was ſerious: it was becauſe experience of the attempts and projects of our enemies, already

more than once denounced, gave it reason to conceive inquietude and suspicion. It was because positive reports announced, that these projects were about to be renewed. It was because it was then necessary to be certain, as to the more than equivocal sentiments of many of the Helvetic states; some of whom had not dreaded to throw a doubt on the existence of the French republic, by refusing to pronounce on the acceptance of the credentials of its ambassador, and deferring the epoch of their determination by insulting and ridiculous delays.

When a government so powerful as that of the French republic is thus acknowledged; when this neglect is founded on the regard which is thought due to criminal fugitives, whose whole proceedings tend only to harass their country, against which they are in a permanent conspiracy, while their measures tend only to involve in their fall the states blind enough to be misled by them; when the Swiss Cantons, the ancient allies of France, dare to hold a conduct so reprehensible, is it very surprising that the executive directory should, for a moment, withhold the aspect of kindness, to assume towards you that of inquietude? There are still other considerations, on which I believe I need not enlarge here. They are, doubtless, painful, and belong to the guarantee, that the French republic expects to find in the sentiments and affections of the governments and people of neutral states.

Such are the views which have animated and still animate the executive directory. They expect from you, with the least delay, a frank and amicable explanation, capable of dissipating the doubts and reviving in our government the sentiments of good will. It has given me orders for my ultimate conduct, in case that your answer should not fulfil this end.

Answer of the Canton of Basle *to* M. Barthelemy, *Ambassador of the* French *Republic, May* 11, 1796.

WE see with real pain, by your excellency's letter of the 20th Floreal, that our sentiments seem to be misunderstood, and that we have reason to apprehend the executive directory of the French republic may suspend their dispositions of kindness towards us. When the war commenced, we declared for a neutrality, to preserve which has since that time been the constant object of our cares, of our zeal, and of our solicitude; and no sacrifice has been avoided for maintaining it in proportion to the dangers to which it was in certain epochs exposed. Nothing afflicts us more profoundly than when the fidelity of our conduct and the purity of our intentions seem to be doubted, since these form the most solid basis of our happiness, independence, and tranquillity.

We pray your excellency to assure your government, that we shall never depart from the principles that have been transmitted to us from our predecessors, and that our greatest ambition is to convey the deposit unimpaired to those who shall succeed us. This is the first duty of our situations, and the true means of conciliating the confidence and the gratitude of our fellow-citizens. It is, however, necessary to observe, that since our letter of the 9th of April, we have not confined ourselves

ourſelves to mere wiſhes for the maintenance of our neutrality. Our uneaſineſs relative to this object having been communicated to the miniſter of his imperial majeſty, he has written to us, by order of the emperor, that certainly he had not the leaſt thought of acting, nor of permitting the emigrants to act againſt the cantons, in any manner which might diſturb the tranquillity of their territory. We have prepared our ſignals and our alarm guns, which, on account of the armiſtice and the winter ſeaſon, had been neglected; and it is generally known that by theſe means a very great force can be aſſembled in a few days. We have exerciſed our troops, and they are ready to march on the firſt ſignal. They will be added to the contingents of the other cantons which aſſemble in ours, and are directed to redouble their vigilance in the poſts confided to them. The repreſentatives of the Helvetic body, deputed to us for conſidering the ſtate of affairs, for acting in the name of the whole confederation, and informing their conſtituents of every danger which may approach our ſtates, allow no means to eſcape them of conſolidating the repoſe of the common country. We have written to our co-allies, to remind them of the treaties which unite us, and we have received the unanimous aſſurance, that all are ready to fly to our aſſiſtance and defend our frontiers.

We conclude, by praying your excellency to tranſmit thoſe details to the directory; and, above all, to fortify them againſt the exaggerated reports that an exceſs of zeal may have occaſioned.

Official Note, tranſmitted by Mr. Wickham, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from his* Britannic *Majeſty to the Senate of* Berne, *the 26th of June*, 1796.

Magnificent and Powerful Lords,

IN conſequence of the reſolution agreed to and publiſhed by your ſtate, reſpecting all the French indiſcriminately who have taken refuge in your country, ſeveral of the heads of families of theſe unfortunate victims to their attachment to the ancient laws of their country, have addreſſed themſelves to me, to obtain the means to repair to England, where they hope at laſt to find repoſe, and a ſecure aſylum againſt the cruelty of their perſecutors.

It is with extreme concern, magnificent lords, that I find myſelf obliged to refuſe their requeſt, and to declare to all of them that I cannot grant a paſſport to any of them until I have received orders from my court. I think it neceſſary, magnificent lords, to communicate to you my reſolution upon this ſubject, in order that the perſons, to whom it relates, may not be ſuſpected of any neglect or tardineſs in obeying the ordonnance made reſpecting them. God forbid that, in taking ſuch a reſolution, I ſhould pretend to ſet bounds to the munificence of my ſovereign, or the generoſity of his ſubjects, which I hope will exiſt as long as the monarchy itſelf. We have always, magnificent lords, a confidence that our means will be increaſed by divine favour, in proportion as they are employed in aſſiſting the unfortunate.

But it is my duty, in this unforeſeen caſe, to take no ſteps without having previouſly communicated to my court all the circumſtances which have preceded, accompanied, and followed this meaſure, and entreated his Majeſty to give me the moſt diſtinct orders for the regulation of my conduct in all that relates to this buſineſs.

I do not heſitate to avow that I have not been without hope that the delay, which might be cauſed by my reſolution in the execution of the order againſt thoſe who have no other aſylum but England, would have offered to your lordſhips an opportunity of conſidering of every mitigating circumſtance, of which this caſe is capable. Perhaps alſo this delay may lead thoſe perſons who have urged this meaſure, to think deliberately both upon its nature and the conſequences which may enſue from it.

Whatever may be the event, magnificent lords, in adopting and communicating this reſolution to your lordſhips, if I can be the means of ſaving any one of thoſe reſpectable families from exhauſting their laſt reſources, in taking a long and dangerous voyage, I ſhall think that I have performed my duty to my God and my king; and I dare anſwer, that whatever may be the affection and friendſhip which the king, my maſter, (after the example of his auguſt predeceſſors) feels for your lordſhips, theſe ſentiments muſt be much ſtrengthened, when I ſhall have laid before him a freſh act of yours—of that generous and enlarged humanity which forms the diſtinguiſhed character of his reign, and which our two nations have formerly exerciſed to the unhappy refugees from that ſame country.

With the ſincereſt wiſhes for the proſperity and happineſs of your ſtate, I am,

Magnificent and powerful lords, your lordſhips' moſt devoted ſervant,

(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Declaration of the Elector of Hanover *to the Diet of* Ratiſbon, *on the Subject of the Imperial Reſcript, of the 17th of October*, 1796.

THE miniſter of Hanover has declared to M. de Hingel, the Imperial commiſſioner,

That his Imperial majeſty had directly required his majeſty the king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover to furniſh a new proof of his marked attachment to the Germanic conſtitution, by giving a great example, and acting efficaciouſly in concert with the diet of Ratiſbon, not only that he may be rated for a ſufficient quantity of Roman months, but by paying up all that remains due of his quota. It was declared at the ſame time, that it was neceſſary the number of Roman months ſhould exceed a hundred.

His Britannic majeſty has replied to his Imperial majeſty that he would not, nor was he able to anticipate the reſolutions of his coeſtates: and that he was not at preſent in circumſtances which permitted him to anſwer the demand which was made—that ſince the periods when the laſt Roman months were granted, the ſyſtem of the war had completely changed—that different ſtates, holding of the empire, had made a ſeparate peace, to avoid the total ruin with which their countries were threatened—that others had embraced neutrality for

the

the protection of their ſubjects; and that the proſperity theſe ſtates enjoyed proved that they had attained a ſalutary object—that the affairs of the empire have aſſumed quite another aſpect, and that the relations of his Britannic majeſty, in his quality of elector and prince of the empire, were well known to be inconſiſtent with the Imperial demands; that he cannot of courſe conſent to the granting of new Roman months (for the continuation of this unhappy war) ſtill far leſs can he contribute directly, ſince the negotiations commenced at Paris, from which is expected a happy iſſue for the tranquillity of Europe.

Proclamation of the Archduchefs of Auſtria, Maria Elizabeth, *to the Inhabitants of* Tyrol.

Dearly and much beloved Subjects,

THE deſire you have manifeſted to take up arms for the good of your ſovereign, and the defence of your country, has often compelled me to ſhed tears of gratitude. I am unable to recompence, as I wiſh, the brave men who devote themſelves in a cauſe ſo loyal; but as an inhabitant of Tyrol I will, for the benefit of the defenders of the country, diſpoſe of every thing ſuperfluous; gold and ſilver watches, knives, medals, plate, &c. which I will diſtribute myſelf after the war, as acknowledgements to thoſe brave Tyrolians who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves by their courage and brilliant actions. I entreat all the brave defenders of the country to believe, that they ſhall ever be the objects of my moſt anxious ſolicitude, and that I will not neglect to make known to the emperor, my dear relation, the ſervices they ſhall have rendered, for the purpoſe of obtaining from him the rewards they may deſerve.

(Signed) MARIA ELIZABETH.

Done at our Court at Inſpruck, the 30th of May, 1796.

A Proclamation by his Imperial Majeſty.

We FRANCIS II. &c. &c.

IN the preſent moment, when a coincidence of the moſt unexpected events favours the rapid progreſs of the enemy, and calls for our redoubled care to afford aſſiſtance to our ſtates menaced in this manner, we find this our reſolution ſtrengthened by conſidering that Providence has put us at the head of a nation, which has given us, on every occaſion, the moſt effectual proofs of the greatneſs of their zeal to ſupport the meaſures taken for the defence of their country, of their laws, which render them happy, and of a prince who returns to their fidelity a love for every individual.

Though fear, and perhaps, intentional reports, magnify the danger more than it in reality is, and preſent it as nearer at hand, we muſt not conceal from our faithful ſubjects that the ſituation of affairs is preſſing, and does not allow us to remain ſatisfied with ordinary meaſures, but impoſes on us, and all thoſe who wiſh to ſee the welfare of the ſtate ſecure, more than extraordinary exertions.

Much as the long duration of a war, carried on under many changes of fortune, has affected the powers of the nation, yet the reſources of ſo powerful a ſtate are far from being exhauſted. Though government continues to refrain with ab-

horrence from the violent meaſures which our enemies employ for the oppreſſion of our fellow-citizens and the deſtruction of Europe; countries ſo well peopled, ſo fertile, and enriched by nature and induſtry, ſtill offer innumerable means of defence, by employing which we ſhould find ourſelves enabled to meet every danger. But we truſt in the juſtice of our cauſe, and in the protection of the Almighty, who regards that juſtice, that the moment will not arrive in which the nation will be forced to have recourſe to the moſt extraordinary means.

In this perſuaſion, we ſhall always confine ourſelves only to the meaſure of calling to arms thoſe who are otherwiſe, agreeably to the military ſyſtem, exempted from military ſervice; including alſo all foreigners, who have not acquired the rights of citizenſhip in the Auſtrian dominions by reſiding in them for ten years.

At the ſame time we promiſe to all thoſe who ſhall willingly follow this our call, and who ſhall offer to their municipalities to ſerve in the army,

1. That as ſoon as ever we ſhall have ſecured to the nation, agreeably to our wiſh and deſire, an honourable and permanent peace, they ſhall be diſmiſſed at the termination of the war.

2. That during the war they ſhall be treated as volunteers.

3. That they ſhall be at liberty, agreeably to their abilities and capacity, to chooſe and name the regiment in which they wiſh to ſerve; and that,

4. As a juſt recompence, on their return home, every poſſible aſſiſtance ſhall be given to them in their employments and ſettling; and that, on all occaſions, they ſhall be preferred.

Though we can promiſe ourſelves the principal operation of this proclamation, from the unequivocal ſentiments of our faithful ſubjects, yet we think it our duty to impreſs upon their minds, that in following willingly this honourable call of their country, they likewiſe protect their families and private property; and that, if on the contrary they ſhould neglect to join us for the general ſecurity, they would be forced, in caſe of unfortunate events, to carry parricidal arms againſt their native land, and, as abuſed organs of the enemy, to promote the ruin of public order, the deſtruction of their fellow citizens, and of their families, and to aſſiſt in the common deſtruction.

Behold the ſtill ſmoaking ruins of Italy, and the exceſſes and moſt inhuman cruelties committed there! Behold the devaſtations which the once flouriſhing territories of Germany have ſuffered, inundated by the armies of the enemy! And you cannot remain dubious about the terrible fate which threatens every country, and every nation, on being invaded by ſuch enemies.

Done at Vienna, 11th Auguſt, 1796.

Proclamation by his Imperial Majeſty.

WE, Francis II. by the grace of God, &c. &c. When we aſſumed the government of this monarchy, we felt it extremely grievous to find ourſelves involved in ſo hard a war as the preſent: great as our grief was, equally great was our wiſh of procuring a ſpeedy and laſting peace to the country. Every body

body muſt be convinced, that all the powers and means poſſible to men have hitherto been uſed for that purpoſe; and it is highly painful for us, that our paternal ſolicitude, added to ſo many patriotic contributions of our faithful ſubjects, and the valour of our troops, ſo repeatedly proved, could not, as yet, bring it ſo far as to effect a peace, honourable and not injurious to the monarchy — nay, that it rather ſeems to be our peculiar deſtiny, to be obliged, to our continual mortification, to behold the enemy conſtantly approach nearer to our German hereditary dominions, and eſpecially to the frontiers of our beloved kingdom of Bohemia. In order, therefore, to protect this kingdom, in the ſafeſt and moſt perfect manner, from all hoſtile attacks, and it being, in other reſpects, no longer poſſible to conquer ſolely with the army now exiſting, and to keep from off the frontiers of our kingdom of Bohemia an enemy like the preſent, who, from day to day, arms the major part of their nation, and leads them againſt us;—we cauſed ſeveral plans to be laid before us, having for their tendency the particular ſecurity of the ſaid kingdom of Bohemia; and though we diſcover in every part of them patriotic benevolence — yet we thought proper to give the preference and our approbation to the eſtabliſhment of a national militia, particularly from the conſideration of its combining, with the defence of the country, effectual and ready for every emergency, all poſſible indulgence to the inhabitants. We do hereby ordain;—

1. That the meaſure of a national militia, for the particular defence of the kingdom of Bohemia, be immediately put in force, and that for this purpoſe every 20th head be enrolled out of the population of the whole country.

2. That the men thus enrolled be immediately trained in the uſe of arms, and in every branch of the ſervice for which they are deſtined, and to which end the ſtaff of the Bohemian general officers ſhall appoint the commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers.

3. In order that the men, during ſuch exerciſe, may be kept as near as poſſible to their places of reſidence, the places of rendezvous ſhall be marked out in ſuch a manner, in the different circles, that each perſon enliſted ſhall only have to repair to ſome place little diſtant from his own abode.

4. The men enliſted ſhall, during their abſence from home on account of their being exerciſed, receive the ſame emoluments as the ſoldiers actually ſerving in the field.

5. Should there be any occaſion for calling any of the men thus kept in readineſs into active ſervice, they are to repair to the rendezvous pointed out to them, there to wait the farther orders of their commanders.

6. Their ſole deſtination is to cover the frontiers of the country, or to be employed within its limits; but they are by no means to ſerve againſt the enemy abroad.

7. We will not only grant to thoſe men, as long as they ſhall continue under arms, full pay and proviſions in the ſame manner as the troops ſerving in the field, but we alſo order,

8. That to thoſe who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves by their valour on proper occaſions, ſilver and gold medals ſhall be granted, in the ſame

manner

manner as to the real ſoldiers, and they ſhall every where wear them, as honourable marks of ſervices rendered to their country; and enjoy at the ſame time the annual penſion during life.

9. All thoſe who ſhall ſerve in this militia, ſhall be for ever after conſidered as peculiarly meritorious, and where equity will permit, all due preference ſhall be given, and every poſſible indulgence ſhewn to them.

We rely, therefore, on the tried fidelity of all our Bohemian ſubjects, and on that love of their country ſo particularly their own, that they will voluntarily and readily ſubmit to theſe our orders, and that every individual, whether high or low, will uſe his utmoſt exertions, in conjunction with thoſe of his king, to defend the kingdom from every hoſtile invaſion; the more ſo, as the preſent moment is moſt dangerous to the religion and property of every citizen in this kingdom; and as the welfare of every one of them requires that he ſhould help, with all his ſtrength, to defend his family and the country, we alſo place the greateſt dependence on the patriotic zeal and readineſs of our Bohemian ſubjects in this meaſure of defence, ſince, as it has been ſtated already, the term of ſervice is but of ſhort duration, and only neceſſary in the preſent emergency, both to defend the country, and to protect their own property, wives, and children; and ſince by ſo doing, they will not only have the promiſed reward, but likewiſe render themſelves worthy of the reputation of faithful ſubjects and real friends to their country, beſides gaining, in addition, the eſteem, the love, and grace of their king for ever.

Done at Vienna, Auguſt 21, 1796.

Proclamation of the Emperor.

BY the encreaſing and urgent neceſſity of proſecuting this expenſive war with vigour, his majeſty the emperor ſees himſelf conſtrained to demand extraordinary ſupport from his ſubjects, in order not only to keep off an all-deſolating enemy from his frontiers, but alſo to obtain by force a peace ſo long deſired in vain. But his Imperial majeſty, conſtantly directing his thoughts towards treating his beloved ſubjects with all poſſible lenity, and chooſing always ſuch means as are the leaſt burdenſome, expects that every good ſubject, equally convinced of his duty, and of the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, will ſtrive to alleviate thoſe wants by contributions, voluntary and proportionate to their means, in money, grain, horſes, oxen, common clothes, linen, leather, iron, ſteel, lead, and arms.

Vienna, 18*th September.*

Reſcript addreſſed to the Duke of Wirtemberg, *on the* 10*th of July by the Imperial Court, on the Subject of Peace.*

WE received the letter you wrote us upon the 23d of laſt month. You there preſent your good advice with a reſpectful frankneſs. You obſerve that it only depends upon us to ſecure the happineſs and the ſafety of Germany; that a ſpeedy peace can alone diſſipate the violent

ſtorm

orm which impends over the ountry; that this alone can re- ove the dangers which in ſo any ways threaten the Germanic onſtitution; in fine, that this alone an put a period to thoſe unparal- elled miſeries under which huma- ity ſo long has groaned. At the ame time you acquaint us, that if, n theſe difficult circumſtances, the anger approaches ſtill nearer your tates, you will have no reſource ut to ſubmit to the law of neceſ- ity, and to make a ſeparate peace with France.

The empire, in truth, deſires with ardour, and has long entertained his wiſh, the return of peace, but connected with the juſt feeling of ts honour, its dignity, its indepen- dence. In this wiſh it only com- prehends a peace, equitable, juſt, uitable, and worthy to be accepted, which reſts upon the ſolid baſis of the perfect ſupport of its integrity and its conſtitution, agreeable to ancient treaties. At the ſame time, by a proper reſpect for theſe funda- mental laws, it has never ceaſed to render its wiſhes and its reſolutions upon this ſubject ſubordinate to the rigorous condition, that peace ſo ardently deſired ſhould not be con- cluded, but agreeably to the conſti- tution, in a moſt perfect and invari- able concert between the emperor and the ſtates.

The reſolutions of the diet of the 22d of December, 1794, and of July laſt year, become laws of the empire in virtue of our Imperial functions, very pointedly atteſt this reſerve; and the ſame ſpirit ſerves as a foundation to the full powers and authorities for peace, which have been ſubmitted for our ac- ceptance, in virtue of the reſolution of the diet of the 7th of October, 1795, as well as for the annexed inſtructions to the deputies of the empire at the congreſs for peace; inſtructions which eſſentially pro- ceed upon the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, juſt, honourable, ſtable, per- manent, and common to the whole empire, and which have pointedly and expreſsly as their object, the maintenance of the empire upon the footing on which it ſtood before the miſunderſtandings which aroſe with France, under the ſpecial re- commendation to obſerve ancient treaties.

After having thus expreſſed, in a manner equally conſtitutional and agreeable to the intereſts of the Germanic empire, its ſentiments with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, the general diet, full of reſpectful confidence in our pater- nal ſolicitude for the common ad- vantage of Germany, entreated us to negotiate, as well in our own name as in that of the Germanic body, the preliminaries of peace. We were very well diſpoſed to act agreeably to theſe deſires; but the ſequel proved that the *ſoi-diſant* committee of public ſafety, by which the foreign affairs of France then were governed, had very dif- ferent views from coming to an amicable underſtanding with the empire, for the purpoſe of putting an end to a war into which the empire had been forced, and thus to reconcile themſelves with ſuffering humanity, by ſacrificing to peace their paſſion of conqueſt.

All Germany has ſeen the an- ſwer of the committee of public ſafety, the contents of which were ordered to be publiſhed by our de- cree of the 19th of November laſt. This piece contains the moſt mani- feſt proofs of the decided repug- nance

nance of France to liſten to the pacific overtures deſired by the empire; and of the clear determination of this power not to engage in immediate negotiations, till finding herſelf in a ſituation imperiouſly to dictate the conditions of peace to the empire, ſhe could, to the eternal ſhame of the German name, leave her no other part in this meaſure but a paſſive ſubſcription of the treaty. The empire being thus convinced of the refuſal of the French government to make a ſuitable return to the overtures which had been made, it had no other reſource left but that foreſeen by the reſolution of the 22d of Dec. 1794, to aſſume an attitude which ſhould oblige the enemy to grant that peace deſired by the head and by the members of the Germanic body, under the conditions announced in the reſolutions of the diet.

The directory, however, which has ſucceeded the committee of public ſafety in the management of foreign affairs, has not adopted more moderate ſentiments. We find, on the contrary, in all their actions, and all the public papers which they have iſſued, the marks of the inflexible obſtinacy of a conqueror inflamed with pride by the fortune of his arms. Upon this point we refer to the note addreſſed by the French ambaſſador to the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, upon the 26th of May this year. We remark, with regret, in this note, how much the ſpirit in which it is drawn up, the nature and extent of the demands which it contains, and the manner in which they are announced, are remote from a reciprocal deſire of peace. We are not miſtaken even in conſidering this very note as a new proof of the averſion of the French government to enter into negotiations with the empire united under its conſtitutional head, ſince, in effect, if we compare that note with the above-mentioned anſwer of the committee of public ſafety, we find that both abſolutely announce the ſame political maxims; to which we muſt likewiſe add, that the note of the directory demands, as an invariable preliminary of peace, a *ſtatus quo* relatively to the countries conquered by the enemy, and united in virtue of its decree, which cannot in any way be reconciled with the baſis of peace laid down by the diet.

To divide, to conquer, and to rule, is the ſpirit of the ſelfiſh policy of France. But every diviſion infers a diminution of ſtrength in the meaſures of reſiſtance of the whole, and which muſt neceſſarily lead to the diſmemberment, to the devaſtation, to the dependance, to the ſubjection, and, in fine, more or leſs rapidly, to the decompoſition of our reſpectable conſtitution. Concord, on the contrary, firmneſs, the love of our country, and the faithful obſervance of the laws, are the firſt duties of ſociety; the deareſt and more ſacred duties of every vaſſal of the empire, when our common country is menaced, is the moſt eminent and eſſential object of all political ſocieties, its ſafety and preſervation. Such is the object of the fundamental conſtitution of the German empire, which renders all the individual means of reſiſtance poſſeſſed by the ſtates of the empire, ſubordinate to the direction of one ſupreme authority, and prohibits, in the moſt forcible manner, the concluſion of a ſeparate peace during

during a general war of the empire. But, independently of this conſideration, it is not leſs certain that it is to act againſt all experience to reckon upon the very rare inſtance of the generoſity of the enemy, and to expect only, from the magnanimity and love of juſtice, a peace that can be accepted, inſtead of conſtraining them to grant it by force of arms. In fine, we find a manifeſt contradiction in not ceaſing to deſire an object, and yet failing to proportion the means by which it is to be attained to the magnitude of the dangers interpoſed. The example of the invincible conſtancy and vigour with which the enemy exert themſelves to execute their plans, ought to afford to the citizens of Germany a ſufficient motive of emulation to excite them to the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and to the defence of their political and religious conſtitution.

After this faithful diſcloſure of circumſtances we put it to your judgment to decide, whether, however much we are diſpoſed to reſtore peace to the empire, as ſoon as it can be eſtabliſhed on an honourable and ſolid baſis, it depends entirely upon us to grant this bleſſing to Germany; whether it conſiſts with our authority as chief of the empire to ſanction a peace upon whatever terms ſeparately concluded with the enemy of the empire? In fine, whether at a moment when we have to chooſe between the diſmemberment and the union of the empire, between the diſſolution and the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, between honour and ſhame, whether, in this critical ſituation, we are not rather warranted to require in the name of the country and the conſtitution, in the name of all the ſtates which have been pillaged and laid waſte, in virtue of oaths ſtill ſubſiſting, and promiſes frequently and ſolemnly renewed by the electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire; in fine, by our own example and the ſacrifices which we have made for the public intereſt, whether, we ſay, we are not warranted juſtly to require the undivided co-operation of all and every of the ſtates of the empire in the defence of a cauſe ſo juſt, and for accelerating that peace which is ſo earneſtly deſired by the Germanic ſtates?

If a difference of ſentiment, manifeſted in your letter of the end of laſt month, was the cauſe to us of conſiderable anxiety, it was not long before our tranquillity was reſtored, by the news that when the dangers of war approached your ſtates, you did not allow yourſelf to be betrayed by fear, nor by the dictates of a deceitful policy, into any unconſtitutional meaſures; but that, on the contrary, animated by ſentiments of honour, and by a courage worthy of a German prince, you oppoſed the danger with which you were threatened with the moſt effectual means of reſiſtance, both by ſending againſt the common enemy a great part of the garriſon of Stutgard and Louiſburg, and by giving inſtant orders to put the militia of Wirtemberg immediately in motion, who made a body of 12,000 men, in general well diſciplined. Accept upon this ſubject the aſſurances of our Imperial ſatisfaction and ſincere regard. Theſe diſpoſitions, ſo worthy of you, inſpire us with the confidence that no conſideration will ſhake your ſentiments; and that weighing conſcientiouſly

tiouſly the duties which, as a ſtate of the empire, you have to diſcharge to us and to the law, you will perſiſt in your patriotic reſolution to continue, till the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace for the empire, to ſupport the common cauſe with all your force. By theſe means you will not only render eſſential ſervice to Germany, but to the immortal honour of your houſe: you will deſerve to have your name enrolled in the annals of Germany among thoſe princes who have moſt contributed to its luſtre.

Reſolution preſented to the Emperor by the States of Hungary, *in Anſwer to his Majeſty's Propoſitions.*

THE propoſitions addreſſed on the part of his apoſtolic majeſty to the ſtates, furniſhes them a freſh proof of the confidence which his majeſty always repoſed in the unſhaken fidelity of his faithful Hungarian nation, in deigning to recollect and confirm the bravery which their anceſtors have always diſplayed in ſupport of the auguſt houſe of Auſtria: his majeſty has given a farther teſtimony of his paternal confidence, in repreſenting to the grandees and the ſtates in diet aſſembled, the magnitude of the danger of the preſent war, in which a deſtructive enemy threatens the hereditary kingdoms and provinces; the ſtates, therefore, animated with the example of their anceſtors, have reſolved fully to realize the expectation not only of the hereditary dominions, but of all Europe. The ſtates, wiſhing to follow the footſteps of their anceſtors, will neglect no means in their power to avert all future danger, and to compel the enemy to make a peace ſuitable to the dignity of his majeſty, and to the honour of the nation.

It is very flattering to the ſtates that his majeſty deigned not to queſtion their devotion and fidelity, when they have not long ago given aſſurances at the foot of the throne, which they made oath to ſacrifice their blood and their lives for his majeſty and the country. The ſame valour which inſpired their anceſtors in 1741 ſtill lives in them, and with them alone it can ever periſh. For the purpoſe of accompliſhing the deſires of his majeſty, and to guarantee religion, the royal prerogative, as well as the rights of the nobility, and of all other fellow-citizens; rights which the enemy endeavours to deſtroy; the ſtates have reſolved to offer to his majeſty, as a voluntary contribution for the proſecution of the war, 50,000 recruits, all the neceſſary grain for the ſubſiſtence of a force of 340,000 men during a twelvemonth, which forms a total of 2,400,000 meaſures of Preſburg, and for 80,000 horſes 3,760,000 meaſures of oats; farther, 20,000 oxen, and 10,000 horſes; the whole, however, without infringement of article 36, of the year 1741.

The ſtates hope that that audacious enemy, who has lately been repulſed far beyond our frontiers by the victorious armies under the command of his royal highneſs the Archduke Charles, will ultimately return to more moderate principles. Should the contrary happen, and the enemy perſiſt in their exaggerated and obſtinate pretenſions, and wiſh to continue the war, the ſtates are well reſolved to take the field themſelves to combat that enemy: and in this caſe they offer from this

moment to prepare for rising in a mass for the future the whole kingdom, and all its provinces comprised.

The states conclude by supplicating his majesty to be pleased to accept this offer, which has for its object the defence of his sacred person, of his august house, and of the citizens of the empire in general, with that paternal bounty which characterizes him; and that he be assured that the heart of the Hungarians is the safest bulwark against every enemy of the house of Austria.

Substance of the Correspondence between the Cabinet of Berlin *and the Court of* Vienna, *respecting the Line of Demarcation established between his* Prussian *Majesty and the* French *Republic.*

AN official note, transmitted by M. the marquis Luccheſini to the minister of his Imperial majesty, acquainted the court of Vienna with "the intention of the court of Berlin to obtain from his Imperial majesty his approbation of measures adopted for the security of that part of Germany, by means of an armed neutrality, announcing to him at the same time, that the security of these countries was the motive in which the measures referred to had originated."

Substance of the Reply made to the above Note by the Court of Vienna.

HIS Imperial majesty, as supreme head of the empire, cannot doubt that the states are obliged to concur in a war, rendered necessary from the pressure of circumstances, and formally declared *with all their force*, for the common defence. This obligation is derived from the principle of individual and general security, which is the most sacred and the most essential basis of every constitution. It is in a particular manner blended with the substance of the Germanic constitution, and is recognized by several of its laws in the most positive terms.

Such is the result dictated by the spirit of our constitution, which subjects all the respective states, and all the means of defence, to the general controul of the sovereign power of the Germanic empire. Such is the result of the oath of fealty, which the electors, princes, and states of the empire, in order to strengthen the social bond, take in their capacity of vassals, by which they swear actively to concur in every step which can tend to the honour, to the advantage, and to the prosperity of his Imperial majesty and of the empire; and which, by consequence, imposes upon them an obligation to second, with all their might, the measures adopted by the chief and the states of the empire, to avert the danger which threatens them with total destruction.

His Imperial majesty sees with pain, that the appearances of the war by no means answer the expectation which he had been led to entertain; but in considering the fundamental laws of every well-organized constitution, and the principles recognized in the most positive terms in the laws of the empire, full of anxiety for the good of the country, his majesty cannot refrain from manifesting a desire that the corps, assembled at a crisis the most

alarming

alarming and the moſt dangerous, may be employed rather in aiding a moſt juſt defence, by oppoſing the common enemy, than in ſtopping an invaſion ſtill at a diſtance, and of which we apprehend only the poſſibility.

Theſe meaſures of ſecurity, conſidered in themſelves, do not appear to be contrary to the baſis and the ſpirit of the conſtitution, provided that the arrangements, for the ſafety and the particular defence of the north of Germany, are not founded upon illegal impoſitions; and provided they are not employed to ſanction the unconſtitutional pretext of freeing them from the obligations binding upon them by the regiſter of the reſolutions of the empire, decreed for the purpoſe of the general ſecurity of Germany.

If his Imperial majeſty, on the preſent occaſion were to grant to this meaſure of ſecurity, as it is termed in the circular letter of the Pruſſian miniſter, in the letters of convocation, and in the declarations of the plenipotentiaries of the king, an unlimited approbation, all who ſhould compare it with the tenor of the decree of ratification of the 29th of July, 1795, would accuſe him of adopting contradictory meaſures, and of making an arbitrary uſe of his power as head of the empire, ſince the laws renewed in the preſent war forbid the ſtates to ſeparate, on any occaſion, from the general aſſociation, and any armament under the title of an armed neutrality, during the continuance of a war of the empire, and interdict them, in the moſt poſitive manner, from arbitralily renouncing obligations formerly impoſed upon them for the common defence.

His Imperial majeſty, in virtue of the ſacred duties impoſed upon him by his high office as ſupreme head of the empire, on the other hand, being called upon to defend the rights of the Germanic conſtitution againſt every ſtep and every principle incompatible with their ſafety, to preſerve to the empire, and to every particular ſtate, its immunities entire, and to guard them againſt the prejudices which may ariſe from theſe meaſures, will be diſpoſed in the mean time to grant them his approbation, if they are confined to the legal defence of the countries, and if they do not depart from the principles, the forms, and the obligations, preſcribed by the laws and the conſtitution.

Tenor of the Letters of Convocation addreſſed by the King of Pruſſia, *as Duke of* Magdebourg, *and of the Duke of* Brunſwick, *as Co. Director of the Circle of Lower* Saxony, *to the different States deſtined to enjoy the Advantages of the Neutrality.*

We, by the Grace of God, Frederic William, King of Pruſſia, &c. Charles William, Duke of Brunſwick, &c.

THE apprehenſion of a ſpeedy opening of a new campaign with France, and the new dangers to which Germany will be expoſed by the chance of a war that has already been ſo fatal to her, have determined us, the king, in conſequence of our ſolicitude and patriotic attachment, and in conſequence of the pacific relations which we maintain with France, to diſtri-

bute

ute as much as poſſible to our co-
ſtates of the north, the ineſtimable
leſſing of repoſe and ſecurity from
he troubles and misfortunes of war;
hat is to ſay, as far as theſe ſtates
vill on their part accord with our
ntentions, which are of general
tility. To this end negotiations
ave already been entered into with
he French government, relative to
new line of neutrality, and in
rder to be able with the more
fficacy to aſſure that neutrality,
nd to afford protection and ſafety
o the ſtates compriſed within it,
ve, the king, are ready to march a
onſiderable army; and we, the
uke, have alſo taken a reſolution
o reinforce that army with our
roops, the electoral court of
Brunſwick Lunenburg having alſo
nanifeſted the ſame intentions.
Theſe combined troops being there-
ore to protect the neutrality of the
orth of Germany, it is as juſt as it
s abſolutely indiſpenſable, that they
hould be provided and proviſioned
y the ſtates which ſhall enjoy this
dvantage, and that each, indivi-
ually, ſhould haſten in proportion
o its means, to procure them the
eceſſary proviſions. But this ob-
ect requires, on account of the
rgency of circumſtances, the moſt
peedy diſpoſitions. The moſt pro-
er means for attaining this end is
y the convocation of a common
nd extraordinary aſſembly of all
he Upper States of the Circles of
Lower Saxony, with the States of
he Lower Rhine and of Weſtpha-
ia, as well as of the other States
hat ſhall be compriſed in the line
f neutrality, in order that we may
e able to deliberate upon this ſub-
ect, and to regulate the diſtribution
f the maintenance of the troops
upon an equitable footing, propor-
tioned to the faculties of each ſtate
for on the ſpeedy furniſhing of the
objects neceſſary for this mainte-
nance will alone depend the mainte-
nance of the common ſafety of the
north of Germany.

Thoſe, therefore, whoſe territory
is compriſed in the ſaid line of
neutrality, and which, conſequently,
will enjoy the benefit of this pro-
tection, being principally implicated
in this caſe, we have, in our quality
of prince and director of the Circle
of Lower Saxony, addreſſed to them
conjointly the preſent Letter of
Convocation, in order to invite them
to aſſemble, by their deputies, fur-
niſhed with the neceſſary inſtructions
on the 20th of the month of June,
in the town of Hildeſheim. We
have no doubt that they acknow-
ledge, in its full extent, the urgency
of the caſe, and of the actual con-
junctions, as well as of the im-
portance it is to procure to the
north of Germany ſecurity and
repoſe; and that in conſequence
they will adhere and contribute
every thing that can attain the
common end, ſufficiently in time to
avoid being ſurpriſed by danger.

We, the king, ſhall depute to the
common aſſembly of the States, our
privy counſellor Von Dohm, di-
rectorial miniſter to the Circle of
the Lower Rhine and Weſtphalia,
and plenipotentiary to the electoral
court of Cologne, furniſhed with
neceſſary powers; and we entreat,
very amicably, this aſſembly to give
from this time faith and confidence
to all that he may propoſe on our
part, upon the ſubject of the affairs
in queſtion.

April 22.

Royal Pruſſian *Edict.*

Frederick William, by the Grace of God, &c.

WE have ſignified to the ambaſſador of the French republic, Caillard, by a note from our cabinet miniſtry, that we will permit ſuch national Frenchmen, who reſide in our dominions as our temporary ſubjects, *(Subditi temporarii)* and who have real right to the protection of the French nation, and wiſh to preſerve thoſe rights, to get their names inſcribed in a regiſter which will be opened for that purpoſe by the ſaid ambaſſador, but in ſuch a manner, that all thoſe ſubjects ſhall, the ſame as before, remain our temporary ſubjects, *(Subditi temporarii)* that they likewiſe ſhall ſubmit to our laws, ordinances, and juriſdiction, and not make the leaſt pretenſions to any immunities granted by the law of nations only to ambaſſadors, and the perſons actually belonging to embaſſies.

We have further given orders to inform the ſaid Caillard, that the national Frenchmen, qualified as above, are at liberty to wear the French national cockade in our dominions, but the wearing of the ſaid cockade is hereby rigidly forbidden to all other perſons. It therefore reſults from theſe premiſes:

1. That the wearing of the cockade ſhall be confined to Frenchmen of the afore-mentioned deſcription, together with the ambaſſador, and the perſons belonging to the embaſſy.

2. That national Frenchmen ſhall all be entitled to have their names regiſtered, the regiſtering to relate only to their connection with France, and to leave them ſubject, as before, to our laws, ordinances, and juriſdiction, as our temporary ſubjects.

3. That all perſons belonging to the French colonies eſtabliſhed in our dominions; farther, all Frenchmen in our ſervice, by oath of allegiance and duty, even if they do not belong to the above-mentioned colonies; as likewiſe all thoſe in general who are deſcribed by this article as our perpetual ſubjects, *(Subditi perpetui)* ſhall not have a right to have their names inſcribed in that regiſter, or to wear the French national cockade.

Berlin, 16 *July*.

Declaration of the King of Pruſſia, *put againſt the Gates of the City of* Nuremburg, *July* 5.

HIS Majeſty the king of Pruſſia, our moſt gracious lord, makes known by this public notice to all magiſterial perſons, burghers, and ſubjects, and moſt graciouſly declares, that in taking poſſeſſion, by virtue of the judgments of the Aulic council of the empire, given in the years 1583 and 1587, reſpecting his territorial ſovereignty, as far as the gates of the imperial city of Nuremburg—all private property ſhall remain inviolate: no perſon be oppoſed in the exerciſe of his well-acquired rights and privileges, but that he rather ſhall be protected therein by his majeſty; and every poſſeſſion ſhall quietly remain in the enjoyment of all territorial and feudal impoſts and duties.

His Majeſty will only exerciſe the rights of ſovereignty to him belonging,

longing, and grant farther to the inhabitants of the ſuburbs of Nuremburg, his ſovereign aſſurance, that they and thoſe who belong to them, ſhall be exempt from all military duty and levy.

In other reſpects, every one is hereby cautioned to demean himſelf quietly and calmly, and to ſhew the more reſpect to the military, as they will obſerve the beſt diſcipline on their part, and avoid every exceſs.

By his majeſty's moſt gracious and ſpecial command,

HARDENBERG.

Anſpach, July 3d, 1796.

Nuremburg, Auguſt 16.

Submiſſion of the Imperial City of Nuremburg, *to the King of* Pruſſia.

OUR magiſtrates have, under the preſent circumſtances, applied to the Pruſſian miniſter of ſtate, Baron Von Hardenberg, teſtifying to his excellency the general wiſh of the citizens to live in future under the beneficent laws of his Praſſian majeſty. His excellency did not heſitate to intercede for us with the French commander in chief, general Jourdan, to obtain a fixed contribution in lieu of all requiſitions, which has been granted accordingly until the pleaſure of the French directory ſhall be known. In other reſpects, Baron Von Hardenberg made anſwer to our deputies, that it was beneath the dignity of his ſovereign to take advantage of our preſent ſituation, that his majeſty would defer making known to us his real ſentiments till we ſhall be fully at liberty to announce our wiſhes according to the forms of our preſent conſtitution.

Official Note of Count Bernſtorff, Daniſh *Miniſter of State.*

THE ſyſtem of his Daniſh majeſty, uninfluenced by paſſions and prejudices, is merely governed by reaſon and truth, and conſtantly ſuch modifications are adopted as are rendered both juſt and unavoidable by the obvious change in the poſture of public affairs. So long as no other than a revolutionary government exiſted in France, his majeſty could not acknowledge the miniſter of that government; but now that the French conſtitution is completely organized, and a regular government eſtabliſhed in France, his majeſty's obligation ceaſes in that reſpect, and M. Grouvelle will therefore be acknowledged in the uſual form. For the reſt, this ſtep remains an inſulated meaſure, being neither more nor leſs than the natural conſequence of circumſtances, and an additional proof of the complete and truly impartial neutrality of the king.

February, 1796.

Citizen Grouvelle, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the* French *Republic in* Denmark, *to his Excellency Count de* Bernſtorff, *Miniſter of the Council of State to his* Daniſh *Majeſty, and of the Department for Foreign Affairs.*

Copenhagen, 27 *Ventoſe*, 4*th Year of the Republic.*

THE German papers, ſir, have inſerted the extract of an inſtruction, which appears to have been addreſſed in a circular manner by you to the miniſters of Denmark, at the different courts, and which concerns the reſolutions adopted by his majeſty, to give to the character

of minister plenipotentiary from the French republic, in which character I have resided for two years and a half at this court, a suitable publicity by admitting me to a private audience. I have every reason to consider this extract as authentic, and in this character I feel myself bound to address you. Of whatever reflections the principle and spirit of that extract may be susceptible, my design is not to comment upon it all. The government, whose representative I am, possesses, as well as myself, a scrupulous respect for the independence of governments, and even a regard for their private convenience. The tyrannical and intriguing system of asking on every subject official explanations, would be as contrary to their principles as to my own character. To make an incident of a phrase, to attach a diplomatic importance to each word, to render the slightest discussion personal, to season with arrogance the *ennui* of a laborious epistolary controversy, is a part which we have lately seen played by certain agents, who quarrel for want of business, who know not how to serve their courts, but by insulting others, and who represent nothing more than the vices of their nations; ridicule and contempt are attached to them; their example is fit to be recollected, only because it is proper to be avoided. As the French republic makes it her glory to follow a contrary system to that of the powers who acknowledge such ministers, I honour myself for being a contrast to them in all my proceedings.

But, sir, I cannot dispense with fixing my attention upon the conclusion of the extract of your instruction above mentioned; and seeing that the result is announced in terms which, by their too general acceptation, may lead to abusive interpretation, I have thought that it is necessary to have an amicable understanding with you.

In speaking of my admission, and of the public acknowledgment of my character, you say, that this step is insulated, and means nothing but what it is in itself. Do you not apprehend that the disaffected will see, in this mode of expression, a sort of restriction, of implicit reserve; that they may go so far as to suppose that it alludes to I know not what other declaration or anterior measure which may have been adopted to the same courts to which your ministers may have held this official language?—That even attributing the publication to you, they may give a sort of credit to the inductions? Undoubtedly you will see with pain that the public receives them; for however forced they may be, they injure the idea which the court of Denmark wishes always to give of the frankness of its proceedings. That after having so long delayed a measure, become necessary to her own consideration, as well as to the dignity of the republic, she might be again suspected of wishing to destroy the good effect secretly, and to weaken whatever advantage the measure might produce to France. Would not this be a real inconvenience? I only wish to point out what in this concerns your own reputation.

On the other hand, sir, the French government, now established on a new constitution, resumes its rank among the other European powers. It will of course be extremely cautious not to incur the charge of inconsistency, nor to suffer any

any ſtain to attach on its dignity, nor, in any reſpect, to ſanction by injuſtice the detraction of its calumniators. The government well know the influence of public opinion, and will not fail to ſet themſelves right in the eſtimation of the world, when their adverſaries are buſily employed in corrupting it.

Although they feel themſelves far ſuperior to flattery and oſtentation, and direct all their operations with that confidence which ariſes from the wiſdom of their councils, and the energy of their meaſures; yet, the value they ſet upon their connection with Denmark, renders it impoſſible for them to behold with an eye of indifference, a circumſtance which conveys a harſh reflection on their conduct. The abuſe that might be made of your note, gave them much concern, and it was with extreme ſatisfaction that they received a teſtimony of the rectitude of your intentions. A loyal government ſtoops not to a diſavowal, becauſe it aſſerts nothing but the truth. A wiſe government ought to contemn falſe reports, but a benevolent government, or only an impartial one, will not reject overtures to an explanation, eſpecially if it is demanded with amicable views.

It is with this view, ſir, that I now diſcharge this important duty, a duty which, though painful, is ſtill neceſſary to prevent an interruption of the exiſting harmony between our reſpective ſtates, which ought to be united more cloſely than ever. If perſonal conſideration were of any weight, I ſhould give my opinion that this is not an unimportant object; and perhaps the occurrences, which preceded my admiſſion, were not of the moſt conciliatory nature, and may produce ſome embarraſſments in the event, at leaſt with reſpect to this court. The firſt obſervation I ſubmit to your wiſdom, and the latter remark to your delicacy.

(Signed) GROUVELLE.

Anſwer of Count Bernſtorff.

SIR,

I AM very ſenſible and grateful for the ſentiments expreſſed in the letter which I have had the honour to receive from you. They increaſe my eſteem, and though I cannot add any thing to that which I have verbally pronounced to you, I enter with pleaſure into your wiſhes; and I do not heſitate to give you friendly explanations, even on the objects which do not admit of miniſterial diſcuſſions. The inſtructions which I gave to ſome of the king's miniſters at different foreign courts are of this kind: it is become public without our knowledge; it is nothing like a declaration to theſe courts. We have made no declaration; it is a ſimple official inſtruction, only deſigned for the information of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed, and which relates to the anterior correſpondence, and which breathing only the juſtice rendered to the preſent French conſtitution, could not ſurely involve us in a diſpute with her, but rather with thoſe who do not love that conſtitution. This is ſo clearly evident, that I ſhould only weaken it by further explanation.

You know, beſides, that your admiſſion has been without the ſmalleſt reſerve, abſolutely in the uſual and moſt ſolemn forms that we know. We never do things by

halves, and as you are witneſs of our conduct and proceedings, I ſhould love to chooſe you yourſelf as judge, and I depend upon your impartiality. In the ſame manner I entreat you to believe in the high conſideration with which I am, &c.

BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, March 19, 1796.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Count Oſterman, *Chancellor to the Empreſs of* Ruſſia, *to* M. Bulzow, Ruſſian *Chargé d'Affaires at* Madrid, *dated* Peterſburgh, *December* 25, 1796.

SIR,

THE empreſs was already informed, through the public prints, of the treaty of peace concluded between Spain and the French, and the unpleaſant ſenſations which this unexpected and diſagreeable tranſaction had produced in her imperial majeſty's mind, were greatly increaſed when this intelligence was confirmed by the miniſter of his catholic majeſty. The empreſs, however, has during the new connection which ſo happily ſubſiſts between her and his catholic majeſty, met with too many opportunities of learning the true ſentiments of that prince, not to be thoroughly convinced that the concurrence of the moſt imperious circumſtances can alone have determined him to act in direct oppoſition to his principles. No doubt it has been for him a taſk infinitely hard, to enter into negotiations with thoſe, who with their own hands murdered the chief of his illuſtrious family, and to conclude a peace with thoſe diſturbers of the tranquillity and ſafety of all Europe. No one knows better than her imperial majeſty to value and appreciate all the difficulties and obſtacles, which his catholic majeſty muſt have had to ſurmount, before he could prevail upon himſelf to adopt a meaſure, which to all appearance has been brought about through the moſt urgent neceſſity and the moſt threatening danger.

Her imperial majeſty being at a loſs to account for the motives which can have determined his catholic majeſty thus to inſulate his intereſt from that of the coalition, cannot but perſevere in the opinion, that notwithſtanding this ſudden change, his catholic majeſty will continue ſincerely to intereſt himſelf in the ſucceſs of the operations of the evangelic powers; and ſo far from throwing any obſtacle in the way of the new meaſures which thoſe powers may find it neceſſary to purſue, rather ſupport them by every means, which the ſyſtem of neutrality he may, perhaps, think proper to adopt, does not preclude.

His catholic majeſty cannot yet have forgotten the high importance of the cauſe for which the coaleſced powers are contending—to reſtore order and tranquillity, to lead the nations back to a ſenſe of their duty, and to ſhield all Europe from the moſt dangerous infection. Theſe are the important motives which have induced the coaleſced powers to unite their counſels, and exert their joint efforts to render them triumphant.

It is for this purpoſe, that the three courts have juſt now, by means of a ſolemn treaty of alliance, ſtrengthened the ties by which they were united. Their reciprocal intereſt is therefore ſo intimately connected and interwoven, and their determination

determination ſo firm, that it would be impoſſible to obſtruct the operations of one of them, without forcing the others moſt warmly to embrace his cauſe. Of this deſcription is eſpecially the ſituation of her imperial majeſty with reſpect to the king of Great Britain; ſo that in caſe of need, her imperial majeſty would be obliged to aſſiſt and ſupport him to the utmoſt extent of her power, but fortunately ſuch connections ſubſiſt between his catholic majeſty and the king of Great Britain, in conſequence of ſeveral treaties renewed in the year 1793, as can never ceaſe to be dear to his catholic majeſty, and neither the conveniency nor uſefulneſs of which can have been leſſened by a change of affairs produced by the moſt imperious circumſtances.

This important conſideration, in addition to that which proceeds from the favourable diſpoſition of his catholic majeſty towards the common cauſe, cannot but render her imperial majeſty perfectly eaſy with reſpect to the conduct which his catholic majeſty is likely to purſue. Her imperial majeſty is of opinion, that it will be both candid and ſincere, and it would be painful for her to ſuppoſe, that in any caſe whatever, his catholic majeſty could favour meaſures, tending to obſtruct and oppoſe the avowed purpoſes of the three allied courts.

You, ſir, will adopt the moſt proper means officially to communicate to the miniſtry of his catholic majeſty the tenor of this diſpatch, and to make it the ſubject of a conference you are to requeſt of the Prince of Peace.

(Signed) COUNT OSTERMAN.

The Anſwer of his Excellency the Prince of Peace to M. de Bulzow, *dated* Santa Cruz, *March* 17, 1796.

I HAVE received your letter of the 22d of February, with a copy of the diſpatch, which you, ſir, have received from your court by the laſt courier from London, and muſt return you in anſwer, that the king, my maſter, has with much pleaſure learned the friendly terms, in which, on the part of her imperial majeſty, he has been acquainted with the cloſe alliance concluded with the courts of Vienna and London, which certainly cannot have been the reſult of the circumſtances which exiſted in Poland, at the time when the forces of her imperial majeſty might have been employed at a point, where all thoſe monarchs who united for the preſervation of their exiſtence, and the mutual ſupport of their rights, rallied. At that period, the king, my maſter, gave the ſtrongeſt proofs of his grief at the misfortune of a beloved couſin, and foreſaw that his dominions were drawing near that univerſal corruption, which reſults from madneſs without bounds. He waged war againſt tyrants, but was unable to learn who they were, for he did not know, following the capricious dictates of their levity, who were the good Frenchmen that defended the cauſe of their king. He was only able to diſcern, that but a few, victims of their ſenſe of honour, were his true adherents, who followed him to the grave. The deſire of the king, my maſter, was, however, ſo earneſt, that notwithſtanding the ill-founded hopes held out by the combined powers, he

 proſecuted

proſecuted the moſt vigorous and moſt expenſive war. There was no ſovereign but the king endeavoured to prevail upon, by the moſt advantageous propoſals, to join his majeſty; notwithſtanding this requeſt was addreſſed to the empreſs at different times, ſince the laſt months of 1791, and during the year 1792, by M. de Galvez, Spaniſh miniſter in Ruſſia, and M. de Zinowief, who reſided in the ſame quality at Madrid, but eſpecially in October 1792, and December 1793, when M. de Amat, then Spaniſh chargé d'affaires at Peterſburgh, and ſoon after M. de Oris, miniſter of his catholic majeſty, had long conferences on this ſubject, the former with count Oſterman, and the latter with count Beſborodko. Notwithſtanding all this, there did not exiſt the leaſt circumſtance which promiſed an active co-operation on the part of the empreſs, nor does it appear that the occupation of Poland could have prevented her from co-operating in favour of the common cauſe. It was under theſe circumſtances that the king, my maſter, no doubt from fear and apprehenſion of ſiniſter conſequences for his kingdom, reſolved to make peace, convinced, that if he were left without aſſiſtance in the war, that ſupport, which might be promiſed him for the attainment of peace, would prove ſtill leſs efficacious. This is the true ſituation of Spain, and his catholic majeſty obliges himſelf to fulfil whatever he has promiſed for the benefit of the common cauſe, in which at the ſame time he muſt, for the future, decline participation in any meaſure, which has no certain and conſiſtent object.

(Signed)

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

Note ſent by Baron de Budberg, *Chargé d'Affaires from* Ruſſia, *at* Stockholm, *to the Foreign Miniſters, relative to the non-admiſſion of* M. *de* Schwerin, *who went to* Peterſburg *for the Purpoſe of notifying the Marriage about to take place between his* Swediſh *Majeſty and the Princeſs of* Mecklenburg Schwerin.

THE Empreſs having given orders to M. the count d'Oſterman, to acquaint the Swediſh ambaſſador, that the miſſion of M. de Schwerin not being agreeable to her majeſty, he could not be admitted; the chargé d'affaires (M. de Budberg) has received orders to declare that the motive of this refuſal was founded as much on the unfriendly proceeding of the regent, as on the principles of his political conduct with regard to Ruſſia. Both the one and the other being diametrically oppoſite to thoſe ties of affection, of friendſhip, and of good neighbourhood, which originally have been the baſis of this ſort of miſſions, and which have never been adopted between courts that were not united by ſimilar ties, or being ſo, have not taken care to cultivate and fulfil the duties of them. That this was the ſituation, as to Ruſſia, in which Sweden had been placed, ſince the Duke de Sudermania, who holds the reins of government, not content with having formerly inſulted her majeſty the empreſs, in endeavouring to ſurprize her by inſidious and deluſive overtures and propoſitions, entered into a public treaty with the French aſſembly, with thoſe men, who ſolemnly inſulted the memory of the late king, by erecting a monument to the memory of his

his execrable aſſaſſin. That her majeſty the empreſs was neither ignorant of the motive nor the object of thoſe treaties. That it was notorious that the regent had recently received from the French a ſum of money to be employed in armaments, and that he was now in full negotiation with them for a treaty of alliance, the principal ſtipulations of which are directed againſt Ruſſia; ſo that her majeſty the empreſs had every reaſon to expect an approaching rupture on the part of Sweden, unleſs the king's coming of age, (which, happily for the repoſe of that kingdom and of the north, was an event not far diſtant,) ſhould put a ſtop to it, and thereby avoid this lamentable extremity.

Anſwer of the Preſident of the United States *of* America, *to the Reſolution paſſed by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, on the 24th of March* 1796; *which had for its Object to procure a Copy of the Inſtructions granted to* Mr. Jay *relative to the Treaty with* Great Britain.

Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

WITH the utmoſt attention I have conſidered your reſolution of the 24th inſtant, requeſting me to lay before your houſe a copy of the inſtructions to the miniſter of the United States who negotiated the treaty with the king of Great Britain, together with the correſpondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting ſuch of the ſaid papers as any exiſting negotiation may render improper to be diſcloſed.

In deliberating on this ſubject, it was impoſſible for me to loſe ſight of the principle which ſome have avowed in its diſcuſſion, or to avoid extending my views to the conſequences which muſt flow from the admiſſion of that principle.

I truſt that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a diſpoſition to with-hold any information which the conſtitution has enjoined upon the preſident as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either houſe of congreſs as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preſide in the government, my conſtant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, ſo far as the truſt delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my ſenſe of the obligation it impoſes, to "preſerve, protect, and defend the conſtitution," will permit.

The nature of foreign negotiations requires caution; and their ſucceſs muſt often depend on ſecrecy; and even when brought to a concluſion, a full diſcloſure of all the meaſures, demands, or eventual conceſſions, which may have been propoſed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic; for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniencies; perhaps danger and miſchief, in relation to other powers. The neceſſity of ſuch caution and ſecrecy was one cogent reaſon for veſting the power of making treaties in the preſident, with the advice and conſent of the ſenate; the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a ſmall number of members. To admit, then, a right in the houſe of repreſentatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of courſe, all the papers reſpecting

ſpecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to eſtabliſh a dangerous precedent.

It does not occur that the inſpection of the papers aſked for, can be relative to any purpoſe under cognizance of the houſe of repreſentatives, except that of an impeachment, which the reſolution has not expreſſed. I repeat that I have no diſpoſition to withhold any information which the duty of my ſtation will permit, or the public good ſhall require to be diſcloſed; and, in fact, all the papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the ſenate, when the treaty itſelf was communicated for their conſideration and advice.

The courſe which the debate has taken on the reſolution of the houſe, leads to ſome obſervations on the mode of making treaties under the conſtitution of the United States.

Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the conſtitution was formed, I have never entertained but one opinion on this ſubject; and from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the government to this moment, my conduct has exemplified that opinion, that the power of making treaties is excluſively veſted in the preſident, by and with the advice of the ſenate, provided two-thirds of the ſenators preſent concur; and that every treaty, ſo made and promulgated, thenceforward became the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been underſtood by foreign nations; and in all treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that, when ratified by the preſident, with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, they became obligatory. In this conſtruction o the conſtitution, every houſe of re preſentatives has heretofore ac quieſced; and until the preſen time, not a doubt or ſuſpicion ha appeared, to my knowledge, tha this conſtruction was not the tru one. Nay, they have more tha acquieſced; for, until now, with out controverting the obligation o ſuch treaties, they have made al the requiſite proviſions for carry ing them into effect.

There is alſo reaſon to believe that this conſtruction agrees wit the opinions entertained by th ſtate conventions when they wer deliberating on the conſtitution eſpecially by thoſe who objected t it becauſe there was not require in commercial treaties the conſen of two-thirds of the whole ſenate inſtead of two-thirds of the ſena tors preſent; and becauſe, in trea ties reſpecting territorial and cer tain other rights and claims, th concurrence of three-fourths of th whole number of the members o both houſes reſpectively was no made neceſſary.

It is a fact, declared by the ge neral convention, and univerſall underſtood, that the conſtitution o the United States was the reſult o a ſpirit of amity and mutual con ceſſion. And it is well known, tha under this influence, the ſmalle ſtates were admitted to an equa repreſentation in the ſenate wit the larger ſtates, and that thi branch of the government was in veſted with great powers; for, o the equal participation of thoſ powers, the ſovereignty and politi cal ſafety of the ſmaller ſtates wer deemed eſſentially to depend.

If other proofs than theſe, an the plain letter of the conſtitutio itſel

itſelf, be neceſſary to aſcertain the point under conſideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have depoſited in the office of the department of ſtate. In thoſe journals it will appear, that a propoſition was made, "that no treaty ſhould be binding on the United States which was not ratified by a law," and that the propoſition was explicitly rejected.

As, therefore, it is perfectly clear to my underſtanding, that the aſſent of the houſe of repreſentatives is not neceſſary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itſelf all the objects requiring legiſlative proviſion, and on which theſe papers called for can throw no light; and as it is eſſential to the due adminiſtration of the government, that the boundaries fixed by the conſtitution between the different departments ſhould be preſerved,—a juſt regard to the conſtitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumſtances of this caſe, forbid a compliance with your requeſt.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, March 30.

Reſolutions paſſed by the Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States, *on the 7th of April*, 1796.

RESOLVED, That it being declared by the ſecond ſection of the ſecond article of the conſtitution, "that "the preſident ſhall have power, by "and with the advice of the ſenate, "to make treaties, provided two-"thirds of the ſenators preſent con-"cur;" the houſe of repreſentatives do not claim any agency in making treaties; but that when a treaty ſtipulates regulations on any of the ſubjects ſubmitted by the conſtitution to the power of congreſs, it muſt depend for its execution, as to ſuch ſtipulations, on a law or laws to be paſſed by congreſs; and it is the conſtitutional right and duty of the houſe of repreſentatives, in all ſuch caſes, to deliberate on the expediency or inexpediency of carrying ſuch treaties into effect; and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be moſt conducive to the public good.

Reſolved, that it is neceſſary to the propriety of any application from this houſe to the executive for information deſired by them, and which may relate to any conſtitutional functions of the houſe, that the purpoſe for which ſuch information may be wanted, or to which the ſame is intended to be applied, ſhould be ſtated in the application.

Reſolved, that it is expedient to paſs the laws neceſſary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with certain Indians northweſt of the Ohio.

Reſolved, that it is expedient to paſs the laws neceſſary for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with the dey and regency of Algiers.

The houſe taking into conſideration the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, communicated by the preſident in his meſſage of the firſt day of March laſt, are of opinion, that it is in many reſpects highly injurious to the intereſts of the United States; yet, were they poſſeſſed of any information that could juſtify the great ſacrifices contained in the treaty, their ſincere deſire to cheriſh harmony and amicable intercourſe with

with all nations, and their earneſt wiſh to co-operate in haſtening a final adjuſtment of the differences ſubſiſting between the United States and Great Britain, might have induced them to wave their objections to the treaty; but when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain, in perſevering, ſince the treaty was ſigned, in the impreſſment of American ſeamen, and the ſeizure of American veſſels laden with proviſions, contrary to the cleareſt right of neutral nations; whether this be viewed as the conſtruction meant to be given to any article in the treaty, or as contrary to, and an infraction of the true meaning and ſpirit thereof, the houſe cannot but conſider it as incumbent on them to forbear, under ſuch circumſtances, taking at preſent any active meaſures on the ſubject: therefore,

Reſolved, that, under the circumſtances aforeſaid, and with ſuch information as the houſe poſſeſſes, it is not expedient at this time to concur in paſſing the laws neceſſary for carrying the ſaid treaty into effect*.

Addreſs of George Waſhington, *Preſident, to the Citizens of the* United States, *on his intended Reſignation.*

Friends and fellow citizens,

THE period for a new election of a citizen to adminiſter the executive government of the United States, being not far diſtant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts muſt be employed in deſignating the perſon who is to be clothed with that important truſt, it appears to me proper, eſpecially as it may conduce to a more diſtinct expreſſion of the public voice, that I ſhould now appriſe you of the reſolution I have formed, to decline being conſidered among the number of thoſe out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the ſame time, to do me the juſtice to be aſſured, that this reſolution has not been taken without a ſtrict regard to all the conſiderations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of ſervice, which ſilence, in my ſituation, might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future intereſt; no deficiency of grateful reſpect for your paſt kindneſs; but am ſupported by a full conviction that the ſtep is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your ſuffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform ſacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your deſire. I conſtantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, conſiſtently with motives which I was not at liberty to diſregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The ſtrength of my inclination to do this, previous to the laſt election, had even led to the preparation of an addreſs to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical poſture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of perſons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

* The treaty with Great Britain, however, was finally ratified by the houſe of repreſentatives, on the 30th of April, 1796.

I rejoice

I rejoice that the ſtate of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the purſuit of inclination incompatible with the ſentiment of duty or propriety; and am perſuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my ſervices, that, in the preſent circumſtances of our country, you will not diſapprove my determination to retire.

The impreſſions with which I firſt undertook the arduous truſt were explained on the proper occaſion. In the diſcharge of this truſt, I will only ſay that I have, with good intentions, contributed, towards the organization and adminiſtration of the government, the beſt exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconſcious in the outſet, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps, ſtill more in the eyes of others, has ſtrengthened the motives to diffidence of myſelf; and every day the increaſing weight of years admoniſhes me more and more that the ſhade of retirement is as neceſſary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied, that if any circumſtances have given peculiar value to my ſervices, they were temporary; I have the conſolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political ſcene, patriotiſm does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to ſuſpend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me: ſtill more for the ſtedfaſt confidence with which it has ſupported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed, of manifeſting my inviolable attachment, by ſervices faithful and perſevering, though in uſefulneſs unequal to my zeal. If benefits have reſulted to our country from theſe ſervices, let it always be remembered to your praiſe, and as an inſtructive example in our annals, that, under circumſtances in which the paſſions, agitated in every direction, were liable to miſlead, amidſt appearances ſometimes dubious, viciſſitudes of fortune often diſcouraging, in ſituations in which, not unfrequently, want of ſucceſs has countenanced the ſpirit of criticiſm, the conſtancy of your ſupport was the eſſential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I ſhall carry it with me to my grave, as a ſtrong incitement to unceaſing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choiceſt tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free conſtitution, which is the work of your hands, may be ſacredly maintained; that its adminiſtration in every department may be ſtamped with wiſdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happineſs of the people of theſe ſtates, under the auſpices of liberty, may be made complete, by ſo careful a preſervation and ſo prudent a uſe of this bleſſing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applauſe, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a ſtranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to ſtop. But ſolicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehenſion of danger, natural to that ſolicitude, urge

me,

me, on an occaſion like the preſent, to offer to your ſolemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, ſome ſentiments, which are the reſult of much reflection, of no inconſiderable obſervation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. Theſe will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only ſee in them the diſintereſted warnings of a parting friend, who can poſſibly have no perſonal motive to bias his counſel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my ſentiments on a former and not diſſimilar occaſion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your heart, no recommendation of mine is neceſſary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which conſtitutes you one people, is alſo now dear to you. It is juſtly ſo; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the ſupport of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your ſafety, of your proſperity, of that very liberty which you ſo highly prize. But, as it is eaſy to foreſee, that from different cauſes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortreſs againſt which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be moſt conſtantly and actively (though covertly and inſidiouſly) directed, it is of infinite moment that you ſhould properly eſtimate the immenſe value of your national union to your collective and individual happineſs; that you ſhould cheriſh a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accuſtoming yourſelves to think and ſpeak of it as o the palladium of your politica ſafety and proſperity; watching fo its preſervation with jealous an xiety; diſcountenancing whatever may ſuggeſt even a ſuſpicion that i can in any event be abandoned and indignantly frowning upon the firſt dawning of every attempt t alienate any portion of our country from the reſt, or to enfeeble the ſacred ties which now link together its various parts.

For this you have every inducement of ſympathy and intereſt Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country ha a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American which belongs to you in your national capacity, muſt always exal the juſt pride of patriotism mor than any appellation derived from local diſcriminations. With ſligh ſhades of difference, you have th ſame religion, manners, habits, an political principles. You have, i a common cauſe, fought and tri umphed together; the indepen dence and liberty you poſſeſs, ar the work of joint councils and join efforts, of common dangers, ſuffer ings, and ſucceſſes.

But theſe conſiderations, how ever powerfully they addreſs them ſelves to your ſenſibility, are grea ly outweighed by thoſe which ap ply more immediately to your in tereſt. Here every portion of ou country finds the moſt commanding motives for carefully guardin and preſerving the union of th whole.

The north, in an unreſtraine intercourſe with the ſouth, pr tecte

tected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand; turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communication by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries, not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would stimulate and imbitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculations in such a case, were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worthy a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country,

while

while experience ſhall not have demonſtrated its impracticability, there will always be reaſon to diſtruſt the patriotiſm of thoſe who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the cauſes which may diſturb our union, it occurs as matter of ſerious concern, that any ground ſhould have been furniſhed for characterizing parties by geographical diſcriminations, northern and ſouthern, Atlantic and weſtern; whence deſigning men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local intereſts and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular diſtricts, is, to miſrepreſent the opinions and aims of other diſtricts. You cannot ſhield yourſelves too much againſt the jealouſies and heart-burnings which ſpring from theſe miſrepreſentations; they tend to render alien to each other thoſe who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our weſtern country have lately had a uſeful leſſon on this head; they have ſeen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the ſenate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the univerſal ſatisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a deciſive proof how unfounded were the ſuſpicions propagated among them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their intereſts in regard to the Miſſiſſippi: they have been witneſſes to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which ſecure to them every thing they could deſire, in reſpect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their proſperity. Will it not be their wiſdom to rely for the preſervation of theſe advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to thoſe adviſers, if ſuch there are, who could ſever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indiſpenſable. No alliances, however ſtrict, between the parties, can be an adequate ſubſtitute; they muſt inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Senſible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your firſt eſſay, by the adoption of a conſtitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offſpring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full inveſtigation and mature deliberation, competely free in its principles, in the diſtribution of its powers, uniting ſecurity with energy, and containing within itſelf a proviſion for its own amendment, has juſt claim to your confidence and your ſupport. Reſpect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquieſcence in its meaſures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The baſis of our political ſyſtems is the right of the people to make and to alter their conſtitutions of government; but the conſtitution, which at any time exiſts, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is ſacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people

to eſtabliſh government, preſuppoſes the duty of every individual to obey the eſtabliſhed government.

All obſtructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and aſſociations, under whatever plauſible character, with the real deſign to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the conſtituted authorities, are deſtructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They ſerve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a ſmall but artful and enterprifing minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public adminiſtration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of conſiſtent and wholeſome plans, digeſted by common councils, and modified by mutual intereſts.

However combinations or aſſociations of the above deſcription may, now and then, anſwer popular ends, they are likely, in the courſe of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to ſubvert the powers of the people, and to uſurp for themſelves the reins of government; deſtroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjuſt dominion.

Towards the preſervation of your government, and the permanency of your preſent happy ſtate, it is requiſite, not only that you ſteadily diſcountenance irregular oppoſitions to its acknowledged authority, but alſo, that you reſiſt with care the ſpirit of innovation upon its principles, however ſpecious the pretexts. One method of aſſault may be to effect, in the forms of the conſtitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the ſyſtem, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember, that time and habit are at leaſt as neceſſary to fix the true character of governments as of other human inſtitutions—that experience is the ſureſt ſtandard by which to teſt the real tendency of the exiſting conſtitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypotheſis and opinion, expoſes to perpetual change, from the endleſs variety of hypotheſis and opinion; and remember, eſpecially, that for the efficient management of your common intereſts, in a country ſo extenſive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is conſiſtent with the perfect ſecurity of liberty is indiſpenſable. Liberty itſelf will find in ſuch a government, with powers properly diſtributed and adjuſted, its ſureſt guardian. It is, indeed, little elſe than a name, where the government is too feeble to withſtand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the ſociety within the limits preſcribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the ſecure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of perſons and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the ſtate, with the particular reference to the founding of them on geographical diſcriminations. Let me now take a more comprehenſive view, and warn you, in the moſt ſolemn manner, againſt the baneful ef-

fects of the ſpirit of party generally.

This ſpirit, unfortunately, is inſeparable from our nature, having its roots in the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind. It exiſts under different ſhapes in all governments, more or leſs ſtifled, controuled, or ſuppreſſed; but in thoſe of the popular form, it is ſeen in its greateſt rankneſs, and it is truly their worſt enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, ſharpened by the ſpirit of revenge natural to party diſſenſion, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the moſt horrid enormities, is itſelf a moſt horrid deſpotiſm. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent deſpotiſm. The diſorders and miſeries which reſult, gradually incline the minds of men to ſeek ſecurity and repoſe in the abſolute power of an individual; and, ſooner or later, the chief of ſome prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this diſpoſition to the purpoſes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheleſs ought not to be entirely out of ſight), the common and continued miſchiefs of the ſpirit of party are ſufficient to make it the intereſt and duty of a wiſe people to diſcourage and reſtrain it.

It ſerves always to diſtract the public councils and enfeeble the public adminiſtration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealouſies and falſe alarms; kindles the animoſity of one part againſt another; foments occaſionally riot and inſurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated acceſs to the government itſelf through the channels of party paſſions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are ſubjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are uſeful checks upon the adminiſtration of the government, and ſerve to keep alive the ſpirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical caſt, patriotiſm may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the ſpirit of party. But in thoſe of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a ſpirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that ſpirit for every ſalutary purpoſe. And there being conſtant danger of exceſs, the effect ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and aſſuage it. A fire not to be quenched—it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its burſting into a flame, leſt, inſtead of warming, it ſhould conſume.

It is important, likewiſe, that the habits of thinking in a free country ſhould inſpire caution in thoſe entruſted with its adminiſtration, to confine themſelves within their reſpective conſtitutional ſpheres, avoiding, in the exerciſe of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The ſpirit of encroachment tends to conſolidate the powers of all the departments into one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real deſpotiſm. A juſt eſtimate of that love of power, and proneneſs to abuſe it, which predominates in the human heart, is ſufficient to ſatisfy us of the truth of this

this poſition. The neceſſity of reciprocal checks in the exerciſe of political power, by dividing and diſtributing it into different depoſitories, and conſtituting each the guardian of the public weal againſt invaſions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; ſome of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preſerve them muſt be as neceſſary as to inſtitute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the diſtribution or modification of the conſtitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the conſtitution deſignates. But let there be no change by uſurpation; for though this, in one inſtance, may be the inſtrument of good, it is the cuſtomary weapon by which free governments are deſtroyed. The precedent muſt always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or tranſient benefit which the uſe can at any time yield.

Of all the diſpoſitions and habits which lead to political proſperity, religion and morality are indiſpenſable ſupports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotiſm who ſhould labour to ſubvert theſe great pillars of human happineſs, theſe firmeſt props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to reſpect and to cheriſh them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it ſimply be aſked, where is the ſecurity for property, for reputation, for life, if the ſenſe of religious obligation deſert the oaths, which are the inſtruments of inveſtigation in courts of juſtice? And let us with caution indulge the ſuppoſition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar ſtructure, reaſon and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in excluſion of religious principle.

It is ſubſtantially true, that virtue or morality is a neceſſary ſpring of popular government. The rule indeed extends, with more or leſs force, to every ſpecies of free government. Who, that is a ſincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to ſhake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, inſtitutions for the general diffuſion of knowledge. In proportion as the ſtructure of government gives force to public opinion, it is eſſential that public opinion ſhould be enlightened.

As a very important ſource of ſtrength and ſecurity, cheriſh public credit. One method of preſerving it is to uſe it as ſparingly as poſſible; avoiding occaſions of expence by cultivating peace, but remembering alſo, that timely diſburſements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater diſburſements to repel it; avoiding likewiſe the accumulation of debt, not only by ſhunning occaſions of expence, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to diſcharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occaſioned; not ungenerouſly throwing upon poſterity the burthen which we ourſelves ought to bear. The execution of theſe maxims belongs to your repreſentatives, but it is neceſſary that public opinion ſhould co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is eſſential that you ſhould practically

bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there muſt be a revenue; that to have revenue there muſt be taxes; that no taxes can be deviſed which are not more or leſs inconvenient and unpleaſant; that the intrinſic embarraſſment inſeparable from the ſelection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a deciſive motive for a candid conſtruction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a ſpirit of acquieſcence in the meaſures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Obſerve good faith and juſtice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct: and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no very diſtant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted juſtice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the courſe of time and things, the fruits of ſuch a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be loſt by a ſteady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtues? The experiment, at leaſt, is recommended by every ſentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impoſſible by its vices?

In the execution of ſuch a plan, nothing is more eſſential than that permanent inveterate antipathies againſt particular nations, and paſſionate attachments for others, ſhould be excluded; and that, in place of them, juſt and amicable feelings towards all ſhould be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondneſs, is in ſome degree a ſlave. It is a ſlave to its animoſity or to its affection, either of which is ſufficient to lead it aſtray from its duty and its intereſt. Antipathy in one nation againſt another diſpoſes each more readily to offer inſult and injury, to lay hold of ſlight cauſes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occaſions of diſpute occur. Hence frequent colliſions, obſtinate, envenomed, and bloody conteſts. The nation, prompted by ill-will and reſentment, ſometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the beſt calculations of policy. The government ſometimes participates in the national propenſity, and adopts, through paſſion, what reaſon would reject; at other times it makes the animoſity of the nation ſubſervient to projects of hoſtility, inſtigated by pride, ambition, and other ſiniſter and pernicious motives. The peace often, ſometimes, perhaps, the liberty of nations has been the victim.

So, likewiſe, a paſſionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illuſion of an imaginary common intereſt in caſes where no real common intereſt exiſts, and infuſing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or juſtification. It leads alſo to conceſſions to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the conceſſions; by unneceſſarily parting with what ought

to have been retained; and by exciting jealouſy, ill-will, and a diſpoſition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, (who devote themſelves to the favourite nation) facility to betray or ſacrifice the intereſts of their own country, without odium, ſometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous ſenſe of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the baſe or fooliſh compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As the avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, ſuch attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domeſtic factions, to practiſe the arts of ſeduction, to miſlead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a ſmall or weak, towards a great or powerful nation, dooms the former to be the ſatellite of the latter.

Againſt the inſidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealouſy of a free people ought to be *conſtantly* awake; ſince hiſtory and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the moſt baneful foes of a republican government. But that jealouſy, to be uſeful, muſt be impartial; elſe it becomes the inſtrument of the very influence to be avoided, inſtead of a defence againſt it. Exceſſive partiality for one foreign nation, and exceſſive diſlike of another, cauſe thoſe whom they actuate to ſee danger only on one ſide, and ſerve to veil and even ſecond the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may reſiſt the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become ſuſpected and odious; while its tools and dupes uſurp the applauſe and confidence of the people, to ſurrender their intereſts.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as poſſible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith.—Here let us ſtop.

Europe has a ſet of primary intereſts, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence ſhe muſt be engaged in frequent controverſies, the cauſes of which are eſſentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it muſt be unwiſe in us to implicate ourſelves by artificial ties in the ordinary viciſſitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and colliſions of her friendſhips or enmities.

Our detached and diſtant ſituation invites and enables us to purſue a different courſe. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take ſuch an attitude as will cauſe the neutrality we may at any time reſolve upon to be ſcrupulouſly reſpected; when belligerent nations, under the impoſſibility of making acquiſitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may chooſe peace or war, as our intereſt, guided by juſtice, ſhall counſel.

Why forego the advantages of ſo peculiar a ſituation? Why quit

our own to ſtand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our deſtiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and proſperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalſhip, intereſt, humour, or caprice?

"'Tis our true policy to ſteer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; ſo far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be underſtood as capable of patroniſing infidelity to exiſting engagements. I hold the maxim no leſs applicable to public than to private affairs, that honeſty is always the beſt policy. I repeat it, therefore, let thoſe engagements be obſerved in their genuine ſenſe. But, in my opinion, it is unneceſſary and would be unwiſe to extend them. Taking care always to keep ourſelves, by ſuitable eſtabliſhments, on a reſpectable defenſive poſture, we may ſafely truſt to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourſe with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and intereſt. But even our commercial policy ſhould hold an equal and impartial hand; neither ſeeking nor granting excluſive favours or preferences; conſulting the natural courſe of things; diffuſing and diverſifying by gentle means the ſtreams of commerce, but forcing nothing; eſtabliſhing, with powers ſo diſpoſed, in order to give trade a ſtable courſe, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to ſupport them, conventional rules of intercourſe, the beſt that preſent circumſtances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumſtance ſhall dictate; conſtantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for diſintereſted favour from another; that it muſt pay with a proportion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by ſuch acceptance, it may place itſelf in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illuſion which experience muſt cure; which a juſt pride ought to diſcard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, theſe counſels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the ſtrong and laſting impreſſion I could wiſh; that they will controul the uſual current of the paſſions, or prevent our nation from running the courſe which has hitherto marked the deſtiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myſelf that they may be productive of ſome partial benefit, ſome occaſional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party ſpirit, to warn againſt the miſchiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard againſt the impoſtures of pretended patriotiſm; this hope will be a full recompenſe for the ſolicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the diſcharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct muſt witneſs to you and to the world. To myſelf the aſſurance of my own conſcience is, that I have

at leaſt believed myſelf to be guided by them.

In relation to the ſtill ſubſiſting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your repreſentatives in both houſes of congreſs, the ſpirit of that meaſure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the beſt lights I could obtain, I was well ſatisfied that our country, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and intereſt to take, a neutral poſition. Having taken it, I determined, as far as ſhould depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perſeverance and firmneſs.

The conſiderations which reſpect the right to hold this conduct, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion to detail. I will only obſerve, that, according to my underſtanding of the matter, that right, ſo far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which juſtice and humanity impoſe on every nation, in caſes in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of intereſt for obſerving that conduct will beſt be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to ſettle and mature its yet recent inſtitutions, and to progreſs, without interruption; to that degree of ſtrength and conſiſtency which is neceſſary to give it, humanly ſpeaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my adminiſtration, I am unconſcious of intentional error, I am nevertheleſs too ſenſible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beſeech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I ſhall alſo carry with me the hope that my country will never ceaſe to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its ſervice with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be conſigned to oblivion, as myſelf muſt ſoon be to the manſions of reſt.

Relying on its kindneſs in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is ſo natural to a man who views in it the native ſoil of himſelf and his progenitors for ſeveral generations, I anticipate with pleaſing expectation that retreat, in which I promiſe myſelf to realize, without alloy, the ſweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midſt of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I truſt, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, Sept. 17, 1796.

Note preſented to the American *Secretary of State, by Citizen* Adet, *Miniſter*

Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, Oct. 17, 1796.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of the French republic, in conformity to the orders of his government, has the honour of transmitting to the secretary of state of the United States, a resolution taken by the executive of the French republic on the 11th Messidor, 4th year, relative to the conduct which the ships of war of the republic are to hold toward neutral vessels.

"The flag of the republic will "treat the flag of neutrals in the "same manner as they shall suffer "it to be treated by the English."

The sentiments which the American government have manifested to the undersigned minister plenipotentiary, do not permit him to doubt, that they will see, in its true light, this measure as far as it may concern the United States, and that they will also feel that it is dictated by imperious circumstances, and approved by justice.

Great Britain, during the war she has carried on against the republic, has not ceased using every means in her power to add to that scourge scourges still more terrible. She has used the well-known liberality of the French nation to the detriment of that nation. Knowing how faithful France has always been in the observance of her treaties; knowing that it was a principle of the republic to respect the flags of all nations, the British government, from the beginning of the war, has caused neutral vessels, and in particular American vessels, to be detained, taken them into its ports, and dragged from them Frenchmen and French property. France, bound by a treaty with the United States, could find only a real disadvantage in the article of that treaty, which caused to be respected, as American property, English property found on board American vessels. They had a right, under this consideration, to expect that America would take steps in favour of her violated neutrality. One of the predecessors of the undersigned, in July 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States; but he was not successful. Nevertheless the national convention, who, by their decree of the 9th of May, 1793, had ordered the seizure of enemy's property on board neutral vessels, declaring, at the same time, that the measure should cease when the English should respect neutral flags, had excepted, on the 23d of the same month, the Americans from the operation of this general order. But the convention was obliged soon to repeal the law which contained this exception so favourable to Americans: the manner in which the English conducted themselves, the manifest intention they had to stop the exportation of provisions from America to France, rendered it unavoidable.

The national convention by this had restored the equilibrium of neutrality which England had destroyed; had discharged their duty in a manner justified by a thousand past examples, as well as by the necessity of the then existing moment. They might, therefore, to recall the orders they had given to seize the enemy's property on board American vessels, have waited till the British government had first definitively revoked the same order, a suspension only of which was produced

duced by the embargo laid by congreſs the 26th of March, 1794. But as ſoon as they were informed that, under orders of the government of the United States, Mr. Jay was directed to remonſtrate againſt the vexatious meaſures of the Engliſh, they gave orders, by the law of the 13th Nivoſe, 3d year, to the ſhips of war of the republic to reſpect American veſſels; and the committee of public ſafety, in their explanatory reſolve of the 14th of the ſame month, haſtened to ſanction the ſame principles. The national convention and the committee of public ſafety had every reaſon to believe that this open and liberal conduct would determine the United States to uſe every effort to put a ſtop to the vexations impoſed upon their commerce, to the injury of the French republic; they were deceived in this hope; and though the treaty of friendſhip, navigation, and commerce, between Great Britain and the United States had been ſigned ſix weeks before France adopted the meaſure I have juſt ſpoken of, the Engliſh did not abandon the plan they had formed, but continued to ſtop and carry into their ports all American veſſels bound to French ports, or returning from them.

This conduct was the ſubject of a note which the underſigned addreſſed on the 7th Vendemaire, 4th year (29th September 1795, O. S.) to the ſecretary of ſtate. The remonſtrances which it contained were founded on the duties of neutrality, upon the principles which Mr. Jefferſon had laid down in his letter to Mr. Pinckney, dated the 13th September, 1794.

Yet this note has remained without an anſwer, though recalled to the remembrance of the ſecretary of ſtate by a diſpatch of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March, 1796, O. S.); and American veſſels bound to French ports, or returning from them, have ſtill been ſeized by the Engliſh. Indeed more; they have added a new vexation to thoſe they had already impoſed upon Americans; they have impreſſed ſeamen from on board American veſſels, and have thus found the means of ſtrengthening their crews at the expence of the Americans, without the government of the United States having made known to the underſigned the ſteps they had taken to obtain ſatisfaction for this violation of neutrality, ſo hurtful to the intereſts of France, as the underſigned hath ſet forth in his diſpatches to the ſecretary of ſtate of the 9th Germinal, 4th year (29th March 1796, O. S.), 19th Germinal (8th April, 1796), and 1ſt Floreal (20th April, 1796), which have remained without an anſwer.

The French government then finds itſelf, with reſpect to America at the preſent time, in circumſtances ſimilar to thoſe of the year 1795; and if it ſees itſelf obliged to abandon, with reſpect to them, and neutral powers in general, the favourable line of conduct it purſued, and to adopt different meaſures, the blame ſhould fall upon the Britiſh government: it is their conduct which the French government has been obliged to follow.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary conceives it his duty to remark to the ſecretary of ſtate, that the neutral governments, or the allies of the republic, have nothing to fear as to the treatment of their flag by the French, ſince if, keeping within the bounds of their

neutrality,

neutrality, they cauſe the rights of that neutrality to be reſpected by the Engliſh, the republic will reſpect them. But if, through weakneſs, partiality, or other motives, they ſhould ſuffer the Engliſh to ſport with that neutrality, and turn it to their advantage, could they then complain, when France, to reſtore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium, ſhall act in the ſame manner as the Engliſh? No, certainly; for the neutrality of a nation conſiſts in granting to belligerent powers the ſame advantages; and that neutrality no longer exiſts, when, in the courſe of the war, that neutral nation grants to one of the belligerent powers advantages not ſtipulated by treaties anterior to the war, or ſuffers that power to ſeize upon them. The neutral government cannot then complain if the other belligerent power will enjoy advantages which its enemy enjoys, or if it ſeizes upon them; otherwiſe that neutral government would deviate, with reſpect to it, from the line of neutrality, and would become its enemy.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary thinks it uſeleſs further to develope theſe principles. He does not doubt that the ſecretary of ſtate feels all their force; and that the government of the United States will maintain from all violation a neutrality which France has always reſpected, and will always reſpect, when her enemies do not make it turn to her detriment.

The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary embraces this opportunity of reiterating to the ſecretary of ſtate the aſſurance of his eſteem, and informs him, at the ſame time, that he will cauſe this note to be printed, in order to make publicly known the motives which, at the preſent juncture, influence the French republic.

Done at Philadelphia, 6th Brumaire, 5th year of the French republic, one and indiviſible, (27th Oct. 1796, O. S.)

(Signed) P. A. Adet.

Extract from the Regiſter of Reſolutions of the Executive Directory, of the 14th Meſſidor, 4th Year of the French *Republic, one and indiviſible.*

THE executive directory, conſidering that, if it becomes the faith of the French nation to reſpect treaties or conventions which ſecure to the flags of ſome neutral or friendly powers commercial advantages, if they ſhould turn to the benefit of our enemies, either through the weakneſs of our allies or of neutrals, or through fear, through intereſted views, or through whatever motives, it would, *ipſo facto*, warrant the inexecution of the articles in which they were ſtipulated, decrees as follows:

" All neutral or allied powers " ſhall, without delay, be notified, " that the flag of the French re- " public will treat neutral veſſels, " either as to confiſcation, as to " ſearches, or capture, in the ſame " manner as they ſhall ſuffer the " Engliſh to treat them."

The miniſter of foreign relations is charged with the execution of the preſent reſolution, which ſhall not be printed.

A true copy.

(Signed) Carnot, Preſident.

Anſwer of the Executive Government of America *to Citizen* Adet's *Note,*

Note, enclosing the Decree of the Directory respecting Neutral Vessels.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note, of the 27th ult. covering a decree of the executive directory of the French republic, concerning the commerce of neutral nations.

This decree makes no distinction between neutral powers who can claim only the rights secured to them by the law of nations, and others between whom and the French republic treaties have imposed special obligations. Where no treaties exist, the republic, by seizing and confiscating the property of their enemies found on board neutral vessels, would only exercise an acknowledged right under the law of nations. If, towards such neutral nations, the French republic has forborne to execute this right, the forbearance has been perfectly gratuitous. The United States, by virtue of their treaty of commerce with France, stand on different ground.

In the year 1778, France voluntarily entered into a commercial treaty with us, on principles of perfect reciprocity, and expressly stipulating *that free ships should make free goods*. That is, if France should be at war with any nation with whom the United States should be at peace, the goods (except contraband) and the persons of her enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted), found on board the vessels of the United States, were to be free from capture. That, on the other hand, if the United States should engage in war with any nation, while France remained at peace, then the goods (except contraband) and the persons of our enemies (soldiers in actual service excepted), found on board French vessels, were also to be free from capture. This is plainly expressed in the 23d article of that treaty, and demonstrates, that the reciprocity thereby stipulated was to operate at *different periods*; that is, at one time in favour of one of the contracting parties, and of the other at another time. At the present time, the United States being at peace, they possess by the treaty the right of carrying the goods of the enemies of France, without subjecting them to capture. But what do the spirit of the decree of the executive directory and the current of your observations require?—That the United States should now gratuitously renounce this right. And what reason is assigned for denying to us the enjoyment of this right? Your own words furnish the answer: "France, bound by treaty to the "United States, *could find only a* "*real disadvantage* in the articles "of that treaty, which caused to "be respected, as American pro-"perty, English property found on "board American vessels." This requisition, and the reason assigned to support it, alike excite surprise. The American government, sir, conscious of the purity of its intentions, of its impartial observance of the laws of neutrality, and of its inviolable regard to treaties, cannot for a moment admit that it has forfeited the right to claim a reciprocal observance of stipulations on the part of the French republic, whose friendship moreover it has every reason to cultivate with the most perfect sincerity. This right, formerly infringed by a decree of the national convention, was recog-

nized

nized anew by the repeal of that decree. Why it ſhould be again queſtioned, we are at a loſs to determine. We are ignorant of any new reſtraints on our commerce by the Britiſh government; on the contrary, we poſſeſs recent official information, that *no new orders have been iſſued.*

The captures made by the Britiſh, of American veſſels having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations. The force and operation of this law was contemplated by France and the United States, when they formed their treaty of commerce; and their ſpecial ſtipulation on this point was meant as an exception to an univerſal rule; neither our weakneſs nor our ſtrength have any choice, when the queſtion concerns the obſervance of a known rule of the law of nations.

You are pleaſed to remark, that the conduct of Great Britain, in capturing veſſels bound to and from French ports, had been the ſubject of a note, which, on the 29th of September, 1795, was addreſſed to the ſecretary of ſtate, but which remained without an anſwer. Very ſufficient reaſons may be aſſigned for the omiſſion. The ſubject, in all its aſpects, had been officially and publicly diſcuſſed; and the principles and ultimate meaſures of the United States, founded on their indiſputable rights, were as publicly fixed. But if the ſubject had not, by the previous diſcuſſions, been already exhauſted, can it be a matter of ſurpriſe that there ſhould be a repugnance to anſwer a letter containing ſuch inſinuations as theſe?

" It muſt then be clear to every " man, who will diſcard prejudices, " love, hatred, and, in a word, all " the paſſions which lead the judg- " ment aſtray, that the French re- " public has a right to complain, if " the American government ſuf- " fered the Engliſh to interrupt the " commercial relations which exiſt " between her and the United " States; if *by a perfidious conde-* " *ſcenſion* it permitted the Engliſh " to violate a right which it ought, " for its own *honour* and *intereſt*, to " defend; if, under the cloak of " neutrality, it preſented to England " a *poniard to cut the throat* of its " faithful ally; if, in fine, partaking " *in the tyrannical and homicidal* " *rage of Great Britain*, it *con-* " *curred* to plunge *the people of* " *France into the horrors of famine!*" For the ſake of preſerving harmony, ſilence was preferred to a comment upon theſe inſinuations.

You are alſo pleaſed to refer to your letters of March and April laſt, relative to impreſſes of American ſeamen by Britiſh ſhips, and complain that the government of the United States had not made known to you the ſteps they had taken to obtain ſatisfaction. This, ſir, was a matter which concerned only that government. As an independent nation, we are not bound to render an account to any other of the meaſures we deemed proper for the protection of our own citizens, ſo long as there was not the ſlighteſt ground to ſuſpect that the government ever acquieſced in any aggreſſion.

But permit me to recur to the ſubject of the decree of the executive directory.

As before obſerved, we are officially informed that the Britiſh government have iſſued no new orders for capturing the veſſels of the United

United States. We are alſo officially informed, that, on the appearance of the notification of that decree, the miniſter of the United States at Paris applied for information, "Whether orders were iſſued for the ſeizure of neutral veſſels, and was informed, that no ſuch order was iſſued, and further, that no ſuch order would be iſſued, in caſe the Britiſh did not ſeize our veſſels." This communication from the miniſter of the United States at Paris, to their miniſter at London, was dated the 28th of Auguſt; but the decree of the directory bears date the 14th Meſſidor, anſwering to the 2d of July. Theſe circumſtances, together with ſome obſervations in your note, leave the American government in a ſtate of uncertainty of the real intentions of the government in France. Allow me then to aſk, whether, in the actual ſtate of things, our commerce is conſidered as liable to ſuffer any new reſtrictions on the part of the French republic? Whether the reſtraints now exerciſed by the Britiſh government, are conſidered as of a nature to juſtify a denial of thoſe rights which are pledged to us by our treaty with your nation? Whether orders have been actually given to the ſhips of war of the French republic to capture the veſſels of the United States? And what, if they exiſt, are the preciſe terms of thoſe orders?

The queſtions, ſir, you will ſee, are highly intereſting to the United States. It is with extreme concern that the government finds itſelf reduced to the neceſſity of aſking an explanation of this nature; and if it ſhall be informed that a new line of conduct is to be adopted towards this country, on the ground of the decree referred to, its ſurpriſe will equal its regret, that principles ſhould now be queſtioned, which, after repeated diſcuſſions both here and in France, have been demonſtrated to be founded, as we conceive, in the obligations of impartial neutrality, of ſtipulations by treaty, and of the law of nations. I hope, ſir, you will find it convenient, by an early anſwer, to remove the ſuſpence in which the government of the United States is now held on the queſtion aboveſtated.

I ſhall cloſe this letter by one remark on the ſingularity of your cauſing the publication of your note. As it concerned the United States, it was properly addreſſed to its government, to which alone pertained the right of communicating it in ſuch time and manner as it ſhould think fit to the citizens of the United States.

I am, ſir, with great reſpect,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

United States, Philadelphia, Nov. 3.
To M. Adet, miniſter plenipotentiary of the French republic.

Subſtance of the memorial preſented by Citizen Adet *to the* American *Secretary for Foreign Affairs, previous to his announcing that he was no longer to be conſidered as the Miniſter of the* French *Republic.*

THE miniſter of the French republic, through the whole of his note, ſpeaks as acting under expreſs orders from the executive directory. After expreſſing the attachment of his government for the American people, he complains, in the name of the directory, of a violation on the part of our executive of the 17th article of the treaty

ty of 1778. The firſt part of that article ſtipulates, that the French ſhall be at liberty to bring their prizes into our ports without its being lawful for any of our officers to take cognizance of their validity. In contempt of this ſtipulation, he ſtates that ſeveral French prizes brought into our ports have been ſeized, tried, and reſtored to their original owners, with various degrees of delay, vexation, injuſtice and injury. He complains, that the Engliſh were ſuffered to arm in our ports in various inſtances, and that the complaints of the agents of the French republic ever proved ineffectual in ſtopping them. Perſons ſuſpected of having aſſiſted in arming French privateers were immediately thrown into priſon, while thoſe concerned in arming Britiſh veſſels were never moleſted: the executive, in theſe inſtances, exhibiting an evident partiality for the Engliſh and no regard for the maintenance of their neutrality. The ſecond ſtipulation in article 17th, prohibits all Engliſh ſhips that ſhall have made French prizes from entering our ports. Our executive have, in their conſtruction of this ſtipulation, confined its prohibitory effect to Britiſh veſſels attempting to come in with their prizes. The miniſter proteſts, in the name of the directory, againſt the propriety of this conſtruction. He conſiders it as an attempt to add to, not to explain, the article. Even on the ſuppoſition that the article is doubtful, he inſiſts on the impropriety of an *ex parte* conſtruction. He cites ſundry examples of Engliſh ſhips of war having entered our ports, contrary to this ſtipulation, having made them convenient ſtations the better to annoy the French, and having, even contrary to the forced interpretation given to the 17th article by our executive, brought their prizes into our ports, and there refitted them to cruize againſt the French.

The miniſter next adverts to Jay's miſſion. He ſtates, that France was deceived by the declarations of our executive when that buſineſs was ſet on foot; and that the directory conſiders the Britiſh treaty as depriving France of all the advantageous ſtipulations intended to be ſecured to her by the treaty of 1778; as tending to render the neutrality of America advantageous to England to the detriment of France. This treaty abandons the modern law of nations, which even England had ſanctioned in eleven treaties, and we in every prior commercial treaty with European nations. It gives the Engliſh the facility of obtaining the tranſportation of naval ſtores and warlike implements whitherſoever they pleaſe under the ſhelter of the American flag, while this facility is denied to France; and thus it changes, during the war, the reſpective footing of the belligerent powers with reſpect to us. The treaty, he further ſtates, cuts off the ſupplies of proviſions, which France looked for from this country, by ſtipulating that the Britiſh may, in every ſituation, ſeize our proviſion veſſels bound to the ports of their enemies. In ſhort, he conſiders it as a breach of our neutrality, unleſs the French be allowed to partake in the advantages it holds out to Great Britain. He alſo claims this participation in purſuance of the ſecond article of the treaty of 1778, which grants the French all the advantages of commerce and navi-

gation enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations. And in this point of view the orders to the French veſſels of war to treat the American flag in every reſpect as we ſhall ſuffer it to be treated by the Engliſh, have been iſſued.

The miniſter proceeds to proteſt, in the name, and by the orders of the executive directory, againſt the violation of the 17th article. He claims replevy of all ſeizures, and the annulling of all judicial acts with reſpect to the French prizes, and proteſts againſt all oppoſition to the ſale of prizes. He proteſts againſt the violation of the ſame articles, by our admitting into our ports Britiſh armed veſſels, and againſt the interpretation put by our executive upon that article. He declares, that the directory conſiders our treaty with Britain as a violation of their treaty with us, and as equivalent to a treaty of alliance with that nation; and, in conſequence, orders him to ſuſpend his miniſterial functions here. The directory declare, that they do not wiſh this meaſure to be conſidered in the light of a rupture, but as a mark of their ſenſe of injury, which is to laſt until they can obtain ſatisfaction. They reiterate their expreſſions of friendſhip for the people, notwithſtanding the wrongs of the executive.

The miniſter concludes by ſtating, that the French republic always had it at heart to cultivate harmony by a mutual interchange of good offices; but that our adminiſtration have as conſtantly endeavoured to break aſunder the ties which connect the two nations. Early under the republic, the French colonies were opened to us; the ports of France alſo, on the ſame footing as to their own veſſels. When England violated the neutral flag, France, obliged to make uſe of repriſals, exempted from the meaſure the Americans; and though forced, for a while, much againſt their inclination, to withdraw the exemption, they early renewed it.

While France was thus, even during the tempeſt of a revolution, treating the Americans with marked attention: what, aſks the note, were the executive of the United States employed in? They were queſtioning whether they would acknowledge the republic and receive their ambaſſador; whether they ſhould conſider the treaty, the price of American liberty, as binding; whether the envoys from exiled and rebellious princes ſhould be received; an ambiguous proclamation of neutrality was framed; French privateers were haraſſed; England was ſuffered to ſport with our neutrality, and to cut up our commerce to the detriment of France; Engliſh ſhips of war were admitted in our ports; the advances of France for a renewal of the treaty of commerce were eluded under the moſt frivolous pretexts, while our executive courted the Britiſh, and ſolicited a treaty, by which, proſtituting our neutrality, we ſacrificed France to her enemies; and this whilſt a review of late events, whilſt every object around, ſtill reminds us of the tyranny of Britain, and the generous aſſiſtance of France.

The note concludes by calling on Americans to remember, that, if generous minds are alive to injuries, they can forgive; and that the French, when they are treated as friends, will ſtill be found faithful friends and generous allies.

A Pro-

A Proclamation by George Washington, *President of the* United States *of* America.

WHEREAS an explanatory article, to be added to the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and his Britannic majesty, was concluded and signed at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of May last, by Timothy Pickering, esq. secretary of state, on the part of the United States, and by Phineas Bond, esq. the commissioner of his Britannic majesty; which explanatory article is in the words following:

EXPLANATORY ARTICLE.

Whereas by the third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at London on the nineteenth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, it was agreed that it should at all times be free to his majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the boundary line assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States, freely to pass and repass, by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two contracting parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson Bay company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, subject to the provisions and limitations contained in the said article: And whereas, by the eighth article of the treaty of peace and friendship concluded at Greenville, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five between the United States, and the nations or tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Putawatimies, Miamis, Eel River, Weeas, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, and Kaskaskias, it was stipulated that no person should be permitted to reside at any of the towns or hunting camps of the said Indian tribes as a trader, who is not furnished with a licence for that purpose, under the authority of the United States; which latter stipulation has excited doubts whether in its operation it may not interfere with the due execution of the said third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation: and it being the sincere desire of his Britannic majesty, and of the United States, that this point should be so explained as to remove all doubts, and promote mutual satisfaction and friendship: and for this purpose his Britannic majesty having named for his commissioner, Phineas Bond, esq. his majesty's consul general for the middle and southern states of America (and now his majesty's chargé d'affaires to the United States); and the President of the United States having named for their commissioner Timothy Pickering, esq. secretary of state of the United States, to whom, agreeable to the laws of the United States, he has entrusted this negotiation: they, the said commissioners, having communicated to each other their full powers, have, in virtue of the same, and conformably to the spirit of the last article of the said treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, entered into this explanatory article, and do by these presents explicitly agree and declare,

declare, That no ſtipulations in any treaty ſubſequently concluded by either of the contracting parties with any other ſtate or nation, or with any Indian tribe, can be underſtood to derogate in any manner from the rights of free intercourſe and commerce ſecured by the aforeſaid third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, to the ſubjects of his majeſty, and to the citizens of the United States, and to the Indians dwelling on either ſide of the boundary line aforeſaid; but that all the ſaid perſons ſhall remain at full liberty freely to paſs and repaſs, by land or inland navigation, into the reſpective territories and countries of the contracting parties, on either ſide of the ſaid boundary line, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other, according to the ſtipulations of the ſaid third article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation.

This explanatory article, when the ſame ſhall have been ratified by his majeſty, and by the preſident of the United States, by and with the advice and conſent of their ſenate, and the reſpective ratifications mutually exchanged, ſhall be added to and make a part of the ſaid treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, and ſhall be permanently binding upon his majeſty and the United States.

In witneſs whereof, we, the ſaid commiſſioners of his majeſty the king of Great Britain and the United States of America, have ſigned this explanatory article, and thereto affixed our ſeals. Done at Philadelphia, this fourth day of May, in the year of our lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix. P. BOND, (L. S.)
TIMOTHY PICKERING, (L. S.)

And whereas the ſaid explanatory article has by me, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate of the United States on the one part, and by his Britannic majeſty on the other, been duly approved and ratified, and the ratifications have ſince, to wit, on the ſixth day of October laſt, been duly exchanged: now, therefore, to the end that the ſaid explanatory article may be executed and obſerved with punctuality and the moſt ſincere regard to good faith on the part of the United States, I hereby make known the premiſes; and enjoin and require all perſons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all others, citizens or inhabitants thereof, or being within the ſame, to execute and obſerve the ſaid explanatory article accordingly.

In teſtimony whereof I have cauſed the ſeal of the United States to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with my hand.

Given at the city of Philadelphia, the fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſix, and of the independence of the United States of America the twenty-firſt.

(L. S.) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

By the preſident,
TIMOTHY PICKERING,
Secretary of State.

Speech of George Washington, *President of the* United States *of* America, *to both Houses of Congress, December* 7, 1796.

Fellow Citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

IN recurring to the internal situation of our country since I had last the pleasure to address you, I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the Universe, which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth.

The acts of the last session, which required special arrangements, have been, as far as circumstances would admit, carried into operation.

Measures calculated to ensure a continuance of the friendship of the Indians, and to preserve peace along the extent of our interior frontier, have been digested and adopted. In the framing of these, care has been taken to guard, on the one hand, our advanced settlements from the predatory incursions of those unruly individuals who cannot be restrained by their tribes; and on the other hand, to protect the rights secured to the Indians by treaty; to draw them nearer to the civilized state, and inspire them with correct conceptions of the power, as well as justice of the government.

The meeting of the deputies from the Creek nation at Coleraine in the state of Georgia, which had for a principal object the purchase of a parcel of their land by that state, broke up without its being accomplished; the nation having, previously to their departure, instructed them against making any sale: the occasion, however, has been improved, to confirm, by a new treaty with the Creeks, their pre-existing engagements with the United States, and to obtain their consent to the establishment of trading houses and military posts within their boundary, by means of which their friendship and the general peace may be more effectually secured.

The period during the late session at which the appropriation was passed for carrying into effect the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the United States and his Britannic majesty, necessarily procrastinated the reception of the posts stipulated to be delivered, beyond the date assigned for that event. As soon, however, as the governor-general of Canada could be addressed with propriety on the subject, arrangements were cordially and promptly concluded for their evacuation; and the United States took possession of the principal of them, comprehending Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, Michalimakinac and Fort Miami, where such repairs and additions have been ordered to be made as appeared indispensable.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the United States and of Great Britain, to determine which is the river St. Croix mentioned in the treaty of peace of 1783, agreed in the choice of Egbert Benson, esq. of New York for the third commissioner. The whole met at St. Andrew's, Passamiquoddy Bay, in the beginning of October, and directed surveys to be made of the rivers in dispute; but deeming it impracticable to have these surveys completed before the next year, they adjourned to meet at Boston, in Au-

gust

guſt 1797, for the final deciſion of the queſtion.

Other commiſſioners appointed on the part of the United States, agreeably to the 7th article of the treaty with Great Britain, relative to captures and condemnation of veſſels and other property, met the commiſſioners of his Britannic majeſty in London, in Auguſt laſt, when John Trumbull, eſq. was choſen by lot for the fifth commiſſioner. In October following the board were to proceed to buſineſs. As yet there has been no communication of commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain to unite with thoſe who have been appointed on the part of the United States, for carrying into effect the ſixth article of the treaty.

The treaty with Spain required that the commiſſioners for running the boundary line, between the territory of the United States and his catholic majeſty's provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, ſhould meet at the Natches, before the expiration of ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications, which was effected at Aranjuez, on the 25th of April; and the troops of his catholic majeſty, occupying any poſts within the limits of the United States, were within the ſame period to be withdrawn. The commiſſioner of the United States, therefore, commenced his journey from the Natches in September, and troops were ordered to occupy the poſts from which the Spaniſh garriſons ſhould be withdrawn. Information has been recently received of the appointment of a commiſſioner on the part of his catholic majeſty for running the boundary line; but none of any appointment for the adjuſtment of the claims of our citizens, whoſe veſſels were captured by the armed veſſels of Spain.

In purſuance of the act of congreſs, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, for the protection and relief of American ſeamen, agents were appointed, one to reſide in Great Britain, and the other in the Weſt Indies. The effects of the agency in the Weſt Indies are not yet fully aſcertained; but thoſe which have been communicated afford grounds to believe the meaſure will be beneficial. The agent deſtined to reſide in Great Britain declining to accept the appointment, the buſineſs has conſequently devolved on the miniſter of the United States in London; and will command his attention, until a new agent ſhall be appointed.

After many delays and diſappointments, ariſing out of the European war, the final arrangements for fulfilling the engagements made to the dey and regency of Algiers will, in all preſent appearance, be crowned with ſucceſs; but under great, though inevitable diſadvantages, in the pecuniary tranſactions, occaſioned by that war; which will render a further proviſion neceſſary. The actual liberation of all our citizens who were priſoners in Algiers, while it gratifies every feeling heart, is itſelf an earneſt of a ſatisfactory termination of the whole negotiation.

Meaſures are in operation for effecting treaties with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indiſpenſable. This is manifeſt with regard to wars in which a ſtate is itſelf a party; but beſides this, it is our own experience, that the moſt ſincere neutrality is not a

ſufficient guard againſt the depredations of nations at war. To ſecure reſpect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force, organized, and ready to vindicate it from inſult or aggreſſion. This may even prevent the neceſſity of going to war, by diſcouraging belligerent powers from committing ſuch violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, firſt or laſt, have no other option. From the beſt information I have been able to obtain, it would ſeem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be inſecure, and our citizens expoſed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but juſt been relieved. Theſe conſiderations invite the United States to look to the means, and to ſet about the gradual creation of a navy. The increaſing progreſs of their navigation promiſes them, at no diſtant period, the requiſite ſupply of ſeamen; and their means, in other reſpects, favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement, likewiſe, that their particular ſituation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not then be adviſable to begin, without delay, to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ſhips of war; and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our reſources ſhall render it practicable, without inconvenience; ſo that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the ſame unprotected ſtate in which it was found by the preſent?

Congreſs have repeatedly, and not without ſucceſs, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much conſequence not to enſure a continuation of their efforts, in every way which will appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on a public account are inexpedient; but where the ſtate of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture will, for a great length of time, obtain; when theſe are of a nature eſſential to the furniſhing and equipping of the public force in the time of war, are not eſtabliſhments for procuring them on the public account, *to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public ſervice*, recommended by ſtrong conſiderations of national policy, as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in ſuch caſes dependent on foreign ſupply, precarious, becauſe liable to be interrupted? If the neceſſary articles ſhould in this mode coſt more in time of peace, will not the ſecurity and independence thence ariſing form an ample compenſation? Eſtabliſhments of this ſort, commenſurate only with the calls of the public ſervice in the time of peace, will, in time of war, eaſily be extended in proportion to the exigencies of the government, and even perhaps be made to yield a ſurplus, for the ſupply of our citizens at large; ſo as to mitigate the privateers from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all thoſe branches, which are already, or likely ſoon to be eſtabliſhed in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with purſuits of individual induſtry.

It will not be doubted that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in popula-

tion,

tion, and other circumſtances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the ſoil more and more an object of public patronage. Inſtitutions for promoting it grow up, ſupported by the public purſe; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater ſucceſs than the eſtabliſhment of boards, compoſed of proper characters, charged with collecting and diffuſing information, and enabled by premiums, and ſmall pecuniary aids, to encourage and aſſiſt a ſpirit of diſcovery and improvement.

I have heretofore propoſed to the conſideration of congreſs the expediency of eſtabliſhing a national univerſity, and alſo a military academy. The deſirableneſs of both theſe inſtitutions has ſo conſtantly increaſed with every new view I have taken of the ſubject, that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to them.

The aſſembly to which I addreſs myſelf is too enlightened not to be fully ſenſible how much a flouriſhing ſtate of the arts and ſciences contributes to national proſperity and reputation. True it is that our country, much to its honour, contains ſeminaries of learning, highly reſpectable and uſeful; but the funds upon which they reſt, are too narrow to command the ableſt profeſſors in the different departments of liberal knowledge, for the inſtitution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries.

Among the motives to ſuch an inſtitution, the aſſimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen, by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter, well deſerves attention. The more homogeneous our citizens can be made in theſe particulars, the greater will be our proſpect of permanent union; and a primary object of ſuch a national inſtitution ſhould be the education of our youth in the ſcience of government. In a republic, what ſpecies of knowledge can be equally important; and what duty more preſſing on its legiſlature than to patronize a plan for communicating it to thoſe who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?

While, in our external relations, ſome ſerious inconveniences and embarraſſments have been overcome, and others leſſened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumſtances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has ſuffered, and is ſuffering, extenſive injuries in the Weſt Indies, from the cruiſers and agents of the French republic; and communications have been received from its miniſter here, which indicate the danger of a further diſturbance of our commerce by its authority, and which are, in other reſpects, far from agreeable.

It has been my conſtant, ſincere, and earneſt wiſh, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony and a perfectly friendly underſtanding with that republic. This wiſh remains unabated; and I ſhall perſevere in the endeavour to fulfil it, to the utmoſt extent of what ſhall be conſiſtent with a juſt and indiſpenſable regard to the rights and honour of

our

our country; nor will I eaſily ceaſe to cheriſh the expectation, that a ſpirit of juſtice, candour, and friendſhip, on the part of the republic, will eventually enſure ſucceſs.

In purſuing this courſe, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation; or to a full and entire confidence in the good ſenſe, patriotiſm, ſelf-reſpect, and fortitude of my countrymen.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Addreſs of the Senate, preſented by their Preſident, John Adams, *to the Preſident of the* United States; *in Anſwer to the above Speech, Dec.* 12.

WE thank you, ſir, for your faithful and detailed expoſure of the exiſting ſituation of our country; and we ſincerely join in ſentiments of gratitude to an overruling Providence for the diſtinguiſhed ſhare of public proſperity and private happineſs, which the people of the United States ſo peculiarly enjoy.

We obſerve with pleaſure, that the delivery of the military poſts lately occupied by the Britiſh forces within the territory of the United States, was made with cordiality and promptitude, as ſoon as circumſtances would admit; and that the other proviſions of our objects of eventual arrangement are now about being carried into effect with entire harmony and good faith.

We perfectly coincide with you in opinion, that the importance of our commerce demands a naval force for its protection againſt foreign inſult and depredation; and our ſolicitude to attain that object will be always proportionate to its magnitude.

The neceſſity of accelerating the eſtabliſhment of certain uſeful manufactures by the intervention of legiſlative aid and protection, and the encouragement due to agriculture by the creation of boards (compoſed of intelligent individuals) to patronize this primary purſuit of ſociety, are ſubjects which will readily engage our moſt ſerious attention.

A national univerſity may be converted to the moſt uſeful purpoſes. The ſcience of legiſlation being ſo eſſentially dependent on the endowments of the mind, the public intereſt muſt receive effectual aid from the general diffuſion of knowledge; and the United States will aſſume a more dignified ſtation among the nations of the earth, by the ſucceſsful cultivation of the higheſt branches of literature.

We ſincerely lament, that while the conduct of the United States has been uniformly impreſſed with the character of equity, moderation, and love of peace, in the maintenance of all their foreign relationſhips, our trade ſhould be ſo haraſſed by the cruiſers and agents of the republic of France, throughout the extenſive departments of the Weſt Indies.

We cordially acquieſce in the reflection that the United States, under the operation of the federal government, have experienced a moſt rapid aggrandizement and proſperity, as well political as commercial.

While contemplating the cauſes that produce this auſpicious reſult, we muſt acknowledge the excellence of the conſtitutional ſyſtem, and the wiſdom of the legiſla-

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tive provifions: but we ſhould be deficient in gratitude and juſtice, did we not attribute a great portion of theſe advantages to the virtue, firmneſs, and talents of your adminiſtration, which have been conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the moſt trying times, and on the moſt critical occaſions. It is, therefore, with the ſincereſt regret, that we now receive an official notification of your intention to retire from the public employments of your country.

When we review the various ſcenes of your public life, ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully devoted to the moſt arduous ſervices, civil and military, as well during the ſtruggles of the American revolution, as the convulſive periods of a recent date, we cannot look forward to your retirement without our warmeſt affections and moſt anxious regards accompanying you, and without mingling with our fellow-citizens at large the ſincereſt wiſhes for your perſonal happineſs that ſenſibility and attachment can expreſs.

The moſt effectual conſolation that can offer for the loſs we are about to ſuſtain, ariſes from the animating reflection, that the influence of your example will extend to your ſucceſſors, and the United States thus continue to enjoy an able, upright, and energetic adminiſtration.

JOHN ADAMS, vice preſident of the United States, and preſident of the ſenate.

The Preſident's Reply.

Gentlemen,

IT affords me great ſatisfaction to find in your addreſs a concurrence in ſentiment with me on the various topics which I preſented for your information and deliberation; and that the latter will receive from you an attention proportioned to their reſpective importance.

For the notice you take of my public ſervices, civil and military, and your kind wiſhes for my perſonal happineſs, I beg you to accept my cordial thanks. Theſe ſervices, and greater, had I poſſeſſed ability to render them, were due to the unanimous calls of my country; and its approbation is my abundant reward.

When contemplating the period of my retirement, I ſaw virtuous and enlightened men, among whom I reſted on the diſcernment and patriotiſm of my fellow-citizens to make the proper choice of a ſucceſſor; men who would require no influential example to enſure to the United States "an able, upright, and energetic adminiſtration." To ſuch men I ſhall cheerfully yield the palm of genius and talents, to ſerve our common country; but at the ſame time I hope I may be indulged in expreſſing the conſoling reflection (which conſciouſneſs ſuggeſts), and to bear it with me to the grave, that none can ſerve it with purer intentions than I have done, or with a more diſintereſted zeal.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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CHARACTERS.

Anecdotes of Michael Angelo.

From Anecdotes of ſome diſtinguiſhed Perſons, chiefly of the preſent and two preceding Centuries. Vol. III.]

THIS great man, from his infancy, ſhewed a ſtrong inclination for painting, and made ſo rapid a progreſs in it, that he is ſaid, at the age of fourteen, to have been able to correct the drawings of his maſter Dominico Ghirlandai. When he was an old man, one of theſe drawings being ſhewn to him, he modeſtly ſaid, "In my youth I was a better artiſt than I am now."

His quickneſs of eye was wonderful. He uſed to ſay that a ſculptor ſhould carry his compaſs in his eye. "The hands, indeed," ſaid he, "do the work, but the eye judges."

Of his power of eye he was ſo certain, that having once ordered a block of marble to be brought to him, he told the ſtone-cutter to cut away ſome particular parts of the marble, and to poliſh others. Very ſoon an exquiſitely fine figure ſtarts out from the block. The ſtone-cutter, ſurpriſed, beheld it with admiration, "Well my friend," ſays Michael Angelo, "what do you think of it now?" "I hardly "know what to think of it," anſwered the aſtoniſhed mechanic, "it "is a very fine figure to be ſure. I "have infinite obligations to you, "Sir, for thus making me diſcover "in myſelf a talent which I never "knew I poſſeſſed."

Angelo, full of the great and ſublime ideas of his art, lived very much alone, and never ſuffered a day to paſs without handling his chiſſel or his pencil. When ſome perſon reproached him with leading ſo melancholy and ſolitary a life, "Art," he replied, "is a jealous thing; it re-"quires the whole and entire man."

On being aſked why he did not marry, he ſaid, "My art is my "wife, and gives me all the trouble "that a married life would do. My "works will be my children. Who "would ever hear of Ghiberti, if he "had not made the gates of the "Baptiſtery of St. John. His chil-"dren have diſſipated his fortune; "his gates remain."

On being one day aſked what he thought of Ghiberti's gates; "they "are ſo beautiful," replied Angelo, "that they may ſerve as the gates "of paradiſe."

He one day went with Vaſari to ſee Titian at work at the palace of the Belvidere at Rome, who had then his picture of Danae on the

eaſel. When they returned, Angelo ſaid to Vaſari, "I much approve of "Titian's colouring, and his manner "of work; but what a pity it is, "that in the Venetian ſchool they "do not learn to draw correctly, and "that they have not a better taſte "of ſtudy! If Titian's talents had "been ſeconded by a knowledge of "art and of drawing, it would have "been impoſſible for any one to "have done more or better. He "poſſeſſes a great ſhare of genius, "and a grand and lively manner; "but nothing is more certain than "this, that the painter who is not "profound in drawing, and who has "not very diligently ſtudied the "choſen works of the ancients and "of the moderns, can never do any "thing well of himſelf, nor never "make a proper uſe of what he does "after nature; becauſe he cannot "apply to it that grace, that per-"fection of art, that is not found in "the common order of nature, "where we generally ſee ſome parts "which are not beautiful."

He was extremely diſintereſted. For his immortal deſign of the church of St. Peter at Rome, he received only twenty-five Roman crowns; it was finiſhed in a fortnight. San Gallo had been many years about his wretched models, and had received four thouſand crowns for them. This being told to Angelo, he ſaid, "I work for God, and de-"ſire no other recompence."

His diſintereſtedneſs, however, did not make him neglect the honour of his art, which he would not ſacrifice even to his friends. Signor Doni, who was an intimate friend of Michael Angelo, deſired to have a picture painted by him. Angelo painted a picture for him, and ſent it to him with a receipt for ſeventy crowns. Doni returned him word that he thought forty crowns were ſufficient for the picture. Angelo gave him to underſtand that he now aſked one hundred crowns. Doni informed him, that he would now give him the ſeventy crowns. Angelo ſent him for anſwer, that he muſt either return him the picture or ſend him one hundred and forty crowns. Doni kept the picture, and paid the money.

Angelo was ever jealous of the dignity of his character as an artiſt. While he was employed by Pope Julius the Second on his mauſoleum he had twice requeſted to ſee his holineſs without ſucceſs. He told the chamberlain on the ſecond refuſal, "When his holineſs aſks to "ſee me, tell him I am not to be "met with." Soon after he ſet out for Florence; the pope diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to him and at laſt he returned to Rome when Julius very readily forgave him, and would never permit any of his enemies or detractors to ſay any thing againſt him in his preſence.

Some of his rivals, wiſhing to put him upon an undertaking for which they thought him ill qualified, recommended it to Julius the Second to engage him to paint the Seſtine chapel. This he effected with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was no leſs the envy of his contemporaries, than it is the admiration of the preſent times; and the great ſtyle in which it is painted, ſtruck Raphael ſo forcibly that he changed his manner of painting, and formed himſelf upon this grand and ſublime model of art. When it was finiſhed, the pope, unconſcious perhaps of the native dignity of ſimplicity, told him, that the chapel appeared cold and mean, and

that there wanted ſome brilliancy of colouring and ſome gilding to be added to it. "Holy father," replied the artiſt, "formerly, men did not "dreſs as they do now, in gold and "ſilver: thoſe perſons whom I have "repreſented in my pictures in the "chapel, were not wealthy men, but "ſaints, who deſpiſed pomp and "riches."

Under the papacy of Julius the Third, the faction of his rival, San Gallo, gave him ſome trouble reſpecting the building of St. Peter's, and went ſo far as to prevail upon that pope to appoint a committee to examine the fabric. Julius told him that a particular part of the church was dark. "Who told you that, "holy father?" replied the artiſt. "I did," ſaid Cardinal Micello. "Your eminence ſhould conſider, "then," ſaid Angelo, "that, beſides "the window there is at preſent, I "intend to have three more on the "cieling of the church." "You did "not tell us ſo," replied the cardinal. "No indeed, I did not, Sir," anſwered the artiſt, "and I am not "obliged to do it; and I would "never conſent to be obliged to tell "your eminence, or any perſon "whomſoever, any thing concerning "it. Your buſineſs is to take care "that money is plenty at Rome; "that there are no thieves there; "to let me alone; and to permit "me to go on with my plan as I "pleaſe."

Angelo worked by night with a hat on his head, and a candle in it; this ſaved his eyes, and threw the light properly upon the figure. He never deſired to ſhew work of his to any one until it was finiſhed. On Vaſari's coming in one evening to him to ſee an unfiniſhed figure, Michael Angelo put out the candle, as if by accident, and Vaſari loſt his errand.

This great artiſt was extremely frugal, temperate and laborious, and ſo perſevering in his work, that he uſed occaſionally at night to throw himſelf upon his bed, without taking off his clothes. To young men of talents and of diligence he was extremely attentive; and, as he was ſuperintending the conſtruction of the church of St. Peter at Rome, in a very advanced period of life, he would, while ſitting on his mule, correct their drawings. To his ſervants and inferiors he was very kind:—To one of them who had long waited on him with aſſiduity, and who was taken dangerouſly ill as ſoon as he had been enabled to do ſomething for him, he ſaid, "Alas! poor fellow, how hard it is! "you die now, when I am able to "give you ſomething."

The late ſir Joſhua Reynolds was an enthuſiaſtic admirer of Michael Angelo; and he, perhaps, never imitated the manner of that great man ſo ſucceſsfully, as in his picture of the death of count Ugolino.

Particulars of the early years of the life of Mr. Gibbon, *and of the courſe of ſtudies, which laid the foundation of his ſubſequent celebrity.*

[*From the Miſcellaneous Works of* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq. with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, compoſed by himſelf. Edited by Lord* Sheffield.]

"I WAS born at Putney, in the county of Surry, the 27th of April, O. S. in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-ſeven;

the firſt child of the marriage of Edward Gibbon, eſq. and of Judith Porten. My lot might have been that of a ſlave, a ſavage, or a peaſant; nor can I reflect without pleaſure on the bounty of nature, which caſt my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of ſcience and philoſophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune. From my birth I have enjoyed the right of primogeniture; but I was ſucceeded by five brothers and one ſiſter, all of whom were ſnatched away in their infancy. My five brothers, whoſe names may be found in the pariſh regiſter of Putney, I ſhall not pretend to lament: but from my childhood to the preſent hour I have deeply and ſincerely regretted my ſiſter, whoſe life was ſomewhat prolonged, whom I remember to have ſeen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a ſiſter, eſpecially if they do not marry, appears to me of a very ſingular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendſhip with a female, much about our own age; an affection perhaps ſoftened by the ſecret influence of ſex, but pure from any mixture of ſenſual deſire, the ſole ſpecies of Platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger."

"The death of a new-born child before that of its parents may ſeem an unnatural, but it is ſtrictly a probable, event: ſince of any given number the greater part are extinguiſhed before their ninth year, before they poſſeſs the faculties of the mind or body. Without accuſing the profuſe waſte or imperfect workmanſhip of nature, I ſhall only obſerve, that this unfavourable chance was multiplied againſt my infant exiſtence. So feeble was my conſtitution, ſo precarious my life, that, in the baptiſm of each of my brothers, my father's prudence ſucceſſively repeated my chriſtian name of Edward, that, in caſe of the departure of the eldeſt ſon, this patronymic appellation might be ſtill perpetuated in the family.

——*Uno avulſo non deficit alter.*

To preſerve and to rear ſo frail a being, the moſt tender aſſiduity was ſcarcely ſufficient; and my mother's attention was ſomewhat diverted by her frequent pregnancies, by an excluſive paſſion for her huſband, and by the diſſipation of the world, in which his taſte and authority obliged her to mingle. But the maternal office was ſupplied by my aunt, Mrs. Catharine Porten; at whoſe name I feel a tear of gratitude trickling down my cheek. A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her ſiſter's firſt child: my weakneſs excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labour and ſucceſs: and if there be any, as I truſt there are ſome, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they muſt hold themſelves indebted. Many anxious and ſolitary days did ſhe conſume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amuſement. Many wakeful nights did ſhe ſit by my bed-ſide in trembling expectation that each hour would be my laſt. Of the various and frequent diſorders of my childhood my own recollection is dark; nor do I wiſh to expatiate on ſo diſguſting a topic. Suffice it to ſay, that while every practitioner, from Sloane and Ward to the chevalier Taylor, was ſucceſſively ſummoned to torture or relieve me, the care of my mind

was

was too frequently neglected for that of my health; compaſſion always ſuggeſted an excuſe for the indulgence of the maſter, or the idleneſs of the pupil; and the chain of my education was broken, as often as I was recalled from the ſchool of learning to the bed of ſickneſs.

"As ſoon as the uſe of ſpeech had prepared my infant reaſon for the admiſſion of knowledge, I was taught the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. So remote is the date, ſo vague is the memory of their origin in myſelf, that, were not the error corrected by analogy, I ſhould be tempted to conceive them as innate. In my childhood I was praiſed for the readineſs, with which I could multiply and divide, by memory alone, two ſums of ſeveral figures: ſuch praiſe encouraged my growing talent; and had I perſevered in this line of application, I might have acquired ſome fame in mathematical ſtudies.

"After this previous inſtitution at home, or at a day-ſchool at Putney, I was delivered at the age of ſeven into the hands of Mr. John Kirkby, who exerciſed about eighteen months the office of my domeſtic tutor. His own words, which I ſhall here tranſcribe, inſpire in his favour a ſentiment of pity and eſteem.—'During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I uſed now-and-then in a ſummer, when the pleaſantneſs of the ſeaſon invited, to take a ſolitary walk to the ſeaſhore, which lies about two miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuſe myſelf, one while in viewing at large the agreeable proſpect which ſurrounded me, and another while (confining my ſight to nearer objects) in admiring the vaſt variety of beautiful ſhells, thrown upon the beach; ſome of the choiceſt of which I always picked up, to divert my little ones upon my return. One time among the reſt, taking ſuch a journey in my head, I ſat down upon the declivity of the beach with my face to the ſea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet; when immediately the ſad thoughts of the wretched condition of my family, and the unſucceſsfulneſs of all endeavours to amend it, came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes.' Diſtreſs at laſt forced him to leave the country. His learning and virtue introduced him to my father; and at Putney he might have found at leaſt a temporary ſhelter, had not an act of indiſcretion again driven him into the world. One day reading prayers in the pariſh church, he moſt unluckily forgot the name of king George; his patron, a loyal ſubject, diſmiſſed him with ſome reluctance, and a decent reward; and *how* the poor man ended his days I have never been able to learn."

"In my ninth year (January 1746), in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and cuſtomary mode of Engliſh education; and I was ſent to Kingſton upon Thames, to a ſchool of about ſeventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Wooddeſon and his aſſiſtants. Every time I have ſince paſſed over Putney Common, I have always noticed the ſpot where my mother, as we drove along in the coach, admoniſhed me

that I was now going into the world, and muſt learn to think and act for myſelf. The expreſſion may appear ludicrous; yet there is not, in the courſe of life, a more remarkable change than the removal of a child from the luxury and freedom of a wealthy houſe, to the frugal diet and ſtrict ſubordination of a ſchool; from the tenderneſs of parents, and the obſequiouſneſs of ſervants, to the rude familiarity of his equals, the inſolent tyranny of his ſeniors, and the rod, perhaps, of a cruel and capricious pedagogue. Such hardſhips may ſteel the mind and body againſt the injuries of fortune; but my timid reſerve was aſtoniſhed by the crowd and tumult of the ſchool; the want of ſtrength and activity diſqualified me for the ſports of the play-field; nor have I forgotten how often in the year forty-ſix I was reviled and buffetted for the ſins of my tory anceſtors. By the common methods of diſcipline, at the expence of many tears and ſome blood, I purchaſed the knowledge of the Latin ſyntax: and not long ſince I was poſſeſſed of the dirty volumes of Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully conſtrued and darkly underſtood."

"My ſtudies were too frequently interrupted by ſickneſs; and after a real or nominal reſidence at Kingſton-ſchool of near two years, I was finally recalled (December 1747) by my mother's death, which was occaſioned, in her thirty-eighth year, by the conſequences of her laſt labour. I was too young to feel the importance of my loſs; and the image of her perſon and converſation is faintly imprinted in my memory. The affectionate heart of my aunt, Catharine Porten, bewailed a ſiſter and a friend; but my poor father was inconſolable, and the tranſport of grief ſeemed to threaten his life or his reaſon. I can never forget the ſcene of our firſt interview, ſome weeks after the fatal event; the awful ſilence, the room hung with black, the mid-day tapers, his ſighs and tears; his praiſes of my mother, a ſaint in heaven; his ſolemn adjuration that I would cheriſh her memory and imitate her virtues; and the fervor with which he kiſſed and bleſſed me as the ſole ſurviving pledge of their loves. The ſtorm of paſſion inſenſibly ſubſided into calmer melancholy. At a convivial meeting of his friends, Mr. Gibbon might affect or enjoy a gleam of cheerfulneſs; but his plan of happineſs was for ever deſtroyed: and after the loſs of his companion he was left alone in a world, of which the buſineſs and pleaſures were to him irkſome or inſipid. After ſome unſucceſsful trials he renounced the tumult of London and the hoſpitality of Putney, and buried himſelf in the rural or rather ruſtic ſolitude of Buriton; from which, during ſeveral years, he ſeldom emerged.

"As far back as I can remember, the houſe, near Putney-bridge and church-yard, of my maternal grandfather appears in the light of my proper and native home. It was there that I was allowed to ſpend the greateſt part of my time, in ſickneſs or in health, during my ſchool vacations and my parents' reſidence in London, and finally after my mother's death. Three months after that event, in the ſpring of 1748, the commercial ruin of her father, Mr. James Porten, was accompliſhed and declared. He

He ſuddenly abſconded: but as his effects were not ſold, nor the houſe evacuated, till the Chriſtmas following, I enjoyed during the whole year the ſociety of my aunt, without much conſciouſneſs of her impending fate. I feel a melancholy pleaſure in repeating my obligations to that excellent woman, Mrs. Catherine Porten, the true mother of my mind and health. Her natural good ſenſe was improved by the peruſal of the beſt books in the Engliſh language; and if her reaſon was ſometimes clouded by prejudice, her ſentiments were never diſguiſed by hypocriſy or affectation. Her indulgent tenderneſs, the frankneſs of her temper, and my innate riſing curioſity, ſoon removed all diſtance between us: like friends of an equal age, we freely converſed on every topic, familiar or abſtruſe; and it was her delight and reward to obſerve the firſt ſhoots of my young ideas. Pain and languor were often ſoothed by the voice of inſtruction and amuſement; and to her kind leſſons I aſcribe my early and invincible love of reading, which I would not exchange for the treaſures of India. I ſhould perhaps be aſtoniſhed, were it poſſible to aſcertain the date, at which a favourite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my memory: the Cavern of the Winds; the Palace of Felicity; and the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had worn out ſo many pair of wings in the purſuit. Before I left Kingſton ſchool I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer and the Arabian Nights Entertainments, two books which will always pleaſe by the moving picture of human manners and ſpecious miracles: nor was I then capable of diſcerning that Pope's tranſlation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeneſs to the original. The verſes of Pope accuſtomed my ear to the ſound of poetic harmony: in the death of Hector, and the ſhipwreck of Ulyſſes, I taſted the new emotions of terror and pity; and ſeriouſly diſputed with my aunt on the vices and virtues of the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was an eaſy tranſition; but I know not how, from ſome fault in the author, the tranſlator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not ſo forcibly ſeize on my imagination; and I derived more pleaſure from Ovid's Metamorphoſes, eſpecially in the fall of Phaeton, and the ſpeeches of Ajax and Ulyſſes. My grandfather's flight unlocked the door of a tolerable library; and I turned over many Engliſh pages of poetry and romance, of hiſtory and travels. Where a title attracted my eye, without fear or awe I ſnatched the volume from the ſhelf; and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herſelf in moral and religious ſpeculations, was more prone to encourage than to check a curioſity above the ſtrength of a boy. This year (1748), the twelfth of my age, I ſhall note as the moſt propitious to the growth of my intellectual ſtature.

"The relics of my grandfather's fortune afforded a bare annuity for his own maintenance; and his daughter, my worthy aunt, who had already paſſed her fortieth year, was left deſtitute. Her noble ſpirit ſcorned a life of obligation and dependence; and after revolving ſeveral ſchemes, ſhe preferred the

humble induſtry of keeping a boarding houſe for Weſtminſter-ſchool, where ſhe laborioufly earned a competence for her old age. This ſingular opportunity of blending the advantages of private and public education decided my father. After the Chriſtmas holidays in January 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new houſe in College-ſtreet; and was immediately entered in the ſchool, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head-maſter. At firſt I was alone: but my aunt's reſolution was praiſed; her character was eſteemed; her friends were numerous and active: in the courſe of ſome years ſhe became the mother of forty or fifty boys, for the moſt part of family and fortune; and as her primitive habitation was too narrow, ſhe built and occupied a ſpacious manſion in Dean's-yard. I ſhall always be ready to join in the common opinion, that our public ſchools, which have produced ſo many eminent characters, are the beſt adapted to the genius and conſtitution of the Engliſh people. A boy of ſpirit may acquire a previous and practical experience of the world; and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his intereſt. In a free intercourſe with his equals, the habits of truth, fortitude, and prudence will inſenſibly be matured. Birth and riches are meaſured by the ſtandard of perſonal merit; and the mimic ſcene of a rebellion has diſplayed, in their true colours, the miniſters and patriots of the riſing generation. Our ſeminaries of learning do not exactly correſpond with the precept of a Spartan king, "that the child "ſhould be inſtructed in the arts, "which will be uſeful to the man;" ſince a finiſhed ſcholar may emerge from the head of Weſtminſter or Eton, in total ignorance of the buſineſs and converſation of Engliſh gentlemen in the latter end of the eighteenth century. But theſe ſchools may aſſume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages; they depoſit in the hands of a diſciple the keys of two valuable cheſts; nor can he complain, if they are afterwards loſt or neglected by his own fault. The neceſſity of leading in equal ranks ſo many unequal powers of capacity and application, will prolong to eight or ten years the juvenile ſtudies, which might be diſpatched in half that time by the ſkilful maſter of a ſingle pupil. Yet even the repetition of exerciſe and diſcipline contributes to fix in a vacant mind the verbal ſcience of grammar and proſody: and the private or voluntary ſtudent, who poſſeſſes the ſenſe and ſpirit of the claſſics, may offend, by a falſe quantity of the ſcrupulous ear of a well-flogged critic. For myſelf, I muſt be content with a very ſmall ſhare of the civil and literary fruits of a public ſchool. In the ſpace of two years (1749, 1750), interrupted by danger and debility, I painfully climbed into the third form; and my riper age was left to acquire the beauties of the Latin, and the rudiments of the Greek tongue. Inſtead of audaciouſly mingling in the ſports, the quarrels, and the connections of our little world, I was ſtill cheriſhed at home under the maternal wing of my aunt: and my removal from Weſtminſter long preceded the approach of manhood.

"The violence and variety of my complaints, which had excuſed my frequent abſence from Weſtminſter,

minſter-ſchool, at length engaged Mrs. Porten, with the advice of phyſicians, to conduct me to Bath: at the end of the Michaelmas vacation (1750) ſhe quitted me with reluctance, and I remained ſeveral months under the care of a truſty maid-ſervant. A ſtrange nervous affection, which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, without any viſible ſymptoms, the moſt excruciating pain, was ineffectually oppoſed by the various methods of bathing and pumping. From Bath I was tranſported to Wincheſter, to the houſe of a phyſician; and after the failure of his medical ſkill, we had again recourſe to the virtues of the Bath waters. During the intervals of theſe fits, I moved with my father to Buriton and Putney; and a ſhort unſucceſsful trial was attempted to renew my attendance at Weſtminſter-ſchool. But my infirmities could not be reconciled with the hours and diſcipline of a public ſeminary; and inſtead of a domeſtic tutor, who might have watched the favourable moments, and gently advanced the progreſs of my learning, my father was too eaſily content with ſuch occaſional teachers, as the different places of my reſidence could ſupply. I was never forced, and ſeldom was I perſuaded, to admit theſe leſſons: yet I read with a clergyman at Bath ſome odes of Horace, and ſeveral epiſodes of Virgil, which gave me an imperfect and tranſient enjoyment of the Latin poets. It might now be apprehended that I ſhould continue for life an illiterate cripple: but, as I approached my ſixteenth year, Nature diſplayed in my favour her myſterious energies: my conſtitution was fortified and fixed; and my diſorders, inſtead of growing with my growth and ſtrengthening with my ſtrength, moſt wonderfully vaniſhed. I have never poſſeſſed or abuſed the inſolence of health: but ſince that time few perſons have been more exempt from real or imaginary ills; and, till I am admoniſhed by the gout, the reader will no more be troubled with the hiſtory of my bodily complaints. My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Eſher, in Surry, in the houſe of the reverend Mr. Philip Francis, in a pleaſant ſpot, which promiſed to unite the various benefits of air, exerciſe, and ſtudy (January 1752). The tranſlator of Horace might have taught me to reliſh the Latin poets, had not my friends diſcovered in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleaſures of London, to the inſtruction of his pupils. My father's perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a ſingular and deſperate meaſure. Without preparation or delay he carried me to Oxford; and I was matriculated in the univerſity as a gentleman commoner of Magdalen college, before I had accompliſhed the fifteenth year of my age (April 3, 1752).

"The curioſity, which had been implanted in my infant mind, was ſtill alive and active; but my reaſon was not ſufficiently informed to underſtand the value, or to lament the loſs, of three precious years from my entrance at Weſtminſter to my admiſſion at Oxford. Inſtead of repining at my long and frequent confinement to the chamber or the couch, I ſecretly rejoiced in thoſe infirmities, which delivered me from the exerciſes of the ſchool, and the ſociety of my equals. As often as I was tolerably exempt from danger and

and pain, reading, free deſultory reading, was the employment and comfort of my ſolitary hours. At Weſtminſter, my aunt ſought only to amuſe and indulge me; in my ſtations at Bath and Wincheſter, at Buriton and Putney, a falſe compaſſion reſpected my ſufferings; and I was allowed, without control or advice, to gratify the wanderings of an unripe taſte. My indiſcriminate appetite ſubſided by degrees in the *hiſtoric* line: and ſince philoſophy has exploded all innate ideas and natural propenſities, I muſt aſcribe this choice to the aſſiduous peruſal of the Univerſal Hiſtory, as the octavo volumes ſucceſſively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatiſe of Hearne, the *Ductor hiſtoricus*, referred and introduced me to the Greek and Roman hiſtorians, to as many at leaſt as were acceſſible to an Engliſh reader. All that I could find were greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spelman's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the laſt century. The cheap acquiſition of ſo much knowledge confirmed my diſlike to the ſtudy of languages; and I argued with Mrs. Porten, that, were I maſter of Greek and Latin, I muſt interpret to myſelf in Engliſh the thoughts of the original, and that ſuch extemporary verſions muſt be inferior to the elaborate tranſlations of profeſſed ſcholars; a ſilly ſophiſm, which could not eaſily be confuted by a perſon ignorant of any other language than her own. From the ancient I leaped to the modern world: many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c. I devoured like ſo many novels; and I ſwallowed with the ſame voracious appetite the deſcriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

"My firſt introduction to the hiſtoric ſcenes, which have ſince engaged ſo many years of my life, muſt be aſcribed to an accident. In the ſummer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a viſit to Mr. Hoare's in Wiltſhire; but I was leſs delighted with the beauties of Stourhead, than with diſcovering in the library a common book, the Continuation of Echard's Roman Hiſtory, which is indeed executed with more ſkill and taſte than the previous work. To me the reigns of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine were abſolutely new; and I was immerſed in the paſſage of the Goths over the Danube, when the ſummons of the dinner-bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feaſt. This tranſient glance ſerved rather to irritate than to appeaſe my curioſity; and as ſoon as I returned to Bath I procured the ſecond and third volumes of Howel's Hiſtory of the world, which exhibit the Byzantine period on a larger ſcale. Mahomet and his Saracens ſoon fixed my attention; and ſome inſtinct of criticiſm directed me to the genuine ſources. Simon Ockley, an original in every ſenſe, firſt opened my eyes; and I was led from one book to another, till I had ranged round the circle of oriental hiſtory. Before I was ſixteen, I had exhauſted all that could be learned in Engliſh of the Arabs and Perſians, the Tartars and Turks; and the ſame ardour urged me to gueſs at the French of D'Herbelot, and to conſtrue the barbarous Latin of Pocock's Abulfaragius. Such vague and multifarious reading could not teach me to think, to write,

write, or to act; and the only principle, that darted a ray of light into the indigeſted chaos, was an early and rational application to the order of time and place. The maps of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of ancient geography: from Strarechius I imbibed the elements of chronology: the Tables of Helvicus and Anderſon, the Annals of Uſher and Prideaux, diſtinguiſhed the connection of events, and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and indelible ſeries. But in the diſcuſſion of the firſt ages I overleaped the bounds of modeſty and uſe. In my childiſh balance I preſumed to weigh the ſyſtems of Scaliger and Petavius, of Marſham and Newton, which I could ſeldom ſtudy in the originals; and my ſleep has been diſturbed by the difficulty of reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation. I arrived at Oxford with a ſtock of erudition, that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a ſchool-boy would have been aſhamed."

"To the univerſity of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and ſhe will as cheerfully renounce me for a ſon, as I am willing to diſclaim her for a mother. I ſpent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the moſt idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the ſchool and the ſcholar; but I cannot affect to believe that Nature had diſqualified me for all literary purſuits. The ſpecious and ready excuſe of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and haſty departure, may doubtleſs be alleged; nor do I wiſh to defraud ſuch excuſes of their proper weight. Yet in my ſixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childiſh reading had diſplayed an early though blind propenſity for books; and the ſhallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear ſtream. In the diſcipline of a well-conſtituted academy, under the guidance of ſkilful and vigilant profeſſors, I ſhould gradually have riſen from tranſlations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek claſſics, from dead languages to living ſcience; my hours would have been occupied by uſeful and agreeable ſtudies, the wanderings of fancy would have been reſtrained, and I ſhould have eſcaped the temptations of idleneſs, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford."

"The firſt tutor into whoſe hands I was reſigned appears to have been one of the beſt of the tribe: Dr. Waldegrave was a learned and pious man, of a mild diſpoſition, ſtrict morals, and abſtemious life, who ſeldom mingled in the politics or the jollity of the college. But his knowledge of the world was confined to the univerſity; his learning was of the laſt, rather than of the preſent age; his temper was indolent; his faculties, which were not of the firſt rate, had been relaxed by the climate, and he was ſatisfied, like his fellows, with the ſlight and ſuperficial diſcharge of an important truſt. As ſoon as my tutor had ſounded the inſufficiency of his diſciple in ſchool-learning, he propoſed that we ſhould read every morning from ten to eleven the comedies of Terence. The ſum of my improvement in the univerſity of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays; and even the ſtudy of an elegant claſſic, which might have been

been illuſtrated by a compariſon of ancient and modern theatres, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the firſt weeks I conſtantly attended theſe leſſons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleaſure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a ſmile. I repeated the offence with leſs ceremony; the excuſe was admitted with the ſame indulgence: the ſlighteſt motive of lazineſs or indiſpoſition, the moſt trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conſcious of my abſence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been conſtantly filled, a ſingle hour was a ſmall portion of my academic leiſure. No plan of ſtudy was recommended for my uſe; no exerciſes were preſcribed for his inſpection; and, at the moſt precious ſeaſon of youth, whole days and weeks were ſuffered to elapſe without labour or amuſement, without advice or account. I ſhould have liſtened to the voice of reaſon and of my tutor; his mild behaviour had gained my confidence. I preferred his ſociety to that of the younger ſtudents; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington-hill, we freely converſed on a variety of ſubjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expreſſed an inclination to ſtudy Arabic. His prudence diſcouraged this childiſh fancy; but he neglected the fair occaſion of directing the ardour of a curious mind. During my abſence in the ſummer vacation, Dr. Waldegrave accepted a college living at Waſhington in Suſſex, and on my return I no longer found him at Oxford. From that time I have loſt ſight of my firſt tutor; but at the end of thirty years (1781) he was ſtill alive; and the practice of exerciſe and temperance had entitled him to a healthy old age.

"The long receſs between the Trinity and Michaelmas terms empties the colleges of Oxford, as well as the courts of Weſtminſter. I ſpent, at my father's houſe at Buriton in Hampſhire, the two months of Auguſt and September. It is whimſical enough, that as ſoon as I left Magdalen College, my taſte for books began to revive; but it was the ſame blind and boyiſh taſte for the purſuit of exotic hiſtory. Unprovided with original learning, unformed in the habits of thinking, unſkilled in the arts of compoſition, I reſolved—to write a book. The title of this firſt eſſay, The Age of Seſoſtris, was perhaps ſuggeſted by Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. which was new and popular; but my ſole object was to inveſtigate the probable date of the life and reign of the conqueror of Aſia. I was then enamoured of ſir John Marſham's Canon Chronicus; an elaborate work, of whoſe merits and defects I was not yet qualified to judge. According to his ſpecious, though narrow plan, I ſettled my hero about the time of Solomon, in the tenth century before the Chriſtian æra. It was therefore incumbent on me, unleſs I would adopt Sir Iſaac Newton's ſhorter chronology, to remove a formidable objection; and my ſolution, for a youth of fifteen, is not devoid of ingenuity. In his verſion of the ſacred books, Manetho the high prieſt has identified Sethoſis, or Seſoſtris, with the elder brother

brother of Danaus, who landed in Greece, according to the Parian Marble, fifteen hundred and ten years before Chriſt. But in my ſuppoſition the high prieſt is guilty of a voluntary error; flattery is the prolific parent of falſehood. Manetho's Hiſtory of Egypt is dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who derived a fabulous or illegitimate pedigree from the Macedonian kings of the race of Hercules. Danaus is the anceſtor of Hercules; and after the failure of the elder branch, his deſcendants, the Ptolemies, are the ſole repreſentatives of the royal family, and may claim by inheritance the kingdom which they hold by conqueſt. Such were my juvenile diſcoveries; at a riper age, I no longer preſume to connect the Greek, the Jewiſh, and the Egyptian antiquities, which are loſt in a diſtant cloud. Nor is this the only inſtance, in which the belief and knowledge of the child are ſuperſeded by the more rational ignorance of the man. During my ſtay at Buriton, my infant-labour was diligently proſecuted, without much interruption from company or country diverſions; and I already heard the muſic of public applauſe. The diſcovery of my own weakneſs was the firſt ſymptom of taſte. On my return to Oxford, the Age of Seſoſtris was wiſely relinquiſhed; but the imperfect ſheets remained twenty years at the bottom of a drawer, till, in a general clearance of papers, (November 1772), they were committed to the flames.

"After the departure of Dr. Waldegrave, I was transferred, with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whoſe literary character did not command the reſpect of the college. Dr. **** well remembered that he had a ſalary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Inſtead of guiding the ſtudies, and watching over the behaviour of his diſciple, I was never ſummoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and, excepting one voluntary viſit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the ſame college as ſtrangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, ſoon betrayed me into ſome improprieties of conduct, ill-choſen company, late hours, and inconſiderate expence. My growing debts might be ſecret; but my frequent abſence was viſible and ſcandalous; and a tour to Bath, a viſit into Buckinghamſhire, and four excurſions to London in the ſame winter, were coſtly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuſe. The irkſomeneſs of a cloiſtered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleaſure was that of travelling; and I was too young and baſhful to enjoy, like a manly Oxonian in town, the pleaſures of London. In all theſe excurſions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent ſtranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of controul. Yet my time was loſt, my expences were multiplied, my behaviour abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice ſhould have awakened the attention of my ſuperiors, and my tender years would have juſtified a more than ordinary degree of reſtraint and diſcipline.

"It might at leaſt be expected, that an eccleſiaſtical ſchool ſhould inculcate the orthodox principles of religion

religion. But our venerable mother had contrived to unite the oppoſite extremes of bigotry and indifference: an heretic, or unbeliever, was a monſter in her eyes; but ſhe was always, or often, or ſometimes, remiſs in the ſpiritual education of her own children. According to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, every ſtudent, before he is matriculated, muſt ſubſcribe his aſſent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are ſigned by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My inſufficient age excuſed me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as ſoon as I ſhould have accompliſhed my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the inſtruction of my college. My college forgot to inſtruct: I forgot to return, and was myſelf forgotten by the firſt magiſtrate of the univerſity. Without a ſingle lecture, either public or private, either chriſtian or proteſtant, without any academical ſubſcription, without any epiſcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechiſm to grope my way to the chapel and communion-table, where I was admitted, without a queſtion, how far, or by what means, I might be qualified to receive the ſacrament. Such almoſt incredible neglect was productive of the worſt miſchiefs. From my childhood I had been fond of religious diſputation: my poor aunt has been often puzzled by the myſteries which ſhe ſtrove to believe; nor had the elaſtic ſpring been totally broken by the weight of the atmoſphere of Oxford. The blind activity of idleneſs urged me to advance without armour into the dangerous mazes of controverſy; and at the age of ſixteen, I bewildered myſelf in the errors of the church of Rome.

"The progreſs of my converſion may tend to illuſtrate, at leaſt, the hiſtory of my own mind. It was not long ſince Dr. Middleton's free inquiry had founded an alarm in the theological world: much ink and much gall had been ſpilt in the defence of the primitive miracles; and the two dulleſt of their champions were crowned with academic honours by the univerſity of Oxford. The name of Middleton was unpopular; and his proſcription very naturally led me to peruſe his writings, and thoſe of his antagoniſts. His bold criticiſm, which approaches the precipice of infidelity, produced on my mind a ſingular effect; and had I perſevered in the communion of Rome, I ſhould now apply to my own fortune the prediction of the Sybil,

——Via prima ſalutis,
Quod minimè reris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe.

The elegance of ſtyle and freedom of argument were repelled by a ſhield of prejudice. I ſtill revered the character, or rather the names, of the ſaints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton expoſes; nor could he deſtroy my implicit belief, that the gift of miraculous powers was continued in the church, during the firſt four or five centuries of chriſtianity. But I was unable to reſiſt the weight of hiſtorical evidence, that within the ſame period moſt of the leading doctrines of popery were already introduced in theory and practice: nor was my concluſion abſurd, that miracles are the teſt of truth, and that the church muſt be orthodox and pure, which was

was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The marvellous tales which are so boldly attested by the Basils and Chrysostoms, the Austins and Jeroms, compelled me to embrace the superior merits of celibacy, the institution of the monastic life, the use of the sign of the cross, of holy oil, and even of images, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics, the rudiments of purgatory in prayers for the dead, and the tremendous mystery of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which insensibly swelled into the prodigy of transubstantiation. In these dispositions, and already more than half a convert, I formed an unlucky intimacy with a young gentleman of our college, whose name I shall spare. With a character less resolute, Mr. **** had imbibed the same religious opinions; and some Popish books, I know not through what channel, were conveyed into his possession. I read, I applauded, I believed: the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine, and the History of the Protestant Variations, atchieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand."

"No sooner had I settled my new religion than I resolved to profess myself a catholic. Youth is sincere and impetuous; and a momentary glow of enthusiasm had raised me above all temporal considerations."

"In my last excursion to London, I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis, a Roman catholic bookseller in Russell-street, Covent Garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant. In our first interview he soon discovered that persuasion was needless. After sounding the motives and merits of my conversion, he consented to admit me into the pale of the church; and at his feet, on the eighth of June 1753, I solemnly, though privately, abjured the errors of heresy. The seduction of an English youth of family and fortune was an act of as much danger as glory; but he bravely overlooked the danger, of which I was not then sufficiently informed. "Where a person is reconciled to "the see of Rome, or procures "others to be reconciled, the of- "fence (says Blackstone) amounts "to high treason." And if the humanity of the age would prevent the execution of this sanguinary statute, there were other laws of a less odious cast, which condemned the priest to perpetual imprisonment, and transferred the proselyte's estate to his nearest relation. An elaborate controversial epistle, approved by my director, and addressed to my father, announced and justified the step which I had taken. My father was neither a bigot nor a philosopher; but his affection deplored the loss of an only son; and his good sense was astonished at my strange departure from the religion of my country. In the first sally of passion he divulged a secret which prudence might have suppressed, and the gates of Magdalen College were for ever shut against my return."

"After carrying me to Putney, to the house of his friend Mr. Mallet, by whose philosophy I was rather scandalized than reclaimed, it was necessary for my father to form a new plan of education, and to devise some method which, if possible, might effect the cure of my spiritual malady. After much debate it

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was determined, from the advice and perſonal experience of Mr. Eliot (now lord Eliot) to fix me, during ſome years, at Lauſanne in Switzerland. Mr. Frey, a Swiſs gentleman of Baſil, undertook the conduct of the journey: we left London the 19th of June, croſſed the ſea from Dover to Calais, travelled poſt through ſeveral provinces of France, by the direct road of St. Quentin, Rheims, Langres, and Beſancon, and arrived the 30th of June at Lauſanne, where I was immediately ſettled under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calviniſt miniſter.

"The firſt marks of my father's diſpleaſure rather aſtoniſhed than afflicted me: when he threatened to baniſh, and diſown, and diſinherit a rebellious ſon, I cheriſhed a ſecret hope that he would not be able or willing to effect his menaces; and the pride of conſcience encouraged me to ſuſtain the honourable and important part which I was now acting. My ſpirits were raiſed and kept alive by the rapid motion of my journey, the new and various ſcenes of the continent, and the civility of Mr. Frey, a man of ſenſe, who was not ignorant of books or the world. But after he had reſigned me into Pavilliard's hands, and I was fixed in my new habitation, I had leiſure to contemplate the ſtrange and melancholy proſpect before me. My firſt complaint aroſe from my ignorance of the language. In my childhood I had once ſtudied the French grammar, and I could imperfectly underſtand the eaſy proſe of a familiar ſubject. But when I was thus ſuddenly caſt on a foreign land, I found myſelf deprived of the uſe of ſpeech and of hearing; and, during ſome weeks, incapable not only of enjoying the pleaſures of converſation, but even of aſking or anſwering a queſtion in the common intercourſe of life. To a home-bred Engliſhman every object, every cuſtom was offenſive; but the native of any country might have been diſguſted with the general aſpect of his lodging and entertainment. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College, for a narrow, gloomy ſtreet, the moſt unfrequented of an unhandſome town, for an old inconvenient houſe, and for a ſmall chamber ill-contrived and ill-furniſhed, which, on the approach of winter, inſtead of a companionable fire, muſt be warmed by the dull inviſible heat of a ſtove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependance of a ſchool-boy. Mr. Pavilliard managed my expences, which had been reduced to a diminutive ſtate: I received a ſmall monthly allowance for my pocket-money; and helpleſs and awkward as I have ever been, I no longer enjoyed the indiſpenſable comfort of a ſervant. My condition ſeemed as deſtitute of hope, as it was devoid of pleaſure: I was ſeparated for an indefinite, which appeared an infinite term from my native country; and I had loſt all connection with my catholic friends. I have ſince reflected with ſurpriſe, that as the Romiſh clergy of every part of Europe maintain a cloſe correſpondence with each other, they never attempted, by letters or meſſages, to reſcue me from the hands of the heretics, or at leaſt to confirm my zeal and conſtancy in the profeſſion of the faith. Such was my firſt introduction to Lauſanne; a place where I ſpent nearly

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five years with pleaſure and profit, which I afterwards reviſited without compulſion, and which I have finally ſelected as the moſt grateful retreat for the decline of my life.

"But it is the peculiar felicity of youth that the moſt unpleaſing objects and events ſeldom make a deep or laſting impreſſion; it forgets the paſt, enjoys the preſent, and anticipates the future. At the flexible age of ſixteen I ſoon learned to endure, and gradually to adopt, the new forms of arbitrary manners: the real hardſhips of my ſituation were alienated by time. Had I been ſent abroad in a more ſplendid ſtyle, ſuch as the fortune and bounty of my father might have ſupplied, I might have returned home with the ſame ſtock of language and ſcience, which our countrymen uſually import from the continent. An exile and a priſoner as I was, their example betrayed me into ſome irregularities of wine, of play, and of idle excurſions: but I ſoon felt the impoſſibility of aſſociating with them on equal terms; and after the departure of my firſt acquaintance, I held a cold and civil correſpondence with their ſucceſſors. This ſecluſion from Engliſh ſociety was attended with the moſt ſolid benefits. In the Pays de Vaud, the French language is uſed with leſs imperfection than in moſt of the diſtant provinces of France: in Pavilliard's family, neceſſity compelled me to liſten and to ſpeak, and if I was at firſt diſheartened by the apparent ſlowneſs, in a few months I was aſtoniſhed by the rapidity of my progreſs. My pronunciation was formed by the conſtant repetition of the ſame ſounds; the variety of words and idioms, the rules of grammar, and diſtinctions of genders, were impreſſed in my memory: eaſe and freedom were obtained by practice; correctneſs and elegance by labour; and before I was recalled home, French, in which I ſpontaneouſly thought, was more familiar than Engliſh to my ear, my tongue, and my pen. The firſt effect of this opening knowledge was the revival of my love of reading, which had been chilled at Oxford; and I ſoon turned over, without much choice, almoſt all the French books in my tutor's library. Even theſe amuſements were productive of real advantage: my taſte and judgment were now ſomewhat riper. I was introduced to a new mode of ſtyle and literature: by the compariſon of manners and opinions, my views were enlarged, my prejudices were corrected, and a copious voluntary abſtract of the Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe et de l'Empire, by le Sueur, may be placed in a middle line between my childiſh and my manly ſtudies. As ſoon as I was able to converſe with the natives, I began to feel ſome ſatisfaction in their company: my awkward timidity was poliſhed and emboldened; and I frequented, for the firſt time, aſſemblies of men and women. The acquaintance of the Pavilliards prepared me by degrees for more elegant ſociety. I was received with kindneſs and indulgence in the beſt families of Lauſanne; and it was in one of theſe that I formed an intimate and laſting connection with Mr. Deyverdun, a young man of an amiable temper and excellent underſtanding. In the arts of fencing and dancing, ſmall indeed was my proficiency; and ſome months were idly waſted in the riding-ſchool. My unfitneſs to bodily exerciſe reconciled me to

a ſedentary life, and the horſe, the favourite of my countrymen, never contributed to the pleaſures of my youth.

" My obligations to the leſſons of Mr. Pavilliard, gratitude will not ſuffer me to forget: he was endowed with a clear head and a warm heart; his innate benevolence had aſſuaged the ſpirit of the church; he was rational, becauſe he was moderate: in the courſe of his ſtudies he had acquired a juſt though ſuperficial knowledge of moſt branches of literature; by long practice, he was ſkilled in the arts of teaching; and he laboured with aſſiduous patience to know the character, gain the affection, and open the mind of his Engliſh pupil. As ſoon as we began to underſtand each other, he gently led me, from a blind and undiſtinguiſhing love of reading, into the path of inſtruction. I conſented with pleaſure that a portion of the morning-hours ſhould be conſecrated to a plan of modern hiſtory and geography, and to the critical peruſal of the French and Latin claſſics; and at each ſtep I felt myſelf invigorated by the habits of application and method. His prudence repreſſed and diſſembled ſome youthful ſallies; and as ſoon as I was confirmed in the habits of induſtry and temperance, he gave the reins into my own hands. His favourable report of my behaviour and progreſs gradually obtained ſome latitude of action and expence; and he wiſhed to alleviate the hardſhips of my lodging and entertainment. The principles of philoſophy were aſſociated with the examples of taſte; and by a ſingular chance, the book, as well as the man, which contributed the moſt effectually to my education, has a ſtronger claim on my gratitude than on my admiration. Mr. De Crouſaz, the adverſary of Bayle and Pope, is not diſtinguiſhed by lively fancy or profound reflection; and even in his own country, at the end of a few years, his name and writings are almoſt obliterated. But his philoſophy had been formed in the ſchool of Locke, his divinity in that of Limborch and Le Clerc; in a long and laborious life, ſeveral generations of pupils were taught to think, and even to write; his leſſons reſcued the academy of Lauſanne from Calviniſtic prejudice; and he had the rare merit of diffuſing a more liberal ſpirit among the clergy and people of the Pays de Vaud. His ſyſtem of logic, which in the laſt editions has ſwelled to ſix tedious and prolix volumes, may be praiſed as a clear and methodical abridgment of the art of reaſoning, from our ſimple ideas to the moſt complex operations of the human underſtanding. This ſyſtem I ſtudied, and meditated, and abſtracted, till I have obtained the free command of an univerſal inſtrument, which I ſoon preſumed to exerciſe on my catholic opinions. Pavilliard was not unmindful that his firſt taſk, his moſt important duty, was to reclaim me from the errors of popery. The intermixture of ſects has rendered the Swiſs clergy acute and learned on the topics of controverſy; and I have ſome of his letters in which he celebrates the dexterity of his attack, and my gradual conceſſions, after a firm and well-managed defence. I was willing, and I am now willing, to allow him a handſome ſhare of the honour of my converſion: yet I muſt obſerve,

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that it was principally effected by my private reflections; and I ſtill remember my ſolitary tranſport at the diſcovery of a philoſophical argument againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation: that the text of ſcripture, which ſeems to inculcate the real preſence, is atteſted only by a ſingle ſenſe—our ſight; while the real preſence itſelf is diſproved by three of our ſenſes—the ſight, the touch, and the taſte. The various articles of the Romiſh creed diſappeared like a dream; and after a full conviction, on Chriſtmas-day 1754, I received the ſacrament in the church of Lauſanne. It was here that I ſuſpended my religious inquiries, acquieſcing with implicit belief in the tenets and myſteries, which are adopted by the general conſent of catholics and proteſtants.

"Such, from my arrival at Lauſanne, during the firſt eighteen or twenty months (July 1753—March 1755), were my uſeful ſtudies, the foundation of all my future improvements. But every man who riſes above the common level has received two educations: the firſt from his teachers; the ſecond, more perſonal and important, from himſelf. He will not, like the fanatics of the laſt age, define the moment of grace; but he cannot forget the æra of his life, in which his mind has expanded to its proper form and dimenſions. My worthy tutor had the good ſenſe and modeſty to diſcern how far he could be uſeful: as ſoon as he felt that I advanced beyond his ſpeed and meaſure, he wiſely left me to my genius; and the hours of leſſon were ſoon loſt in the voluntary labour of the whole morning, and ſometimes of the whole day. The deſire of prolonging my time, gradually confirmed the ſalutary habit of early riſing; to which I have always adhered, with ſome regard to ſeaſons and ſituations: but it is happy for my eyes and my health, that my temperate ardour has never been leduced to treſpaſs on the hours of the night. During the laſt three years of my reſidence at Lauſanne, I may aſſume the merit of ſerious and ſolid application; but I am tempted to diſtinguiſh the laſt eight months of the year 1755, as the period of the moſt extraordinary diligence and rapid progreſs. In my French and Latin tranſlations I adopted an excellent method, which, from my own ſucceſs, I would recommend to the imitation of ſtudents. I choſe ſome claſſic writer, ſuch as Cicero and Vertot, the moſt approved for purity and elegance of ſtyle. I tranſlated, for inſtance, an epiſtle of Cicero into French; and after throwing it aſide, till the words and phraſes were obliterated from my memory, I retranſlated my French into ſuch Latin as I could find; and then compared each ſentence of my imperfect verſion, with the eaſe, the grace, the propriety of the Roman orator. A ſimilar experiment was made on ſeveral pages of the Revolutions of Vertot; I turned them into Latin, returned them after a ſufficient interval into my own French, and again ſcrutinized the reſemblance and diſſimilitude of the copy and the original. By degrees I was leſs aſhamed, by degrees I was more ſatisfied with myſelf; and I perſevered in the practice of theſe double tranſlations, which filled ſeveral books, till I had acquired the knowledge of both idioms, and the command at leaſt of a correct ſtyle. This uſeful exerciſe of writing was

accompanied and ſucceeded by the more pleaſing occupation of reading the beſt authors. The peruſal of the Roman claſſics was at once my exerciſe and reward. Dr. Middleton's Hiſtory, which I then appreciated above its true value, naturally directed me to the writings of Cicero. The moſt perfect editions, that of Olivet, which may adorn the ſhelves of the rich, that of Erneſti, which ſhould lie on the table of the learned, were not in my power. For the familiar epiſtles I uſed the text and Engliſh commentary of biſhop Roſs: but my general edition was that of Verburgius, publiſhed at Amſterdam in two large volumes in folio, with an indifferent choice of various notes. I read with application and pleaſure, *all* the epiſtles, *all* the orations, and the moſt important treatiſes of rhetoric and philoſophy; and as I read, I applauded the obſervation of Quintilian, that every ſtudent may judge of his own proficiency, by the ſatisfaction which he receives from the Roman orator. I taſted the beauties of language, I breathed the ſpirit of freedom, and I imbibed from his precepts and examples the public and private ſenſe of a man. Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek, are indeed the two ancients whom I would firſt propoſe to a liberal ſcholar; not only for the merit of their ſtyle and ſentiments, but for the admirable leſſons, which may be applied almoſt to every ſituation of public and private life. Cicero's Epiſtles may in particular afford the models of every form of correſpondence, from the careleſs effuſions of tenderneſs and friendſhip, to the well-guarded declaration of diſcreet and dignified reſentment. After finiſhing this great author, a library of eloquence and reaſon, I formed a more extenſive plan of reviewing the Latin claſſics, under the four diviſions of, 1. hiſtorians, 2. poets, 3. orators, and 4. philoſophers, in a chronological ſeries, from the days of Plautus and Salluſt, to the decline of the language and empire of Rome; and this plan, in the laſt twenty-ſeven months of my reſidence at Lauſanne (January 1756—April 1758), I *nearly* accompliſhed. Nor was this review, however rapid, either haſty or ſuperficial. I indulged myſelf in a ſecond and even a third peruſal of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, &c. and ſtudied to imbibe the ſenſe and ſpirit moſt congenial to my own. I never ſuffered a difficult or corrupt paſſage to eſcape, till I had viewed it in every light of which it was ſuſceptible: though often diſappointed, I always conſulted the moſt learned or ingenious commentators, Torrentius and Dacier on Horace, Catrou and Servius on Virgil, Lipſius on Tacitus, Meziriac on Ovid, &c.; and in the ardour of my inquiries, I embraced a large circle of hiſtorical and critical erudition. My abſtracts of each book were made in the French language: my obſervations often branched into particular eſſays; and I can ſtill read, without contempt, a diſſertation of eight folio pages on eight lines (287—294) of the fourth Georgic of Virgil. Mr. Deyverdun, my friend, whoſe name will be frequently repeated, had joined with equal zeal, though not with equal perſeverance, in the ſame undertaking. To him every thought, every compoſition, was inſtantly communicated; with him I enjoyed the benefits of a free converſation

verſation on the topics of our common ſtudies.

"But it is ſcarcely poſſible for a mind endowed with any active curioſity to be long converſant with the Latin claſſics, without aſpiring to know the Greek originals, whom they celebrate as their maſters, and of whom they ſo warmly recommend the ſtudy and imitation;

——Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ verſate manu, verſate diurnâ.

"It was now that I regretted the early years which had been waſted in ſickneſs or idleneſs, or mere idle reading; that I condemned the perverſe method of our ſchoolmaſters, who, by firſt teaching the mother-language, might deſcend with ſo much eaſe and perſpicuity to the origin and etymology of a derivative idiom. In the nineteenth year of my age I determined to ſupply this defect; and the leſſons of Pavilliard again contributed to ſmooth the entrance of the way, the Greek alphabet, the grammar, and the pronunciation according to the French accent. At my earneſt requeſt we preſumed to open the Iliad; and I had the pleaſure of beholding, though darkly and through a glaſs, the true image of Homer, whom I had long ſince admired in an Engliſh dreſs. After my tutor had left me to myſelf, I worked my way through about half the Iliad, and afterwards interpreted alone a large portion of Xenophon and Herodotus. But my ardour, deſtitute of aid and emulation, was gradually cooled, and, from the barren taſk of ſearching words in a lexicon, I withdrew to the free and familiar converſation of Virgil and Tacitus. Yet in my reſidence at Lauſanne I had laid a ſolid foundation, which enabled me, in a more propitious ſeaſon, to proſecute the ſtudy of Grecian literature.

"From a blind idea of the uſefulneſs of ſuch an abſtract ſcience, my father had been deſirous, and even preſſing, that I ſhould devote ſome time to the mathematics; nor could I refuſe to comply with ſo reaſonable a wiſh. During two winters I attended the private lectures of Monſieur de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry, as far as the conic ſections of the marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared ſatisfied with my diligence and improvement. But as my childiſh propenſity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the paſſive impreſſion of my profeſſor's lectures, without any active exerciſe of my own powers. As ſoon as I underſtood the principles, I relinquiſhed for ever the purſuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I deſiſted before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonſtration, ſo deſtructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which muſt, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives. I liſtened with more pleaſure to the propoſal of ſtudying the law of nature and nations, which was taught in the academy of Lauſanne by Mr. Vicat, a profeſſor of ſome learning and reputation. But inſtead of attending his public or private courſe, I preferred in my cloſet the leſſons of his maſters, and my own reaſon. Without being diſguſted by Grotius or Puffendorf, I ſtudied in their writings the duties of a man, the rights of a citizen, the theory of juſtice (it is, alas! a theory), and the laws of peace or war, which have had ſome

influence on the practice of modern Europe. My fatigues were alleviated by the good ſenſe of their commentator Barbeyrac. Locke's Treatiſe of Government inſtructed me in the knowledge of whig principles, which are rather founded in reaſon than experience; but my delight was in the frequent peruſal of Monteſquieu, whoſe energy of ſtyle, and boldneſs of hypotheſis, were powerful to awaken and ſtimulate the genius of the age. The logic of De Crouſaz had prepared me to engage with his maſter Locke, and his antagoniſt Bayle; of whom the former may be uſed as a bridle, and the latter applied as a ſpur, to the curioſity of a young philoſopher. According to the nature of their reſpective works, the ſchools of argument and objection, I carefully went through the Eſſay on Human Underſtanding, and occaſionally conſulted the moſt intereſting articles of the Philoſophic Dictionary. In the infancy of my reaſon I turned over, as an idle amuſement, the moſt ſerious and important treatiſe; in its maturity, the moſt trifling performance could exerciſe my taſte or judgment; and more than once I have been led by a novel into a deep and inſtructive train of thinking. But I cannot forbear to mention three particular books, ſince they may have remotely contributed to form the hiſtorian of the Roman empire. 1. From the Provincial Letters of Paſcal, which almoſt every year I have peruſed with new pleaſure, I learned to manage the weapon of grave and temperate irony, even on ſubjects of eccleſiaſtical ſolemnity. 2. The Life of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie, firſt introduced me to the man and the times; and I ſhould be glad to recover my firſt eſſay on the truth of the miracle which ſtopped the re-building of the Temple of Jeruſalem. 3. In Giannone's Civil Hiſtory of Naples, I obſerved with a critical eye the progreſs and abuſe of ſacerdotal power, and the revolutions of Italy in the darker ages. This various reading, which I now conducted with diſcretion, was digeſted, according to the precept and model of Mr. Locke, into a large common-place book; a practice, however, which I do not ſtrenuouſly recommend. The action of the pen will doubtleſs imprint an idea on the mind as well as on the paper: but I much queſtion whether the benefits of this laborious method are adequate to the waſte of time; and I muſt agree with Dr. Johnſon, (Idler, No. 74.) "that what is twice read, "is commonly better remembered, "than what is tranſcribed."

Character of Eraſmus, *from the ſame.*

IF we conſider the character of Eraſmus, we ſhall be immediately ſtruck with his extenſive erudition; and that, heightened by two circumſtances.

Firſt, that he was ſcarcely ever fixed ſix months in a place (excepting at Baſil;) that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leiſure, muſt be added, a continued bad ſtate of health, and the conſtant avocation of a vaſt correſpondence. Secondly, that his learning was all real, and founded on the accurate peruſal of the ancient authors. The numerous editions he publiſhed ſufficiently evince it; and beſides, thoſe convenient

venient compilations of all ſorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound ſcholar, at a very ſmall expence, did not then exiſt; every thing was to be ſought for in the originals themſelves. But beſides this learning, which was common to many, Eraſmus poſſeſſed a genius, without which no writer will ever deſcend to poſterity; a genius which could ſee through the vain ſubtleties of the ſchools, revive the laws of criticiſm, treat every ſubject with eloquence and delicacy; ſometimes emulate the ancients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. A paraſite of all the great men of his time, he was neither aſhamed to magnify their characters by the loweſt adulation, nor to debaſe his own by the moſt impudent ſolicitations, to obtain preſents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Ependorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithſtanding theſe faults, never man enjoyed a greater perſonal conſideration. All the ſcholars, and all the princes of Europe looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles the Fifth and Francis the Firſt agreed in this. If we enquire why this happened to him rather than to ſome other great men of a merit equal, and perhaps ſuperior to Eraſmus, we muſt ſay that it was owing to the time when he lived; when the world, awaking from a ſleep of a thouſand years, all orders of men applied themſelves to letters with an enthuſiaſm which produced in them the higheſt eſteem and veneration for one of their principal reſtorers. Beſides, as the general attention, from piety, from curioſity, from vanity, and from intereſt, was directed towards the religious diſputes, a great divine was the faſhionable character, and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preſerve him. But to which of thoſe parties did Eraſmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiſcreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the proteſtants, though he blames him for not profeſſing what he knew to have been the truth; and attributes his reſerve ſolely to timidity and ſelf-intereſt. Eraſmus has certainly expoſed all the groſſer ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh worſhip to the ridicule of the public; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe he was a proteſtant upon moſt of the conteſted points. But many other motives might reſtrain him from a declaration. He was always perſuaded, that any ſpeculative truths were dearly purchaſed at the expence of practical virtue and public peace. Beſides, many conſiderations might make him balance as to thoſe truths: prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to ſcepticiſm. Add to this, that really diſapproving many things in the proteſtant communion, though more in the Romiſh, by remaining in the looſe ſituation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his anceſtors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas, had he deſerted it, he muſt either have ſet up a ſtandard himſelf, or elſe have enliſted blindly under that of Luther or Æcolampadius. It is ſurprizing that Eraſmus, who could ſee through

much more plauſible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

Character of Leibnitz, *from the ſame.*

THE genius and ſtudies of Leibnitz have ranked his name with the firſt philoſophic names of his age or country; but his reputation, perhaps, would be more pure and permanent, if he had not ambitiouſly graſped the whole circle of human ſcience. As a theologian, he ſucceſſively contended with the ſceptics, who believed too little, and with the papiſts, who believe too much, and with the heretics, who believe otherwiſe than is inculcated by the Lutheran confeſſion of Augſburg. Yet the philoſopher betrayed his love of union and toleration; his faith in revelation was accuſed, while he proved the Trinity by the principles of logic; and, in the defence of the attributes and providence of the Deity, he was ſuſpected of a ſecret correſpondence with his adverſary Bayle. The metaphyſician expatiated in the fields of air: his pre-eſtabliſhed harmony of ſoul and body might have provoked the jealouſy of Plato; and his optimiſm, the beſt of all poſſible worlds, ſeems an idea too vaſt for a mortal mind. He was a *phyſician* in the large and genuine ſenſe of the word: like his brethren he amuſed himſelf with creating a globe; and his *protogea*, or Primitive Earth, has not been uſeleſs to the laſt hypotheſis of Buffon, which prefers the agency of fire to that of water. I am not worthy to praiſe the *mathematician*; but his name is mingled in all the problems and diſcoveries of the times; the maſters of the art were his rivals or diſciples; and if he borrowed from ſir Iſaac Newton the ſublime method of fluxions, Leibnitz was at leaſt the Prometheus who imparted to mankind the ſacred fire which he had ſtolen from the gods. His curioſity extended to every branch of chemiſtry, mechanics, and the arts; and the thirſt of his knowledge was always accompanied with the ſpirit of improvement. The vigour of his youth had been exerciſed in the ſchools of *juriſprudence*; and while he taught, he aſpired to reform, the laws of nature and nations, of Rome and Germany. The annals of Brunſwick, of the empire, of the ancient and modern world, were preſented to the mind of the hiſtorian; and he could turn from the ſolution of a problem, to the duſty parchments and barbarous ſtyle of the records of the middle age. His genius was more nobly directed to inveſtigate the origin of languages and nations; nor could he aſſume the character of a *grammarian*, without forming the project of an univerſal idiom and alphabet. Theſe various ſtudies were often interrupted by the occaſional *politics* of the times; and his pen was always ready in the cauſe of the princes and patrons to whoſe ſervice he was attached: many hours were conſumed in a learned correſpondence with all Europe: and the philoſopher amuſed his leiſure in the compoſition of French and Latin poetry. Such an example may diſplay the extent and powers of the human underſtanding, but even *his* powers were diſſipated by the multiplicity of his purſuits. He attempted more than he could finiſh; he deſigned more than he could execute; his imagination was too eaſily ſatisfied with a bold and rapid glance

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on the ſubject which he was impatient to leave; and Liebnitz may be compared to thoſe heroes, whoſe empire has been loſt in the ambition of univerſal conqueſt.

Anecdotes of the Earl of Cloncartie. *From the* "Table Talk" *of the* European Magazine.

THIS nobleman was lineally deſcended from the kings of Munſter in Ireland, and his family poſſeſſed an earldom with very conſiderable eſtates in that province down to the reign of James II. His father was lord of the bedchamber to that monarch on his abdication, and following his maſter's fortunes, his great eſtates were confiſcated; and the late earl, after the death of his father, found himſelf little better than a penſioner on the crown of France.

His lordſhip made ſeveral efforts to recover his rank and fortune in England, where he was born and educated. "He pleaded his not "being accountable for the actions "of his father, and the reſtraint he "was under of conforming to his "wiſhes during his life. But now "that obſtacle being removed, by "the death of his father, he relied "on the juſtice as well as clemency "of the conſtitution under which he "was born, for a proper retribu-"tion."

Theſe remonſtrances were principally urged in the beginning of the reign of George II. and they had ſuch an effect on ſir Robert Walpole, the then miniſter, that he obtained for the young earl the king's letters of recommendation to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, to have his claims examined in the courts of that kingdom:—but his eſtates were by that time ſo divided and ſubdivided all over the kingdom—ſome parts obtained by grants—and others by fair purchaſes, that it was remonſtrated on the part of the privy council of Ireland, "that any at-"tempt to reſtore the earl to his "original rights, would be little leſs "than encouraging a civil war." The affair, on conſideration, was ſeen in the ſame light in England—and a kind of compromiſe was made for a ſum of ready money in hand, and a future promotion in the naval line, in which ſervice the earl had been originally educated.

On the breaking out of the war in 1741, the earl accordingly was promoted to the rank of captain of a firſt-rate; but the compariſon between what he then was, and what he was born to, rankled ſo much in his mind, that in a moment of deſpair, it is ſaid, he deſerted his command, and went over to the enemy. Thus far is certain, he was from this time to the hour of his death living in a ſtate of baniſhment in France; and though pecuniary affairs often made it neceſſary for him to paſs into England, the *political embarraſſments* he was under always reſtrained him.

His ſituation was rendered as agreeable as circumſtances could poſſibly admit, in the court of Louis XV. He had rank in the army—apartments in the palace—and ſeveral privileges which the higher orders of nobility then poſſeſſed. He was, however, far from being happy: his original misfortunes occaſionally haunted his imagination—he gave the preference to England—and the Engliſh character; and though he knew he could never return to his native ſoil, yet

yet in order to be as near it as poſſible, he removed from Verſailles to *Boulogne ſur le Mer*, in order, as he himſelf often ſaid, "to live and "die in *ſight* of his native country."

At the advanced age of ſixty-three, he married a young wife, who brought him two children, and to whom he was very much attached by every tie of affection and eſteem. Sarah ducheſs of Marlborough, who was his aunt, on her death left him a legacy of twenty thouſand pounds; and as he could not go over in perſon to receive this legacy, he ſent *his dearly beloved wife* with full powers to act for him. The executors of the ducheſs fulfilled her grace's bequeſt, and paid the money to lady Cloncartie:—but, alas! under this temptation ſhe fell: ſuch a ſum offered independence and pleaſures inſeparable from the controul of her lord; and ſhe was baſe enough to prefer thoſe to her duty. In ſhort, ſhe remained in England: and though letter after letter from the earl entreated her to come back and be forgiven, they never met afterwards.

This was a finiſhing blow to his misfortunes—he felt more from the loſs of her affection than the money—and he proved it by his continued attachment to her children.

He lived in a chateau on the ſkirts of the town of *Boulogne ſur le Mer*, on a penſion of one thouſand pounds *per annum* from the crown of France, exempt from wine duties, poſtage, &c. &c. and as the articles of life were then very reaſonable, his income enabled him to live with ſplendour and hoſpitality. Every Thurſday was his open day for a ſelect party of the inhabitants to dine with him, who generally were compoſed of as many Engliſh gentlemen as were either reſident or paſſing through the town; and to them he paid particular compliment, except when Engliſh politics became the ſubject of converſation. Here he ſometimes forgot the decencies of his rank and ſituation as a hoſt—but as the company generally knew the hiſtory of his misfortunes, they bore every thing with good-humour.

To theſe days of meeting his friends and neighbours he added another, which could not be poſitively fixed, but happened generally once in three weeks or a month; and that was a club dinner at his countryman O'Doherty's, who kept *Le Lion Rouge* in that town. On theſe days there was a large round of ox beef brought over ready ſalted, from Leadenhall market by one of the Boulogne pacquets, and this was ſerved up boiled entirely in the Engliſh taſte. To this was added two courſes in the French ſtyle; and for this dinner, with as much burgundy, champagne, and other liquors, as the company could drink, (ſuch was the cheapneſs of living in France thirty years ago), the reckoning amounted to no more than *ſix livres* per head.

At theſe meetings his lordſhip always preſided, and was particularly convivial: he enquired with obliging attention after the healths of the perſons preſent and their families; gave his eye and ear to every body around him; told his ſtories very pleaſantly; and generally finiſhed the evening in an oblivion of all his former cares and misfortunes.

In this ſimple uniform life, his lordſhip paſſed the remainder of his days—very vigorous both in body and mind to the laſt. He died, after a few days illneſs, at his chateau, about the year 1770, in the

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84th year of his age, leaving two ſons, who were very little better provided for than having commiſſions in the army.

Lord Cloncartie was in his perſon about the middle ſize; ſtout made, long-viſaged, pock-marked, and, until he ſoftened in the civilities of converſation, had rather an auſtere haughty look. Though not very highly educated, he had a ſtrong obſerving mind, loved the pleaſures of the table, and contributed very conſiderably to them himſelf by his wit and humour.

In the early parts of life, he was a viſiting member of the famous Saturday club, eſtabliſhed by lord Oxford in queen Anne's reign, conſiſting of moſt of the leading tories of that time, and which Swift ſo much celebrates in his Journal, Letters, &c.

About this time he contracted an acquaintance with the Duke of Wharton, ſo celebrated for his wit and profligacy; and in one of their nocturnal debaucheries, having given the lie direct to the duke on ſome trifling conteſt, the latter threw a bottle of claret at him, which took away the ſight of one eye for ever. His lordſhip always owned the juſtice of this puniſhment, and uſed to tell many anecdotes of the duke which confirmed the character poſterity at preſent entertain of him.

The earl was likewiſe an acquaintance of Swift, and he always coincided with lord Orrery in thinking the dean was not wholly entruſted with the ſecrets of Oxford's miniſtry. The Saturday club, he ſaid, as it appeared to him, was merely convivial and literary, and when politics were introduced, they were no more than the reports, or the publiſhed news of the day. He acknowledged the miniſters paid great court to Swift, as likewiſe did moſt of the club; and no man ſeemed more pleaſed with flattery, let the doſe be ever ſo ſtrong and plentiful.

The duke of Ormond was another of his contemporary friends, of whom he always ſpoke as a nobleman of the higheſt honour and integrity, and with whom he correſponded till the duke's death, which happened at Avignon about the year 1743.

He diſcredited the aſſertions of Swift and Bolingbroke, "that queen Anne's laſt miniſtry had no thoughts of bringing in the pretender, in bar to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion:" he ſaid, he knew to the contrary, and that the firſt of the quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke was upon that head—the latter wanting to puſh that matter forward with expedition, and the other wavering between the danger and the impracticability of it. Had the queen lived a little longer, he believed Bolingbroke would have attempted it alone, though not with probable ſucceſs. He always ſpoke on this point with warmth, and in ſuch terms as were not ſo pleaſant for a Britiſh ſubject to hear.

He uſed to lament the fate of General Lally, and reprobated the miniſtry of Louis the fifteenth for their intrigues in that buſineſs with great acrimony. Lally and he had been early acquainted, and when the former came from his command in India, he viſited his old friend the earl at Boulogne, in his route to Paris. The earl received him with great hoſpitality, and kept him three days for the purpoſe of perſuading him to return to England, in order to ſave himſelf from the machinations of his enemies. Lally, however, was poſitive, and would go on; he

he relied on his ſervices and integrity, and could not bear the imputation of guilt, which would attach to him by his reſidence in England. "Their malice," ſaid he, "can but "caſhier me at the worſt."

When the carriage was ordered on the fourth day in order to proceed on his journey, the earl followed him to the door of it, and again renewed his entreaties not to go on; he even brought out a bottle of burgundy, which they drank together at the ſide of the carriage, to prolong the time, in the hope of ſome moment of conviviality producing a favourable effect—but in vain; at laſt they ſhook hands and parted, with a promiſe from Lally of again viſiting him in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer. To this the earl ſhook his head, and in his ſtrong energetic manner exclaimed, "Ne-"ver, my friend; you and I are "doomed never to meet again, but "in another world."

The event juſtified the earl's prediction. On his arrival in Paris, Lally was inſtantly made a priſoner, and committed to the baſtile. The main charge urged againſt him was the loſs of Pondicherry, Leyrit, the late governor, having aſſerted that Lally had ſeized on all the revenues of that city for his own uſe; and in this accuſation he ſeemed to be juſtified by the immenſe wealth amaſſed by the general. On the other hand, Lally retorted the accuſation by ſaying, the fortreſs was loſt by the want of proviſions alone.

In ſhort, a mutual proſecution was begun on either ſide, which was managed by the ableſt lawyers in France, and continued for three years. The accuſations of either party were equally ſtrong, and nearly equally well atteſted. One circumſtance, however, ſeemed to turn the balance againſt Lally, which was, that Leyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, died extremely poor, whilſt Lally, on the other hand, was known to be extremely rich.

The concluſion of this long trial was, that Lally was ſentenced to be beheaded, his effects confiſcated, and three hundred thouſand livres of his eſtate to be diſtributed amongſt the ſuffering inhabitants of Pondicherry. The ſentence was accordingly executed, and the unfortunate general was not allowed even the conſolation of declaring his innocence at the place of execution, being brought to the ſcaffold gagged and bound. He ſuffered at midnight, by the light of torches, in 1766.

The earl had ſeveral manuſcript pieces of poetry written by his old friend the duke of Wharton, which the writer of this account has often ſeen, conſiſting of ſongs and epigrams: the former would have been very creditable to his talents but for the looſeneſs and obſcenity with which they were interlarded; the latter were not equal to the general character for wit and *bon mot* which that unfortunate nobleman poſſeſſed. They had more reflection than point, and were beſide too long, critically, to come under that definition.

He always ſpoke of Sarah ducheſs of Marlborough (his aunt), with great reſpect, and profeſſed his obligations to her both for the ſhare ſhe had in her protection of him and education. He ſaid, the duke of Marlborough owed much to her in keeping up his influence with the queen, which now and then tottered from the inſtigation of his enemies and his own ambitious projects. He however totally diſliked her politics —ſhe was a *whig*—and the earl from principle,

principle, as well as the bias which his misfortunes gave him, was a *rank tory*, or, in the language of that day, a *jacobite*.

He was allied to the Leinſter family, and uſed to call the father of the preſent duke, when only earl of Kildare, his couſin; but no ſooner did he hear of his being created a duke, than he renounced the relationſhip with great contempt: "He "could not bear, he ſaid, that a man "who ſprung from a long line of "illuſtrious kings, and he himſelf "the 22d earl of Kildare by lineal "deſcent, ſhould accept a dukedom "from *****.

We have before obſerved his partiality to the Engliſh in preference to the French—he admired the former for their plainneſs and ſincerity, as he reprobated the latter for their duplicity and ſervility: he uſed frequently to ſay, that one reaſon for his leaving the court of Verſailles, and living in ſuch an obſcure town as Boulogne, was, that he could not truſt any body about the court to tell him directly or truly what o'clock it was.

"Amongſt fifty Engliſhmen," he obſerved, "there were fifty different "characters in reſpect to tempers, "taſtes, and diſpoſitions; but amongſt "fifty Frenchmen, *one* could repre-"ſent the whole."

His diſengaged evenings were generally ſpent at O'Doherty's hotel, where he ſelected one or two of the townſmen to drink a bottle with him. In theſe lounges he was fond of ſome *butt*, on whom he could let off his wit and ſarcaſms—and Monſieur Jacques (a partner of O'Doherty's, and a ſhrewd humourous fellow) always undertook this character with great readineſs: the earl loved his bottle as well as his joke, and as the latter generally encouraged a repetition of the former, Monſieur Jacques, at a certain hour of the night, did not loſe ſight of his knowledge of *multiplication* in the reckoning. This the earl knew very well, though he blinked at it, and ſometimes uſed to ſay, "Well, "Jacques, though I *joke upon your* "*head*, you're even with me, for you "*ſcore upon mine* moſt damnably."

This nobleman's original eſtates in Ireland were, upon a looſe calculation, twenty years ago, ſuppoſed to be worth 150,000l. per year, and perhaps now, what from the riſe of lands, and the cultivation they have undergone by the induſtry of ſo many different families, may be worth 200,000l.; whilſt his two ſons, if living, have perhaps little more than their commiſſions in the French ſervice to ſupport them.

"What's property, dear Swift? you ſee it "alter
"From me to you, from you to Peter "Walter."

Life of James Uſher, *author of "Clio, or a Diſcourſe on Taſte," &c.*

[*From the* "Table Talk" *of the* European Magazine.]

IT is too often the fate of genius, that when it comes unattended by thoſe ſecondary qualities which generally introduce it to the world, it advances ſlowly to maturity, and ſometimes, like the flower to which it has been beautifully compared by Gray, "waſtes its ſweetneſs on the "deſart air."

Of this laſt deſcription was the object of this page. Though the author of ſo elegant a compoſition as

as Clio, and many others of equal character; though well educated, and endued with morals and manners illuſtrative of that education; his whole life was little better than a ſcramble for the ſupport "of the "day that was paſſing over him;" his death obſcure; and the remembrance of his talents principally depending on the memory of thoſe few of his contemporaries whom Providence has permitted to ſurvive him.

James Uſher was the ſon of a gentleman farmer in the county of Dublin, where he was born about the year 1720. He was deſcended from James Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh in Ireland, a prelate no leſs diſtinguiſhed for his piety and other virtues than for his great abilities and profound erudition. With him he had likewiſe the honour to claim a deſcent from James Stanihurſt, eſq. thrice ſpeaker of the houſe of commons of Ireland, recorder of the city of Dublin, and one of the maſters in chancery; and whoſe name is ſtill rendered more memorable for having had the honour of firſt moving queen Elizabeth to found a college and univerſity, then in the vicinity of Dublin: which being finiſhed in the year 1593, James Uſher, afterwards archbiſhop of Armagh, was one of the firſt three ſtudents who were admitted, and his name ſtands to this day in the firſt line of the roll.

Mr. Uſher received a good claſſical education, yet being bred to no particular buſineſs or profeſſion, he, after the example of his father, commenced *gentleman farmer* in the neighbourhood of his family. He continued in this line for ſome years, but, as it has been too uniformly experienced through life, the *gentleman* muſt be ſeparated from the *farmer* to make agriculture profitable. Mr. Uſher added another proof of their incompatibility. In ſhort, finding he could not ſucceed in this buſineſs, he ſtopt in time, ſold off his farm, ſtock, &c. &c. and ſettled as a linen-draper in Dublin.

In the courſe of this buſineſs, Mr. Uſher made ſeveral trips to Briſtol, and exerted himſelf with no inconſiderable diligence and induſtry to maintain himſelf and a growing family; but the love of *ſcience*, and the conſequences which generally flow from that affection, are inſenſible drawbacks to the *arts* of money-making. The one improves the mind in the higher contemplation of thinking and acting—the other principally goes to the improvement of the purſe—not by the ſublimer precepts of philoſophy—but by the practices of the leſs lettered part of mankind, whoſe example teaches them the more ſucceſsful arts of rivalſhip, quickneſs, fineſſe, diſſimulation, œconomy, &c. &c.

Uſher, not trained in this latter ſchool, and perhaps too much drawn off by the love of books, which was his favourite purſuit, ſucceeded as little in the character of a linen-draper as he did in that of a gentleman farmer. His wife dying about this time, deranged his affairs ſtill more; ſo that, finding himſelf a widower with a family of four children (three boys and a girl), and but little proſpect of providing for them in any line of buſineſs, he took orders in the church of Rome, ſent his ſons for education to the college of Lombard in Paris, his daughter to a monaſtery (where ſhe ſoon after died), and came himſelf to London, the better to provide for his children, which was very laudably

laudably the great object of his life.

Whilſt he was caſting about what method he ſhould adopt for the improvement of his little income, and the education of his children, Mr. Molloy, an Iriſh gentleman, who had formerly figured away as a political writer againſt Sir Robert Walpole, died, and left him a legacy of *three hundred pounds*. With this money Mr. Uſher thought of ſetting up a ſchool, as the moſt likely way of providing for his ſons; and with this view he communicated his intentions to Mr. John Walker, the ingenious author of the Pronouncing Dictionary, and many other approved works on the conſtruction and elegance of the Engliſh language. Mr. Walker not only met Mr. Uſher's ideas, but joined him as a partner in the buſineſs, and they opened a ſchool under this firm at Kenſington gravelpits.

Mr. Uſher's acquaintance with Mr. Walker commenced during the former's excurſions from Dublin to Briſtol, which latter place Mr. Walker's buſineſs led him to viſit occaſionally. Their acquaintance ſoon grew into a friendſhip, which, as it had *virtue* for its baſis, continued unbroken and undiminiſhed to the cloſe of Mr. Uſher's life. Mr. Walker is ſtill living, and in good health, with that reputation as a *man*, a *teacher*, and an *author*, which is equally creditable to his morals and his talents.

The ſchool theſe gentlemen were embarked in, did not altogether anſwer Mr. Walker's purpoſes. Whether the profits were too little to divide, or whether he thought he could do better as a private teacher, it is difficult to ſay—but Mr. Walker, after trying it for ſome time, quitted the connection, and commenced a private teacher, which he has very ſucceſsfully continued to the preſent time. They parted, however, with the ſame cordiality they commenced, and the civilities and friendſhips of life were mutually continued.

Mr. Uſher being now ſole maſter of the ſchool, he cultivated it with diligence and ability, and, we believe, with tolerable ſucceſs, for about four years; when he died of a conſumption, at the age of fifty-two, in the year 1772.

"The life that paſſes in penury "muſt neceſſarily paſs in obſcurity," ſays Dr. Johnſon, of Fenton the poet, who, like Uſher, at one time kept a ſchool, and who, in many other circumſtances, bore ſtrong reſemblances: it is, therefore, to his writings that Uſher owes his being noticed in this place; and, to do him juſtice, they were ſuch as were equally creditable to his heart and underſtanding.

His firſt publication was a ſmall pamphlet called "A New Syſtem of "Philoſophy," in which he cenſures Locke, as leaning too much towards naturaliſm, a doctrine which he conſidered as the bane of every thing ſublime, elegant, and noble. He next wrote ſome letters in the *Public Ledger* (a paper at that time diſtinguiſhed for the morals of its correſpondents), ſigned "A Free Thinker," in which he ſhews the inconſiſtency and impolicy of the perſecutions at that time going on againſt the Roman catholics.

His next publication was entitled "Clio, or a Diſcourſe on Taſte, ad- "dreſſed to a young lady," wherein he endeavours to prove, that there is in ſeveral reſpects an univerſal ſtandard of taſte in the ſoul of man, which,

which, though it may be depraved or corrupted by education and habit, can never be totally eradicated.

He proceeds to prove this, by our univerſal taſte for truth, gratitude, generoſity, liberty, &c. &c. and concludes this part of his aſſertion by ſaying, "that if opinion were "the real ſtandard of ſentiment, the "nature of one animal could not be "more noble than that of any other; "yet it is certain, that if there was "in the world but one man of inte-"grity, generoſity, gratitude, and a "great ſoul, and all the reſt of man-"kind conſiſted of people who had "no ſenſe of the dignity of truth "and a noble diſpoſition, this ſingle "perſon would be of more worth "than the whole race of man be-"ſide."

To this very ingenious eſſay, which is touched with elegance and obſervation, though, perhaps, with too much refinement, he afterwards, added "An Introduction to the "Theory of the Human Mind." This little treatiſe is written with zeal and ability, and is meant as a refutation againſt thoſe deiſts who attack revealed religion under an apparent appeal to philoſophy, but, by the occaſional ſhifting of princi-ples and ſyſtems, and a dexterous uſe of equivocal language, draw the diſ-pute into a kind of labyrinth, in which the retreats are endleſs, and the victory always incomplete.

"This obſervation (ſays Mr. Uſher "in his preface) made me wiſh that "the principles of philoſophy that "enter into the diſpute were more "clear, limited, and deciſive. It "ſeemed reaſonable in me to con-"clude, that true religion cannot be "inconſiſtent with true philoſophy "—that if men be obliged to any "duties in a ſtate of nature, ſuch "duties are the indubitable laws of "God, and they cannot differ eſſen-"tially from the duties the Deity is "pleaſed to require of us by revela-"tion. Hence I imagined, that the "plan of the mind of man, if atten-"tively obſerved, and faithfully de-"lineated, muſt give light into the "intention and end of his creation; "at leaſt, the eager deſire of each "party (chriſtians and deiſts) to re-"concile philoſophy to their own "religious opinions, demonſtrates "the ſecret ſenſe mankind have of "the neceſſity that true philoſophy "ſhould witneſs for religion."

"Full of theſe reflections, I ſet "out on an inquiry into the nature "of the human mind, with a view, "if poſſible, to diſcover ſome traces "of duty and natural religion, and "to try if any principles may be "ſolidly eſtabliſhed in public view, "which may prove deciſive in the "diſpute between chriſtians and "deiſts."

But the work that he valued moſt, and which he laboured through the beſt part of his life to bring to per-fection, was "A Treatiſe on the "Inſtincts, Paſſions, and Affections "of Man,"—This work he unfor-tunately loſt, and having no copy, it was loſt to the world. How far it might have anſwered the author's expectations, it is impoſſible now to ſay; but if we may judge from others of his publications, which took up leſs of his time and obſervation, it is but fair to conclude its fate was a diſappointment to the literary world. He himſelf felt this ſtroke moſt poignantly: he talked of it, as of the loſs of a favourite child; nor ever forgot to feel it as one of the greateſt diſappointments of his life.

Let not the *buſy world* too readily look upon this kind of diſappoint-

ment

dient as too trifling to engage the attention of the human heart.—An author's fame is his fortune, and ſuperior to his fortune; and when that is ſought after with much pains and inquiry, with advantages which cannot be recovered, and with the honeſt and noble purpoſe of improving his fellow-creatures, the loſs is important, not only as it deprives him of his fair fame, but of the opportunity that he has miſſed of being ſerviceable to mankind.

Mr. Uſher in his ſtature was below the middle ſize, naturally thin and of a conſumptive habit, a diſeaſe of which he died, and which he often ſaid he caught from his wife, who fell a ſacrifice to the ſame diſorder. His aſpect was rather mean, and his manners not of the highly-educated caſt; but a natural politeneſs ſupplied this deficiency; for he had an elegance of expreſſion which always beſpoke him a man of an uncommonly refined turn of thinking. Had he poſſeſſed the advantages of a more liberal education, and an early and conſtant reſidence in the capital, there is no doubt but that he would have been an acquiſition to polite literature; for though his fancy was brilliant and poetical, his reaſoning was very acute, having a penetrating mind, which ſeized an argument like a logician who was ſuperior to the trammels of his art.

He was originally bred a Proteſtant, but became very early a convert to the Roman Catholic faith, of which he was always a zealous and ſincere defender, and in which he died.

Life of Edward Kelly, *the aſtrologer.*

[*From the "Hiſtory and Antiquities, of the City and Suburbs of Worceſter."* By Valentine Green.]

Edward Kelly was born at Worceſter, and bred to the buſineſs of an apothecary, about the year 1555. He is ſometimes called Talbot. He was ſo good a proficient in chemiſtry, that he felt himſelf qualified ſufficiently to take an active ſhare in the profitable application of that knowledge which pretenders of inferior ability to himſelf, were daily turning to good account. Nothing deſpairing therefore, his ſkill, joined to a competent intrepidity of face, ſoon put him at the head of the brazen philoſophy of the ſixteenth century. He pretended to have the grand elixir, (or philoſopher's ſtone) which Lilly, in his life, tells us he made, or at leaſt received ready made, from a friar in Germany; whether he travelled with Dr. Dee, as his chief ſeer, or ſkyror, as he calls him. They accompanied Aleſki, palatine of Poland, when he left England, and were entertained by him. From Poland they removed to Prague, where the emperor Rodolph received and entertained them; to whom they ſhewed, as they had already done to prince Aleſki, the wonderful ſtone, and diſcloſed its ſurprizing properties to him. Kelly received the honour of knighthood from the emperor, and has thence been recognized by Mr. Aſhmole as ſir Edward Kelly. Pucell, a learned Florentine, and prince Roſenberg, of Germany, the emperor's viceroy in Bohemia, were long of the ſociety with him and Dr. Dee, and often preſent at their apparitions, as was once the king of Poland himſelf. But Lilly obſerves, he was ſo wicked, that the angels would

would not appear to him willingly, nor be obedient to him. He offered to raiſe up devils before Aleſki, June 19, 1581. His ſpirits told him, 1584, he ſhould die a violent death. Weever allows him to have been a chemiſt; that he loſt his ears at Lancaſter, and raiſed a dead body in that county by necromancy; that queen Elizabeth ſent for him out of Germany, but climbing over a wall at Prague, where it is reported he was impriſoned for a chemical cheat put upon the emperor, he broke his legs, and bruiſed himſelf ſo that he died; this happened in 1587. What an age of philoſophical acumen was this for the ſarcaſtic wit of a Ben Johnſon to hold up to everlaſting ridicule! What an object for the lacerating thongs of Butler's ſatiric ſcourge to lay bare and whip, as a carted knave through herds of poſted fools, princes who would be philoſophers, (and of ſo hopeful a ſet); philoſophers who would be princes; and the multitude, who could neither be philoſophers nor princes, all, all cruſaders in this glorious purſuit! Nor could even the ſagacious penetration of the enthroned Elizabeth wholly ſhelter her from being infected with the idolatry of this Iſraelitiſh credulity, or reſcue royal ſapience from the ſuſpicion of being a ſecret worſhipper of this golden calf! But, peace to their manes! to exult over a fallen foe, however formidable, or however contemptible he might have been, is not for liberal minds to indulge in; but to hold the authors and abettors of public impoſture to detection and ſcorn, belongs to the duties of a good citizen. Strict poetical juſtice having been executed on this caitiff by the Alchymiſt and Hudibras, there remains but a laſt duty for hiſtory to diſcharge towards this very eccentric character, and which, indeed, relates rather to the inſtrument or *primum mobile*, of his juggling ſyſtem, than to himſelf; as, according to our ſatiriſt, whoſe authority few will, at this time, diſpute.

" Kelly did all his feats upon
" The devil's looking-glaſs, a ſtone;
" Where playing with him at bo-peep,
" He ſolv'd all problems ne'er ſo deep."
Hudib. Cant. iii. l. 631.

The natural hiſtory of this ſtone, in which its ſpecies, qualities, and quantities have been deduced, with learned illuſtration and critical analyſis ſufficient to have ſettled the reputation of the corner-ſtone of the univerſe, or the better known Pitt diamond, (had either been queſtioned) is thus reported in Dr. Naſh's notes on the above quoted text, in his new and ſplendid edition of Butler's Hudibras. " This ſtone, which " is large, round, and very tranſpa- " rent, appears to be a volcanic pro- " duction, of the ſpecies vulgarly cal- " led the black Iceland agate, which " is a perfectly vitrified lava; and, ac- " cording to Bergman's analyſis, con- " tains, of ſilicious earth, ſixty-nine " parts in an hundred, argillaceous, " twenty-two parts, and martial, " nine. This ſtone it was that Dee " told the emperor the angels of God " had brought to him, and which was " of that value, that no kingdom " was of that worthineſs as to be " compared to the virtue or dig- " nity thereof. This it was that " he ſays he ſhewed to queen Eliza- " beth, and to whom he alſo explain- " ed its wonderful properties. This, " in fine, was that mirror, through " which all the great and wiſe " of that all-great and all-wiſe age " peeped into futurity, and ſaw their " fate approaching! before which the " whole

" whole world ſtood aſtound and a-
" ghaſt, ſo thoroughly and univer-
" ſally had it 'confounded the fa-
" culties of eyes and ears'"!—Plain matter of fact hiſtory has only thus much to add to this edifying ſubject. This ſtone is now in the poſſeſſion of the very learned and venerable earl of Orford, at Strawberry-hill. Its authenticity and identity cannot be doubted, as its deſcent is much more clearly proved than that of Agamemnon's ſceptre. It was ſpecified in the catalogue of the earl of Peterborough, at Drayton; thence it came to lady Betty Germain; who gave it to the duke of Argyle; whoſe ſon, lord Frederick Campbell, preſented it to lord Orford.

Some account of Margaret Finch, *the queen of the gipſies; and likewiſe of the Gipſies.*

[*From the Environs of London.* Vol. IV. *By the Rev.* D. Lyſons.]

" Margaret Finch, buried Octo-
" ber 24, 1740." This remarkable perſon lived to the age of 109 years. She was one of the people called Gipſies, and had the title of their Queen. After travelling over various parts of the kingdom, during the greater part of a century, ſhe ſettled at Norwood; whither her great age, and the fame of her fortune telling, attracted numerous viſitors. From a habit of ſitting on the ground, with her chin reſting on her knees, the ſinews at length became ſo contracted that ſhe could not riſe from that poſture; after her death they were obliged to incloſe her body in a deep ſquare box. Her funeral was attended by two mourning coaches; a ſermon was preached upon the occaſion, and a great concourſe of people attended the ceremony. There is an engraved portrait of Margaret Finch, from a drawing made in 1739. Her picture ſtill adorns the ſign-poſt of a houſe of public entertainment in Norwood, called the Gipſy-houſe. In an adjoining cottage lives an old woman, granddaughter of queen Margaret, who inherits her title. She is niece of queen Bridget, who was buried at Dulwich in 1768. Her rank ſeems to be merely titular; I do not find the gipſies pay her any particular reſpect; or that ſhe differs in any other reſpect than that of being a houſeholder, from the reſt of the tribe. A few leading facts relating to this extraordinary race of people, who are ſcattered over moſt parts of Europe, Aſia, and America, will, it is preſumed not be unacceptable in this place to my readers. The gipſies are called, in moſt parts of the continent, Cingari or Zingari; the Spaniards call them Gitanos. It is not certain when they firſt appeared in Europe; but mention is made of them in Hungary and Germany, ſo early as the year 1417. Within ten years afterwards, we hear of them in France, Switzerland, and Italy. The date of their arrival in England is more uncertain; it is moſt probable that it was not till nearly a century afterwards. In the year 1530, they are thus ſpoken of in the penal ſtatutes: " Foraſmuch as before this
" time, divers and many outlandiſh
" people calling themſelves Egyp-
" tians, uſing no craft nor feat of
" merchandize, have come into this
" realm, and gone from ſhire to ſhire,
" and place to place, in great com-
" pany, and uſed ſubtle and crafty
" means to deceive the people, bear-
" ing them in hand that they, by

"palmiſtry, could tell men's and "women's fortune; and ſo many "times, by craft and ſubtilty, have "deceived the people of their mo-"ney; and alſo have committed "many heinous felonies and robbe-"ries, to the great hurt and deceit "of the people they have come "among," &c. This is the preamble to an Act, by which the gipſies were ordered to quit the realm under heavy penalties. Two ſubſequent acts, paſſed in 1555 and 1563, made it death for them to remain in the kingdom; and it remains on record, that thirteen of them were executed under theſe acts, at the aſſizes for the county of Suffolk, a few years before the reſtoration. It was not till about the year 1783, that they were repealed. The gipſies were expelled France in 1560, and Spain in 1591, but it does not appear that they have been extirpated in any country. Their collective numbers in every quarter of the globe, have been calculated at 7 or 800,000. They are moſt numerous in Aſia, and in the northern parts of Europe. Various have been the opinions relating to their origin. That they came from Egypt, has been the moſt prevalent: this opinion (which has procured them the name of gipſies, and in Spain, that of Gitanos) aroſe from ſome of the the firſt who arrived in Europe pretending that they came from that country; which they did, perhaps, to heighten their reputation for ſkill in palmiſtry and the occult ſciences. It is now, I believe, pretty generally agreed, that they came originally from Hindoſtan, ſince their language ſo far coincides with the Hindoſtanic, that even now, after a lapſe of more than three centuries, during which they have been diſperſed in various foreign countries, nearly one half of their words are preciſely thoſe of Hindoſtan; and ſcarcely any variation is to be found in vocabularies procured from the gipſies in Turkey, Hungary, Germany, and thoſe in England. Their manners, for the moſt part, coincide, as well as their language, in every quarter of the globe where they are found; being the ſame idle, wandering ſet of beings, and ſeldom profeſſing any oſtenſible mode of livelihood, except telling fortunes. Their religion is always that of the country in which they reſide; and though they are no great frequenters either of moſques or churches, they generally conform to rites and ceremonies as they find them eſtabliſhed. Upon the whole, we may certainly, as Grellman ſays, "regard the gipſies as a "phenomenon in Europe; for the "ſpace of between three and four "hundred years they have gone "wandering about like pilgrims and "ſtrangers, yet neither time nor "example has made in them any "alteration; they remain ever, "and every where, what their fa-"thers were; Africa makes them "no blacker, nor does Europe make "them whiter."

State of Society and improvement in Ruſſia.

[*From Letters from Scandavinia, on the paſt and preſent ſtate of the Northern Nations of Europe.*]

I OUGHT to except the preſent empreſs from any ſhare in the cenſure which I think due to the ſovereigns of Ruſſia, for having neglected the maſs of the people, in their endeavours to civilize their empire. She

She has beſtowed her chief attention on the lower orders of her ſubjects. The inſtruction of the higher claſſes had already been ſufficiently provided for. But it remained for her to procure the means of improvement for thoſe who had neither money nor leiſure to attend the ſeminaries which had formerly been inſtituted. Accordingly ſhe has eſtabliſhed a number of ſchools, in various parts of her dominions, at which the children of the lower claſſes are inſtructed in the elementary parts of knowledge ſuited to their ſtation.

Many circumſtances, however, make it probable that, with all the ſupport government can beſtow, the progreſs of knowledge will not ſpeedily become extenſive in Ruſſia. The ſtate of the country is highly unfavourable to its general diffuſion. The ſlavery in which the peaſants are held checks the ſpirit of improvement in that numerous body of men. A man who can gain nothing by becoming wiſer than his fellows, will hardly be tempted to take much trouble in acquiring ſuperfluous accompliſhments, or in beſtowing them on his children. A Ruſſian peaſant has nothing that can ſtimulate him to the purſuit of knowledge. He ſees himſelf fixed to a particular ſpot, from which he can have no hope of removing; and ſurrounded with beings ignorant and brutiſh like himſelf. His induſtry, if he has any, is ſtrictly and permanently appropriated. So many days in the week, and ſo many hours in the day, he knows he muſt labour for his maſter: and, be his own neceſſities what they may, he is ſenſible that this portion of his time muſt not be encroached upon. If he poſſeſs horſes or cows or inſtruments of his occupation, a large portion of what he can earn by them goes to the uſe of his maſter. If he has a wife and children, theſe alſo are but partially his own: his maſter may command their ſervices whenever, and in whatever manner, he pleaſes. He is hardly permitted to ſtir from his hut without his maſter's leave, nor can he earn a ſingle morſel of bread without his permiſſion. If his children are to be taught any trade, it is the maſter who orders what that trade ſhall be, and who is to be the teacher: if they are to go to ſchool, the maſter ſends and removes them at his pleaſure: and if they wiſh to marry, they muſt do it agreeably to his commands. In a word, a Ruſſian peaſant depends on his maſter for every thing. He cannot, it is true, be ſent *out* of the world without the forms of law; but, by the negative which every maſter poſſeſſes againſt the marriage of his people, he may be prevented from coming *into* it; and when once he has got in, his life may be made as burdenſome as tyranny and caprice can deſire.

It is to be expected that a power thus ſhamefully unlimited will be often as ſhamefully abuſed. Accordingly the dominion of the nobles over their ſlaves is leaſt pernicious when it is leaſt active—when it leaves the peaſant to vegetate in hopeleſs indolence. If it is exerted to inſpire him with induſtry, it conſiders him merely as a machine which does more work according as it is impelled with a greater force: or as a beaſt of burden, which is forced to exert its ſtrength by the ſpur and the whip. The improvement of the minds of the peaſants is a project which has not yet entered into the plan of the Ruſſian

landholders; it is a project that would be generally conſidered by them as chimerical, if not pernicious. The villainous policy of deſpotiſm has commonly laboured to degrade thoſe whom it would govern; and to guard, with the moſt jealous circumſpection, every approach through which light may break in on thoſe whom it dooms to bondage and darkneſs. In conſequence of this odious ſyſtem, the peaſants are trained to conſider themſelves as beings of an inferior nature; as mere inſtruments in the hand of their maſter, who ought to have no will but what he dictates, no induſtry but what he inſpires, no emulation but what he excites.—I will not indeed ſay, that this is the *univerſal* character of the Ruſſian peaſantry (for the peaſants of a few noblemen, as well as thoſe of the crown, are fortunately an exception): but I may ſay, with truth, that this character is very general through this miſerable race of beings.

The great body of the peaſantry being thus completely ſhut out from the paths of knowledge, not only is the general progreſs of improvement retarded, but the chance of the appearance of individual talents is alſo extremely narrowed. In every country, the number of men of genius who ariſe to refine the public taſte, and improve the national character, will be in proportion to the number of thoſe who have the means of knowledge in their power; together with the proſpect of extending their reputation, and improving their fortune by their acquirements. In Ruſſia this number is extremely ſmall. Hence Ruſſia has produced very few men of diſtinguiſhed abilities in any line. Her moſt celebrated academicians have all been foreigners. She has produced hiſtorians and poets and painters; but their works will not bear a compariſon with the firſt of the ſame kind, which moſt other nations in Europe can boaſt.

It would ſeem that, in the progreſs of ſcience, the acquiring of a juſt conception of the proper object of literature is not one of the firſt attainments of the learned. Great literary labour, and that too ſuſtained by conſiderable talents, has been waſted, by ſome individuals in this country, on ſubjects of ſingular inutility.

A Ruſſian biſhop has ſpent a great part of his life in tranſlating the Æneid into Greek verſe. Had he tranſlated it into Ruſſian verſe, his country would have been indebted to him: but little praiſe, ſurely, is due to the efforts which aim only at erecting a monument to oſtentation. You will not, I am perſuaded, find in the preſent age, another country in Europe, where induſtry could have been ſo ſtrangely miſapplied. The labours of this learned prelate ought, in juſtice to the fruitleſſneſs of their object, to be claſſed with the manufactures of thoſe poetical artiſts who worked their verſes into the figure of hearts, and wings, and altars, and many other ingenious devices.

It may be made a general obſervation, that the few natives of Ruſſia who have devoted their lives to ſtudy have attained only the praiſe which is due to the middle claſs of the learned: they have by no means equalled thoſe who ſtand in the higheſt ranks of literature.

If the condition of the peaſants be ſo highly unfavourable to the progreſs of improvement, the ſituation and character of the clergy are equal-

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ly unfriendly to it. A ſmall number of the ſuperior clergy may be found eminent among the Ruſſians for learning and virtue; but, with this abatement, the order conſiſts of men either ignorant, or profligate, or both the one and the other.

A great proportion of the regular clergy conſiſts of the loweſt of the free people, who have taken ſanctuary from the buſineſs of their ſtations in the torpor of the monaſteries.

Character of the Turks.

[*From Travels in the year* 1792, *through France, Turkey, and Hungary, to Vienna. By* William Hunter, *Eſquire.*]

WITH the origin of the Turks you are already well acquainted; and it would be ſuperfluous, whilſt I am addreſſing myſelf to you, to enumerate the various cauſes which combined to render them not only a reſpectable but a formidable nation.—But that vigour and perſevering activity which, at the beginning of their hiſtory, ſhone forth ſo conſpicuouſly, and which at one time, were tearing up every obſtruction which checked the progreſs of their arms, have, long ſince, totally diſappeared.—At preſent, they are an enervated, a ſuperſtitious, an ignorant, and a ſluggiſh people; the declared enemy of the arts and ſciences; and the firm oppoſer of every uſeful inſtitution. Too ſtupid to comprehend, or too proud to learn, or too infatuated to be convinced, although they are ſurrounded on almoſt every ſide by civilized and enlightened nations, their attachment to opinions which are founded in folly, and upheld by prejudice, does not diminiſh.

When we conſider what a long period of time has elapſed, ſince the light of reaſon firſt began to diſpel the thick cloud of ignorance which darkened the face of Europe, and, by degrees, to rouſe, to inform, to refine, and to illumine the underſtanding of man, we are aſtoniſhed that this people ſhould have remained ſtationary, and, in ſpite of the influence of example, ſhould ſtill be guided by an unſhaken adherence to their former notions and errors.

Whilſt we are making the remark, we feel inclined to inveſtigate the cauſe whence ſuch a blind, deep-rooted veneration originates. Is it occaſioned by the natural diſpoſition of the people? Surely not.—Does it then ariſe from the vices of a government, which is peculiarly framed to deaden the faculties of the mind, and to eradicate the feelings of the heart? Much may, no doubt, be attributed to its influence; yet that wonderful degree of mental apathy and bodily indolence, which they have gradually allowed to overwhelm them, appears to me to be principally derived from a ſtill more potent ſource.—It is the ridiculous doctrines of their religion (engrafted in a moment of enthuſiaſm, and cultivated and ſtrengthened by the impoſing arts of ſucceeding ages) which, though firſt uſed as an inſtrument to excite, have been ſince employed as an engine to crush the reſtleſs propenſity of man.

The firm belief of predeſtination, which is a principal article of faith, and one of the indiſpenſable duties of a Muſſulman, is, perhaps, the moſt powerful political machine, which ſtupidity ever ſubmitted to, or craft ever deviſed. Whether obedience is to be inſured, or ſedition promoted, it is equally calculated to impoſe on the credulity of the multitude; and to the prevalence of this abſurd te-

net, many of the revolutions, which have happened at Conſtantinople, may be traced.

A Turk regards every occurrence of his life with the ſame torpid indifference; and being fully perſuaded, that no exertion or prudence can prolong his happineſs, or avert his deſtruction, it very frequently happens, that neither the proſpect of ſecurity, nor the approach of danger, can animate his perceptions, or awaken him from his lethargy.—Grave and uncommunicative, rather from habit than from nature, as if the pleaſures of ſociety were totally eſtranged from his breaſt, he trifles away his life in the liſtleſſneſs of indolence and inactivity; and, as if entirely ſeparated from the concerns of the world, and unintereſted in the welfare of his ſpecies, he ſcarcely fulfils one duty which can render him ſerviceable to his fellow-creatures.—If he reads the Koran a ſpecified number of times; prays at ſtated hours, either at home or at moſque, five times a day; and conforms to a few of the poſitive ordinances of his Prophet; he imagines that he has diſcharged every thing which is either requiſite or important, and that, as a recompenſe for ſuch exact and ſcrupulous obedience, he has ſecured, in a future ſtate, the endleſs and voluptuous enjoyments of his ideal paradiſe.

Superſtition, which is the mother of the ſtrangeſt abſurdities and contradictions, notwithſtanding the fataliſm of the Turks, diſpoſes them to celebrate eclipſes with extraordinary ſolemnity. If one happens to occur during the night, they are roufed from their ſlumbers by the cries of the Muezzins; and, on hearing the ſummons, they inſtantly riſe; repair to their moſques; and, by vows and ſupplications, endeavour to avert the menaces of ſuch an alarming omen. How eaſily might theſe ſtupid fears be removed by a little knowledge in aſtronomy! But ſuperſtition and ignorance muſt ever go hand in hand.

Their religion is ſupported at an immenſe expence. Its miniſters, of whom the mufti is the head, are innumerable; and the revenues of ſome of the royal moſques amount to the almoſt incredible ſum of £60,000 ſterling. The mufti is appointed by the grand ſeignior. He is a ſovereign pontiff, expounder of the law of Mahomet, and ſupreme director of all religious concerns. He is regarded as the oracle of ſanctity and wiſdom; and having an extenſive authority, both over the actions and conſciences of men, his office is one of the moſt dignified and lucrative in the empire.

The Turks are very proud, which is one great cauſe of their gravity and their taciturnity. Laughter and familiar converſation are, in their ideas, derogatory from dignity. They affect to hold in thorough contempt the Greeks, the Jews, the Armenians, and the Franks, whom they abuſe in the ſtreets, calling them infidels and chriſtian dogs. The Greeks are oppreſſed by them in numberleſs ways; and as for the poor Jews, they are the objects of ſuch complete obloquy and ſcorn, that they are buffeted, and plucked by their beards, wherever they are met. In ſome few reſpects, however, the Turks are well-meaning, hoſpitable, and charitable. The beſtowing of alms, is one of the principal duties of their religion, and there are various inſtitutions, in different parts of the empire, for the relief of poor Muſſulmen; for the erection and maintenance of hans or inns for the accommodation

modation of indigent travellers; and for enabling the needy to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Jeruſalem, which pious expedition every believer in the faith of Mahomet is bound to undertake, at leaſt once in the courſe of his life*.

They are alſo very careful of their domeſtic animals. Of their horſes they are paſſionately fond; and ſuch is their reſpect for dogs, that at Conſtantinople there is a public charity for their ſupport.

Their ſeminaries, for the inſtruction and enlargement of the human underſtanding, are not very numerous. They would ill accord with the principles of a government, which can only laſt in proportion as ignorance prevails. Yet there are, both at Conſtantinople and Bruſa, royal colleges, where the ſtudents are inſtructed in Arabic and the knowledge of the Koran. This is all the ſcholars are permitted to learn, and all the maſters have the wiſdom to teach.

Friday, among the Turks, is more reſpected than any other day in the week, becauſe they believe it was on that day Mahomet fled from Mecca to Medina.

In their perſons, independent of their dreſs, they are cleanly, their religion enjoining frequent ablutions; and, for the convenience of the public, fountains are erected on all the principal roads of the empire. Theſe ablutions are, indeed, ſo often repeated, that the punctual obſervance of them muſt be very troubleſome, and, in many inſtances, highly unneceſſary and ridiculous; yet the Turks, in this reſpect, are very conſcientious.—But whilſt they are ſo exact and pertinacious, in attending to the outward forms and ceremonies of their religion, its eſſence and ſpirit are, in moſt caſes, neglected; and whilſt they rigidly obſerve what they might with innocence omit, they openly violate what it is criminal to diſobey. Unfortunately for the world, this reproach is, I fear, applicable to every other country as well as Turkey; for ſuch is the folly and fallibility, or the perverſeneſs and obduracy of human nature, that the moſt ſacred obligations are very frequently, either openly infringed, or artfully evaded, when they are repugnant to our ideas of happineſs, or inconſiſtent with our views of pleaſure, convenience, or profit.

The Turks are very fond of cheſs, which is a game that correſponds with the gravity of their tempers. An anecdote was not long ſince related to me, which proves, at once, their partiality for this amuſement, and their indifference about matters of much higher concern. An aga had incurred the diſpleaſure of his ſovereign, and the warrant for his execution arrived, whilſt he was engaged at cheſs. The game was nearly over, and he begged the officers, who were the meſſengers of his fate, to delay the ſentence for a few minutes, that he might have the ſatisfaction of beating his adverſary. His requeſt was granted; and, when the game was finiſhed, he thanked them for their civility and condeſcenſion; kiſſed the order which deprived him of life; and ſubmitted, with the greateſt compoſure, to the ſtroke of the executioner.—

* The pilgrims for Mecca ſet out from Conſtantinople in a caravan in the month of May, and repair to Damaſcus, where they join the other pilgrims from Natolia and Aſia. Afterwards they unite with thoſe that come from Perſia, and from Egypt, and other parts of the Ottoman empire. The whole number commonly amounts to 60,000 pilgrims. See Habeſci's Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 96.

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With regard to the women, you muſt depend on the accounts of others, as no man, but he to whom they belong, is ever permitted to ſee them. As, however, I have mentioned them, I ſhall beg leave to add, that my ideas of their happineſs are totally oppoſite to thoſe of a juſtly celebrated female writer*; and, I think, that by a reference to the ſtrongeſt principles of our nature, the force and propriety of my opinion may be eaſily eſtabliſhed.

In a country where a plurality of wives is authorized by law, and where one man, in addition to this licenſe, is alſo permitted, without any breach of the morality which he has been taught, to immure in his haram† as many female ſlaves as his purſe can purchaſe, the ſex muſt infallibly be tyrannized over and degraded. It is deprived of its natural rights. It is denied its natural protection. It is forbidden the chaſte enjoyments of reciprocal friendſhip and love. It is robbed of its dignity and its honour, which are its brighteſt attractions. It is compelled to pay obedience to a wretch whom it deſpiſes, and whilſt it deſpiſes, to ſubmit to the gratification of his luſt. —Can any thing be more unjuſt? Can any thing be more horrible?— Are theſe the ſuggeſtions, the dictates of nature?—No!—They are a abandoned perverſion of her pureſt her mildeſt, her moſt valuable ſenti ments.—They are a ſhameleſs, in ſulting tyranny, achieved by th powerful and ſtrong over the wea and helpleſs: and, whatever is ſ wide, ſo revolting a deviation fro thoſe propenſities and principle which nature has, with her ow hand, in diſtinct and indelible cha racters, written in our hearts, can not poſſibly be productive of an thing but hatred, diſcontent, an miſery.

Life of a Surinam *Planter.*

[*From a Narrative of a five yea Expedition againſt the revolte Negroes of* Surinam *in* Guiana, *& By Captain* T. G. Stedman.]

A PLANTER in Surinam, whe he lives on his eſtate (which is but ſe dom, as they moſtly prefer the ſoc ety of Paramaribo) gets out of h hammock with the riſing ſun, vi about ſix o'clock in the mornin when he makes his appearance und the piazza of his houſe, where h coffee is waiting for him, which h generally takes with his pipe inſtea of toaſt and butter; and there he

* Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

† The haram is the term given to the apartments in which the women are confine They are always in a retired part of the premiſes, and are ſurrounded and ſecured b lofty walls. They are ſaid to be, in general, fitted up with ſplendour and taſte. Befo them, are ſpacious areas, which are partly paved with marble, and decorated with fou tains, ſhrubberies, and parterres of flowers. They have large doors and windows, a are extremely well ventilated. The haram is ſtrictly and vigilantly guarded by eunuch and no man, except the maſter, is allowed to enter. Locks and bolts cannot, howeve confine the inſtincts of nature, and the women, with the aſſiſtance of the Jews, contri to carry on many intrigues, particularly at the ſeaſon of the Bairam, when they are oft permitted to go to the public baths, and even to walk about the ſtreets—I have be ſpeaking all along of the women belonging to the rich, for the higher the quality of t perſon, the cloſer the confinement. The women of ſhopkeepers and people of that d ſcription are not watched by eunuchs, and go to the public baths three or four times week. The maſter of the houſe could not afford the expence of ſuch an attendance, of baths at home.

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attended by half a dozen of the fineſt young ſlaves, both male and female, of the plantation, to ſerve him. At this *ſanctum ſanctorum* he is next accoſted by his overſeer, who regularly attends him every morning at his levee, and having made his bows, at ſeveral yards diſtance, with the moſt profound reſpect, informs his Greatneſs what work was done the day before; what negroes deſerted, died, fell ſick, recovered, were bought or born, and, above all things, which of them neglected their work, affected ſickneſs, or had been drunk or abſent, &c. &c. The priſoners are generally preſent, being ſecured by the negro drivers, and inſtantly tied up to the beams of the piazza, or a tree, without ſo much as being heard in their own defence, when the flogging begins with the men, women, or children, without exception. The inſtruments of torture on theſe occaſions are long hempen whips, that cut round at every laſh, and crack like piſtol ſhot, during which they alternately repeat, "Dankee, Maſ-"ſera," (thank you, maſter). In the mean time he ſtalks up and down with his overſeer, affecting not ſo much as to hear their cries, till they are ſufficiently mangled, when they are untied, and ordered to return to their work, without ſo much as being dreſſed.

This ceremony being over, the dreſſy negro (a black ſurgeon) comes to make his report, who being diſmiſſed, with a hearty curſe, for *allowing* any ſlaves to be ſick: next makes her appearance a ſuperannuated matron, with all the young negro children of the eſtate, over whom ſhe is governeſs. Theſe being clean waſhed in the river, clap their hands, and cheer in chorus, when they are ſent away to breakfaſt, on a large platter of rice and plantains, and the levee ends with a low bow from the overſeer, as it began.

His worſhip now ſaunters out in his morning dreſs, which conſiſts of a pair of the fineſt Holland trowſers, white ſilk ſtockings, and red or yellow morocco ſlippers; the neck of his ſhirt open, and nothing over it, a looſe flowing night gown, of the fineſt Indian chintz, excepted. On his head is a cotton night cap, as thin as a cobweb, and over that an enormous beaver hat that protects his meagre viſage from the ſun, which is already the colour of mahogany, while his whole carcaſe ſeldom weighs above eight or ten ſtone, being generally exhauſted by the climate and diſſipation.

Having loitered about his eſtate, or ſometimes ridden on horſeback to his fields to view his ſlaves, he returns about eight o'clock, when if he goes out, he dreſſes, but if not, remains juſt as he is. Should the firſt take place, having only exchanged his trowſers for a pair of thin linen or ſilk breeches, he ſits down, and holding out one foot after another, like a horſe going to be ſhod, a negro boy puts on his ſtockings and ſhoes, which he alſo buckles, while another dreſſes his hair, his wig, or ſhaves his chin, and a third is fanning him to keep off the muſquitoes. Having now ſhifted, he puts on a thin coat and waiſtcoat, all white; when, under an umbrella, carried by a black boy, he is conducted to his barge, which is waiting for him, with ſix or eight oars, well provided with fruit, wine, water, and tobacco, by his overſeer, who no ſooner has ſeen him depart, than he aſſumes the command with all the inſolence of office. But ſhould this prince not mean to ſtir from his eſtate, he goes to

breakfaſt

breakfaſt about ten o'clock, for which a table is ſpread in the large hall, provided with a bacon ham, hung beef, fowls, or pigeons boiled; plantains or ſweet caſſavas roaſted; bread, butter, cheeſe, &c. with which he drinks ſtrong beer, and a glaſs of Madeira, Rheniſh, or *Moſelle* wine, while the cringing overſeer ſits at the farther end, keeping his proper diſtance, both being ſerved by the moſt beautiful ſlaves that can be ſelected; and this is called breaking the poor gentleman's faſt. After this he takes a book, plays at cheſs, or billiards, entertains himſelf with muſic, &c. till the heat of the day forces him to return to his cotton hammock, to enjoy his meridian nap, which he could no more diſpenſe with than a Spaniard with his fieſta, and in which he rocks to and fro like a performer on the ſlack rope, till he falls faſt aſleep, without either lid or covering, during which time he is fanned by a couple of his black attendants to keep him cool, &c. &c. About three o'clock he awakes by natural inſtinct, when, having waſhed and perfumed himſelf, he ſits down to dinner, attended as at breakfaſt, by his deputy governor and ſable pages, where nothing is wanting that the world can afford in a weſtern climate, of meat, fowls, veniſon, fiſh, vegetables, fruit, &c. After which a cup of ſtrong coffee, and a liqueur, finiſh the repaſt. At ſix o'clock he is again waited upon by his overſeer, attended as in the morning, by negro drivers and priſoners, when, the flogging having once more continued for ſome time, and the neceſſary orders being given for the next day's work, the aſſembly is diſmiſſed, and the evening ſpent with weak punch, ſangaree, cards, and tobacco. His worſhip generally begins to yawn about ten or eleven o'clock, when he withdraws, and is undreſſed by his ſooty pages. He then retires to reſt, when he paſſes the night in the arms of one or other of his ſultanas, (for he always keeps his ſeraglio) till about ſix in the morning, when he again repairs to his piazza walk, where his pipe and coffee are waiting for him; and where, with the riſing ſun, he begins his round of diſſipation, like a petty monarch, as capricious as he is deſpotic and deſpicable.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the Derbyſhire *Lead Mines.*

[*From a Deſcription of the Country from thirty to forty miles round* Mancheſter. *By* J. Aikin, *M. D.*]

LEAD mines in Derbyſhire are of great antiquity, undoubted proof exiſting that they were worked in the time of the Romans. They may be traced from the Saxon and Roman æras, down through ſucceſſive periods to the preſent time. The extent to which the buſineſs has been carried on at different periods, cannot with certainty be determined; but the produce of the mines during the laſt century has undoubtedly been very conſiderable. At preſent, lead ore is found in various parts of the country. Indeed it has been diſcovered in different quantities throughout all the tract of lime-ſtone land; but it is met with in the greateſt abundance about ten miles to the north and ſouth of the river Wye.

Veins of lead ore, on account of their poſition in the earth, are diſtinguiſhed by the different names of *pipe*, *rake*, and *flat* works. A pipe work lies between two meaſures of lime-ſtone, regularly extended above and below. It conſiſts of ſeveral lines or branches running nearly parallel to each other, which have a general communication by means of ſlender threads, or leadings, as they are called by the miners. The rock is ſometimes pierced through by theſe leadings, which it is thought right to follow, as they often conduct to a freſh range. Should no ore be found on ſuch a purſuit, the breadth of the work is aſcertained; its length is indeterminate, depending much upon the dipping of the meaſures. If this be great, it begins to decline, or cannot be purſued further on account of water. The rake-vein is found in the chaſms or clefts of the lime-ſtone, and, conſequently, breaks through the meaſures, and ſinks into the earth. It ſometimes penetrates a hundred and fifty or two hundred yards, generally in a ſlanting direction; and it has been followed to the diſtance of four miles from the place where it was firſt diſcovered. The flat-work reſembles the pipe, but has no leader or ſtem like that. It ſpreads wider, and ſeldom extends above a hundred yards. It is alſo found near the ſurface, and in the ſolid rock, and is very weak and poor, being ſeldom thicker than a man's finger. The veins of lead ore are generally encloſed in a red, yellow, or black ſoil, and are firmly connected with cank, ſpar,

ſpar, or ſome other mineral. Their direction is not uniform. The pipes, never penetrating the meaſures, follow the dip of the country where they are found. The rakes run ſtill more variouſly; in the High Peak, generally pointing eaſt and weſt; in the wapentake of Wirkſworth, north and ſouth. Sometimes two veins cut each other at right angles: ſometimes the pipe and rake unite and run together a ſhort way, becoming ſtronger and richer. It is difficult to determine which of theſe two veins is moſt common, or moſt productive; the pipes, however, ſeem generally moſt valuable. Veins are diſcovered various ways; ſometimes by attention to the nature of the ground, which leads the experienced miner to make a ſearch by boring. Often by accidents laying open ſome branch which riſes today. The more the branches which accompany a vein, the richer it is, and when they begin to diminiſh, it becomes poorer. Alſo for the moſt part, a vein is impoveriſhed when it runs in ſuch a direction as to receive over it a number of meaſures. In working mines, a principal point is to free them from water; the moſt common and effectual way of doing which is to drive a ſough or level from the bottom of ſome neighbouring valley, as far as the works; where this cannot be done, pumps muſt be employed, which are either worked by a water wheel or by a fire engine. Mines are freed from bad air by the introduction of a pipe down the ſhaft to the work, where it is extended along the roof of the gallery. The circulation this occaſions proves an effectual remedy. There are numerous and various regulations reſpecting the rights of miners, and the dues payable for the ore in the different parts of the mining country. The principal tract containing lead is called the *King's Field*. Under this denomination nearly the whole wapentake of Wirkſworth is compriſed, as well as part of the High Peak. The mineral duties of the King's Field have been from time immemorial let on leaſe. The preſent farmer of thoſe on the High Peak is the duke of Devonſhire; and of thoſe in the wapentake of Wirkſworth, is Mrs. Rolles. They have each a ſteward and bar-maſter in the diſtricts they hold of the crown. The ſteward preſides as judge in the Barmote courts, and with twenty-four jurymen determines all diſputes reſpecting the working of mines. The courts are held twice a year; thoſe of the High Peak at Money-aſh, and thoſe of the wapentake at Wirkſworth. The principal office of the bar-maſter is putting miners in the poſſeſſion of the veins they have diſcovered, and collecting the proportion of ore due to the leſſee. Where a miner has found a new vein of ore in the King's Field, provided it be not in an orchard, garden, or high-road, he may obtain an excluſive title to it on application to the bar-maſter. The method of giving poſſeſſion is, in the preſence of two jurymen, marking out in a pipe or rake-work two *meares* of ground, each containing twenty-nine yards; and in a flat-work, fourteen yards ſquare. But if a miner neglect to avail himſelf of his diſcovery beyond a limited time, he may be deprived of the vein of which he has received poſſeſſion, and the bar-maſter may diſpoſe of it to another adventurer. As to the other part of the bar-maſter's office, that of ſuperintending the meaſurement of the ore, and taking the dues of the leſſee

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or lord of the manor, it is attended with ſome difficulty, from the variety of claims, which differ greatly in different places. In general, a thirteenth of the ore is the due in the King's Field, but a twenty-fifth only is taken. In mines that are private property, ſuch tolls are paid as the parties agree upon. The miner having ſatisfied the ſeveral claims, proceeds to diſpoſe of his ore to the merchant or ſmelter. There are four denominations of ore; the largeſt and beſt is called *bing*; the next in ſize and almoſt equal in quality, is called *peſey*; the third is *ſonitham*, which paſſes through the ſieve in waſhing; the fourth, which is caught by a very ſlow ſtream of water, and is as fine as flour, is ſtiled *belland*: it is inferior to all the reſt, on account of the admixture of foreign particles. All the ore as it comes from the mine, is beaten into pieces and waſhed before it is ſold. This buſineſs is performed by women, who can earn about ſix-pence per day. Smelting furnaces are of two kinds, the hearth and the cupola. The hearth conſiſts of large rough ſtones placed ſo as to form an oblong cavity about two feet wide and deep, and fourteen long, into which fuel and ore are put in alternate layers; the heat is raiſed by means of a large pair of bellows, worked by a water-wheel. The fuel is wood and coal. The lead produced this way is very ſoft, pure, and ductile, but a conſiderable quantity of metal remains in the ſlags. Theſe are therefore ſmelted over again, with a more intenſe fire of coke; but the metal produced is inferior in quality to the former. At preſent, a ſmall proportion of ore is ſmelted this way, only two hearth furnaces remaining in Derbyſhire. The cupola, introduced about fifty years ſince, is of an oblong form, reſembling a long, but not very deep, cheſt, the top and bottom of which are a little concave. The fire being placed at one end, and a chimney at the other, the flame is drawn over the ore placed at the bottom, and by its reverberation ſmelts it without any contact of the fuel. The lead, when ſmelted, is poured into moulds of various ſizes, according to the different markets for which it is intended, Hull, Bantry, or London. Two of the blocks make a pig. Some of it, however, is firſt rolled into ſheets at works erected for the purpoſe near the furnaces. A conſiderable quantity is alſo converted into red lead. This proceſs is performed in a kind of oven, the floor of which is divided into three parts. The middle of theſe contains the metal, and the two others the fire. The flame being reverberated on the metal, converts it into a calx or powder; which, upon being a ſecond time expoſed to the action of the fire, acquires a red colour. Attempts were made ſome years ago to extract ſilver from the lead, but no ſuch work now exiſts in Derbyſhire. The ſulphur driven off the ore in ſmelting, is collected at two furnaces.

The annual produce of lead from the Derbyſhire mines is not exactly aſcertained, but may be eſtimated at an average of between five and ſix thouſand tons. It is generally thought to be on the decline, ſome of the richeſt mines being either exhauſted, or become more difficult to work; but, on the other hand, from the improvement in the art of ſmelting, and the more effectual methods employed to clear the mines of water by new levels and improved fire-engines, advantages have been gained

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that may, perhaps, ſupply the deficiency.

Deſcription of the celebrated Icelandic Hot Spring, called the Geyzer.

[*From the Tranſactions of the Royal Society of* Edinburgh. Vol. III.]

BY a gradual depoſition of ſubſtances diſſolved in its water, for a long ſucceſſion of years, perhaps of ages, a mound of conſiderable height has been formed, from which the Geyzer iſſues. It riſes through a perpendicular and cylindrical pipe, or ſhaft, ſeventy feet in depth, eight feet and a half in diameter, which opens into a baſon or funnel, meaſuring fifty-nine feet from one edge of it to the other. The baſon is circular, and the ſides of it, as well as thoſe of the pipe, are poliſhed quite ſmooth by the continual friction of the water, and they are both formed with ſuch mathematical truth, as to appear conſtructed by art. The declivity of the mound begins immediately from the borders of the baſon. The incruſtations are in ſome places worn ſmooth by the overflowing of the water; in moſt, however, they riſe in numberleſs little tufts, which bear a reſemblance to the heads of cauliflowers, except that they are rather more prominent, and are covered by the falling of the finer particles of ſpray, with a cryſtalline efflorescence ſo delicate as ſcarcely to bear the ſlighteſt touch. Unmoleſted, the efflorescence gradually hardens, and although it loſes its firſt delicacy, it ſtill remains exceedingly beautiful. Theſe incruſtations are of a light brown colour, and extend a great way, in various directions, from the borders of the baſon. To the northward, they reach to the diſtance of eighty-two feet; to the eaſt, of eighty-ſix; to the ſouth, of an hundred and eighteen; and of a hundred and twenty-four to the weſt. They are very hard, and do not appear, in any part, decaying or mouldering into ſoil. When our guides firſt led us to the Geyzer, the baſon was filled to within a few feet of its edge. The water was tranſparent as cryſtal; a ſlight ſteam only aroſe from it, and the ſurface was ruffled but by a few bubbles, which now and then came from the bottom of the pipe. We waited with anxiety for ſeveral minutes, expecting every inſtant ſome interruption to this tranquillity. On a ſudden, another ſpring, immediately in front of the place on which we were ſtanding, darted its waters above an hundred feet into the air, with the velocity of an arrow; and the jets ſucceeding the firſt irruption were ſtill higher. This was the ſpring already mentioned under the name of the new Geyzer. While gazing in ſilence and wonder at this unexpected and beautiful diſplay, we were alarmed by a ſudden ſhock of the ground under our feet, accompanied with a hollow noiſe, not unlike the diſtant firing of cannon. Another ſhock ſoon followed, and we obſerved the water in the baſon to be much agitated. The Icelanders haſtily laid hold of us, and forced us to retreat ſome yards. The water in the mean time boiled violently, and heaved as if ſome expanſive power were labouring beneath its weight, and ſome of it was thrown up a few feet above the baſon. Again there were two or three ſhocks of the ground and a repetition of the ſame noiſe. In an inſtant the ſurrounding atmoſphere was filled with

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volumes of ſteam rolling over each other as they aſcended, in a manner inexpreſſibly beautiful, and through which columns of water, ſhivering into foam, darted in rapid ſucceſſion to heights which, at the time, we were little qualified to eſtimate. Indeed the novelty and ſplendour of ſuch a ſcene had affected our imaginations ſo forcibly, that we believed the extreme height of the jet to be much greater than it was afterwards determined to be. In a ſubſequent eruption, Mr. Bayne aſcertained, by means of a quadrant, the greateſt elevation to which the jets of water were thrown, to be ninety-ſix feet.

The jets were made with inconceivable velocity, and thoſe which eſcaped uninterrupted terminated in ſharp points, and loſt themſelves in the air. The eruption, changing its form at every inſtant, and blending variouſly with the clouds of ſteam that ſurrounded it, continued for 10 or 12 minutes; the water then ſubſided through the pipe and diſappeared.

The eruptions of the Geyzer ſucceed each other with ſome regularity, but they are not equally violent or of equal duration. Some laſted ſcarcely eight or ten, while others continued, with unabated violence, fifteen or eighteen minutes. Between the great eruptions, while the pipe and baſon were filling, the water burſt ſeveral times into the air to a conſiderable height. Theſe partial jets, however, ſeldom exceeded a minute, and ſometimes not a few ſeconds, in duration.

On the Primæval Form of Europe.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

WHETHER the earth's motion have a tendency progreſſively to gather the ocean about the equator, as theoriſts have maintained—

Whether ſome great convulſion of nature, breaking down the ſouthern mound of the Caſpian, occaſioned a vaſt maſs of ſea to flow ſouthward along the courſe of the Dejleh and the Forât (Tigris and Euphrates) deluging whole provinces, and forming, or deforming, with its alluvion ſand, much of the plainy peninſula of Arabia, as various traditional and natural evidence conſpire to prove—

Whether, by an unrelenting proceſs, the water on this globe is gradually metamorphoſed into ſolid and into atmoſpheric ſubſtance, without being reproduced with correſponding celerity; as, from experiment, is poſſible, and, from obſervation, highly probable—

Certain it is, that the European ſeas, north of forty-five degrees latitude, have greatly diminiſhed in extent.

Linnæus * obſerves upon this ſubject: "It is evident, from ocular inſpection, that the land increaſes from year to year, and that the bounds of our continent are extended.

"We ſee the ſea-ports of Eaſt and Weſt Bothnia every year decreaſing, and becoming incapable of admitting veſſels, by the ſand and ſoil thrown up, which are always adding new increments to the ſhore. The inhabitants of the ports are obliged to change their ſeats, and ſometimes remove a quarter of a mile nearer to the ſea; of this we have ſeen examples at Pithea, Lulea, and Hudwickval. On the eaſtern ſide of Gothland, near Hoburg, the increaſe of the continent, for the laſt hundred years, is diſtinctly viſible, being from

* Select Diſſertations from the Amænitates Academicæ, p. 82.

two to three toiſes annually. Near Slite and Kylle, in the ſame country, are enormous ſtones, which rudely repreſent temples, giants, and coloſſal ſtatues in their magnitude, yet worked out of the moſt ſolid rock, by the force of the water.

"The two very tall mountains of Torſburg and Hoburg, in Gothland, are formed of calcareous rock, and were marked and hollowed out by the force of the water, at the ſame time that all Gothland lay immerſed in the ſea, except theſe two mountains, which raiſed their heads out of the deep in the ſame manner, and with a ſimilar appearance to the Carolinian iſlands (Carlſo) in their preſent ſtate."

* "The inhabitants of Weſt Bothnia have obſerved, by marks upon rocks, that the ſea decreaſes every ten years, five inches and five or ſix lines perpendicularly, which amounts, in an age, to about four feet and a half. According to which calculation, 6000 years ago, the ſea was two hundred and ſeventy feet deeper than it is at this preſent."

Not only in the Gulf of Bothnia, but in that of Finland, is the withdrawment of the Baltic very ſenſible. Profeſſor Pallas obſerves: "As ſoon as from the marſhes of Ingria, which forms toward the Baltic a ſort of gulf of low lands, you begin aſcending the elevated ſoil of Ruſſia, the inclination of which forms what are called the mountains of Valdais, *ancient traces of the ſea* occur at every ſtep. At firſt, in a ſoil interſected with ravines, which has viſibly ſuffered by an inundation of the greateſt violence, or rather by the flowing-off of an enormous maſs of water: afterwards, in whole calcareous beds, which can only reſult from the depoſits of a ſea at reſt, and which the ſcooping of the rivers has laid bare. Firſt occur ſtrata of depoſited earth, mingled with blocks of granite, detached from their original rock; then vaſt banks of rolled pebbles and of gravel, mingled with fragments of calcareous ſtone, of petrifactions, broken or changed into flint, and even of bones. A like ſubverſion of the original ſtrata, and eſpecially of the calcareous beds, has been obſerved in the environs of Lake Onega, where thoſe mountains begin to riſe which join the Laplandiſh and Swediſh Alps. Theſe traces of the ſea may be obſerved in all the lands contiguous to the Gulf of Finland, where, for the moſt part, the leſs ſolid ſtrata are removed from the ſurface of the ancient rock itſelf, too firm to be affected. It almoſt ſeems ſufficient to dwell upon the map with an intelligent eye, in order to be convinced that the great number of lakes between this gulf and the White Sea—that the iſlands, rocks and broken coaſts of theſe regions are effects of a deluge, which there ſought an outlet."—*Acta Acad. Petropolitanæ, for* 1777, *p.* 49. *v. I.*

"The idea of the indefatigable Tournefort, and of the count de Buffon, concerning the ancient ſtate of the Black Sea, and of its communication with the Caſpian, is more and more confirmed by the obſervations of travellers. The phocæ, ſome fiſh, and ſome ſhells, which the Caſpian has in common with the Black Sea, render this ancient communication almoſt indubitable; and theſe very circumſtances alſo prove that the lake Aral was once joined to the Caſpian. I have traced (i

* A. Celſii. Obſ. in Act. Acad. &c. Suecia. 1743.

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the third volume of my Travels) the ancient extent of this ſea over the whole deſert of Aſtrakhan, and beyond the Jaik, by the ſymptoms of coaſt with which the elevated plains of Ruſſia border this deſert, by the ſlate and the foſſil productions of this ancient coaſt, and by the ſaline mud, mingled with ſea-ſhells, calcined, which covers the whole ſurface of the deſert itſelf. In the Deſcription of Ukrain, by Guillaume le Vaſſeur (Rouen, 4to. 1660) a paſſage (p. 9) aſcribes the ſame appearances to the plains of the Boryſthenes. Chandler, in his Travels through Aſia Minor, thinks that the ſea formerly extended to the ſources of the Meander, and formed a gulf between the mountains of Meſſoghis and Taurus. Others have found recent traces of ſea in the plains of Aſia Minor and of Perſia, and along the Danube, very far above the actual limits of the Caſpian and the Black Sea. The ancient traditions of the ſudden effuſion of the Black Sea through the Propontis, which Tournefort has ſupported by his Obſervations, ſeem, in all reſpects, more plauſible than the opinion which ſuppoſes the ancient ſtrait between the Black Sea and the Caſpian to have been dried by the accumulation of alluvion ſoil from the rivers." Ditto, p. 62.

The writer of this fragment, in a journey through Poliſh Pruſſia, was led to remark the ſame ſymptoms of extenſive deſiccation in the ſandy provinces which encompaſs the Delta of the Weichſel (Viſtula) and the Niemen. From the report of an intelligent Swiſs officer, in the Ruſſian ſervice, with whom he travelled a while, and whoſe military deſtinations had familiariſed him with the ſurface of Livonia and Lithuania, it appears no leſs probable that the moraſſy low lands, bordering the Duna and the Nieper, were once the bed of a frith, uniting the Baltic and the Euxine. Penzelius (De Arte Hiſtorica, p. 78) mentions the digging up of an anchor in Novogrod, and other proofs of a recent emergency of the region, and ſuppoſes the ſalt-mines of Wielicz to be the point of ſubſidency or lateſt ſtation of the old ſea. Various local obſervations, then, conſpire to prove that the Baltic once joined the White Sea by a tract of water, covering the lakes Onega and Ladoga, and the Black Sea by a tract of water covering the greater part of Poland: that the Euxine, the Caſpian, and the Aral, were united with each other, and with the Northern Ocean, by tracts of water covering the deſerts of Aſtrakhan and of Munkiſhalk. EUROPE, then, originally conſiſted of A CLUSTER OF ISLANDS. The middle iſland will firſt have been united with the Aſian continent, with Sarmatia, by means of the Poliſh iſthmus, that being the more elevated and extenſive. The northern iſland will next have united with it by means of the Scandinavian iſthmus. And thus the iſthmus of Aſtrakhan will have furniſhed the earlieſt path to the nomade nations of Aſia to extend their migrations into Europe.

In reading the ancient writers, it is convenient to keep in view this progreſſive change of form; for Europe appears to have become a continent within the period of *recorded* hiſtory. The Argonautics of Orpheus are compoſed upon the preſumption, that it was poſſible to ſail from the Euxine into the Baltic, a proof that ſuch a tradition was ſtill rife among mariners. Pto-

lemy ſpeaks of Scandinavia as an iſland. The Scythian geography of Herodotus is wholly unintelligible, unleſs we cover with ſea a conſiderable part of Poland and Ruſſia: yet theſe countries had, in his time, already acquired the rudiments of their preſent form. And may we not ſuppoſe the tradition of an *Atlantic iſland* which had diſappeared, to have preſerved the original name of Europe in its inſular ſtate?

Upon the whole, the teſtimony, though not the opinion, of ancient geographers, appears more favourable to the doctrine of a progreſſive deſiccation of the ſea in all quarters, than to that of local or ſudden removals of the waters by great convulſions of nature.

Account of the Fall of Stones from the Clouds.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

Mr. URBAN, *B. M. Nov.* 10.

THE following accounts of two ſtones that fell from the ſky being ſo ſimilar to the account of the late phænomenon in Yorkſhire, and as they have eſcaped both Mr. King's and Mr. Bingley's inveſtigations on the ſubject; I ſhall give it you from two pamphlets, printed at the time, without farther apology.

"Look up and ſee a new wonder. The name of the town is Hatford, in Berkſhire, ſome eight miles from Oxford. April 9, 1628, about 5 of the clock in the afternoon, the weather was warm, without any great ſhow of diſtemperature; a gentle gale of wind from Weſt to N. W.; in an inſtant was heard firſt a hideous rumbling in the air, and preſently after followed a ſtrange and fearful peal of thunder; it maintained the faſhion of a fought battle. It began thus: firſt, for an onſet, went off one great cannon as it were of thunder alone, like a warning-piece to the reſt that were to follow. Then, a little while after, was heard a ſecond; until the number of 20 were diſcharged, or thereabout.

"In ſome little diſtance of time after this, was audibly heard the ſound of a drum, beating a retreat. Amongſt all theſe angry peals ſhot off from heaven, at the end of the report of every crack, a hizzing noiſe made way through the air, not unlike the flying of bullets from the mouth of great ordnance, and by judgement were thunderbolts; for one of them was ſeen by many people to fall at a place called Bawlkin Green, being a mile and a half from Hatford; which thunderbolt was by one Miſtreſs Greene cauſed to be digged out of the ground, ſhe being an eye-witneſs amongſt many others of the manner of the falling.

"The form of the ſtone is three-ſquare, and picked at the end; in colour outwardly blackiſh, ſomewhat like iron; cruſted over with that blackness about the thickneſs of a ſhilling; within it is ſoft, mixed with ſome kind of mineral, ſhining like ſmall pieces of glaſs. This ſtone broke in the fall. The whole piece is in weight nineteen pound and a half, the greater piece that fell off weigheth five pound, which, with other ſmall pieces, being put together, make four and twenty pound and better. It is in the country credibly reported, that other thunder-ſtones have been found in other places; but for certainty there was one taken up at Letcombe, and is now in the cuſtody of the ſheriff.

"Upon

"Upon Thurſday the 4th day of this inſtant Auguſt [1642], about the hour of 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, there was a wonderful noiſe heard in the air, as of a drum beating moſt fiercely, which after a while was ſeconded with a long peal of ſmall ſhot, and after that a diſcharging as it were of great ordnance in a pitched field. This continued with ſome viciſſitudes for the ſpace of one hour and a half, and then making a mighty and violent report altogether; at the ceaſing thereof there was obſerved to fall down out of the ſky a ſtone of about four pound weight, which was taken up by them who ſaw it fall, and, being both ſtrange for the form of it and ſomewhat miraculous for the manner of it, was by the ſame parties, who are ready to atteſt this truth, brought up and ſhewed to a worthy member of the houſe of commons, upon whoſe ground it was taken up, and by him to divers friends, who have both ſeen and handled the ſame. Now, the manner of finding the ſtone was on this wiſe: one captain Johnſon and one maſter Thompſon, men well known in that part of Suffolk, were that day at Woodbridge, about the launching of a ſhip that was newly builded there; who, hearing this marvellous noiſe toward Alborow, verily ſuppoſed that ſome enemy was landed, and ſome ſudden onſet made upon the town of Alborow; this occaſioned them to take horſe and haſten homewards, the rather becauſe they heard the noiſe of the battle grow louder. And being at that inſtant, when that greateſt crack and report was made in concluſion, on their way upon an heath betwixt the two towns, Woodbridge and Alborow, they obſerved the fall of this ſtone, which, grazing in the fall of it along upon the heath ſome ſix or ſeven yards, had outrun their obſervation where it reſted, had not a dog, which was in the company, followed it by the ſcent, as it was hot, and brought them where it lay covered over with graſs and earth, that the violence of its courſe had contracted about it. This is the true relation of the finding of the ſtone, which is eight inches long, and five inches broad, and two inches thick. And now, being on their way nearer Alborow, they met the greateſt part of the town's folk, who were generally all run out of their houſes round about, amazed with this noiſe of war, and deſcrying no enemy near; when ſuddenly there was heard a joyful noiſe as of muſick, and ſundry inſtruments in a melodious manner, for a good ſpace together, which ended with an harmonious ringing of bells. This is the true relation of this moſt ſtrange ſign from heaven." [12 G. 67.]

Account of Concretions found in the bodies of Animals and Men.

[*From Medical Facts and Obſervations.*—Vol. IV.]

NATURAL hiſtory informs us that calculi may be found in the ſtomachs and inteſtines of many quadrupeds; in ſome fiſhes, inſects, and worms; and likewiſe in the human body.

From the inteſtinal calculi I ſhall hereafter deſcribe, we may trace their affinity to the laminated ſtones named Bezoars, by the antients, and which ſeem to have been no

other than theſe animal concretes*. To prove this more clearly, let us quote Dr. Lewis's deſcription of them, as "preternatural or morbid concretions formed in the bodies of land animals." Of theſe, he obſerves, the oriental is of the ſize of a kidney bean, of a roundiſh, or oblong rounded figure, of an even, ſmooth ſurface, and of a ſhining olive or dark green colour; which, on being broken, appears compoſed of a number of concentrical coats, of which the inner is ſmooth and gloſſy as the outer; in the middle, he adds, is either a cavity or ſome powdery matter, or ſome ſmall bits of the leaves or ſtalks of plants, or other like ſubſtances†.

This deſcription ſeems correct, except in limiting theſe productions to land animals, for they are ſometimes met with in fiſhes. Therefore, to elucidate this ſubject, I ſhall enumerate the animals that bezoars are moſt frequently found in. Among quadrupeds we may reckon the horſe, ox, goat, ſtag, the mountain deer of the Alps, the Braſilian monkey, and the porcupine; among fiſhes, the *phyſeter macrocephalus* Linnæi, or ſpermaceti whale; among inſects, the *aſtacus fluviatilis*, or river crayfiſh; among the cruſtaceous worms, the *concha margaritifera*, or mother-of pearl oyſter; and, laſtly, mankind.

The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. VII. p. 448, gives an account of a ſtone taken out of the ſtomach of a horſe aged 17 years, the greateſt circumference of which was 28 inches, and the leaſt 25. Its figure was an oblong ſpheroid; its weight 19 pounds avoirdupois.

In the LXth volume of the ſame work, at p. 18, we have a deſcription, with a figure, of a cluſtered ſtone, weighing 19 ounces; and an account of another as big as a penny loaf, like a heap of hardiſh horſe-dung, from the inteſtines of a horſe 30 years of age. At p. 885 of the ſame volume, four more inteſtinal ſtones are delineated; the firſt of which weighed 1 pound 10 ounces; the ſecond, 2 pounds 9 ounces; the third, 8 ounces; and the fourth, 7 pounds 14 ounces. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. XLVIII. we have an account of a mare from whoſe body a ſtone was taken that weighed 15 pounds 12 ounces. And Ruyſch preſerved in his collection two calculi, which, with 34 others of different ſizes, had been voided by a horſe in the emperor's ſtables at Vienna, in the ſpace of ſix weeks. The nucleus of one of theſe ſtones was found to be a grain of barley‡.

Mercatus has deſcribed and delineated an oriental concretion of this ſort in the Vatican collection§, preſented by the king of Portugal to cardinal Alexandrinus, which weighed ſomewhat more than four ounces; and alſo another from an animal of the ſtag kind, brought to Rome by

* Bezoar ſtones were firſt noticed and employed medicinally by Avenzoar, an Arabian phyſician, who flouriſhed about the eleventh century; but they were firſt accurately deſcribed by Garcias dal Horto, phyſician to the Portugueſe viceroy of the Indies. They took their name from the Perſian word BADZCHER, which ſignifies antidote, being conſidered as remedies againſt poiſon. Even at this day they are ſaid to be in great eſteem among the Perſians.

† Lewis's Materia Medica, 4to, 1768, pp. 138, 139.

‡ Vide Frid. Ruyſchii Theſaur. Anatom. ſecund. p. 39, 4to, Amſtel. 1722.

§ Mich. Mercati Metallotheca (Armar. VIII. de lapidibus animalibus innatis, cap. I.) folio, Romæ, 1719.

the

the jeſuits from Peru, the weight of which was 56 ounces*.

In the monkey theſe concretions are found in the ſtomach, of about the ſize of an hazel nut, harder than the other kinds, and of a dark greeniſh colour, approaching to black. But in the porcupine they are ſeated principally in the gall-bladder, and are ſimilar to biliary calculi in other animals.

In fiſhes we may adduce ambergris, as a concretion of the ſpermaceti whale. Dr. Swediar, in the LXXIIId volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, gives a ſatisfactory hiſtory of this animal product, and aſſerts, that it is found in the belly of the whale, and only of that particular ſpecies called by Linnæus *phyſeter macrocephalus*. He deſcribes it as being ſituated about ſix or ſeven feet from the anus, and never higher up; which, in all probability, ſays the doctor, is the inteſtinum cæcum, hitherto erroneouſly conſidered as a peculiar bag for the ſecretion of this ſingular ſubſtance. Intermixed with this are a number of black ſpots, apparently the beaks of the *ſepia octopodia*, which is the natural food of this ſpecies of whale. All whales, it ſeems, which afford this concretion, are found ſickly and emaciated; but healthy whales never produce any†: therefore we may conclude it to be an animal concrete, generated by diſeaſe, and which proves fatal by its mechanical ſtimulus‡.

In the inſect we conſider oculi cancrorum to be the ſtony concretion of the crayfiſh: they are thus deſcribed by Dr. Lewis§: "About the ſize of peas, of a roundiſh ſhape, flatted on one ſide; in colour white; ſometimes with a reddiſh, and ſometimes with a blueiſh caſt; internally of a leafy texture‖.

In the worm may be inſtanced the pearly concretions of certain oyſters—the *concha margaritifera*. Theſe concretions are of a bright ſemi-tranſparent whiteneſs, and are of two ſorts, the oriental and occidental. The oriental are of a ſilver hue; the occidental of an opaque white; and they are found on the inſide of the ſhell¶.

In the human body we have too many

* Monardes, in his work, tranſlated by Cluſius, under the title of *Simplicium Medicamentorum ex novo Orbe delatorum Hiſtoria* has inſerted a letter written to him by a correſpondent in Peru, who deſcribes the pouch, communicating with the ſtomach, in which theſe concretions are formed.

† See Phil. Trans. vol. LXXXI. p. 43.

‡ Cluſius was of opinion, that ambergris was the indigeſtible part of the food collected in the ſtomach of the whale; and Kempfer ſpeaks of it as excrement, and mentions, that the Japaneſe, for this reaſon, call it *kuſura no fun*, i. e. whales' dung. But, I think, from all whales being found unhealthy in which it is diſcovered, and the quantity imported being ſmall, compared with the quantity that would every where be to be found were it natural fæces, in thoſe ſeas where the ſpermaceti-whale inhabits, we may ſafely conclude that it is a diſeaſed product, ſimilar to ſtones in the inteſtines of horſes, and of other animals.

§ Materia Medica, p. 172.

‖ Geoffroy aſſerts, that crayfiſh change their ſtomachs and inteſtines at certain periods; that, when the ſtomach is renewed, the old one becomes ſubject to the digeſtive proceſs; and that, after this proceſs, concretions are found in the new ones. Suite de la Mat. Med. de M. Geoffroy, tome I. p. 338.

¶ As neither crabs' eyes nor pearls are found in all crayfiſh, or all oyſters, and there

many well-recorded facts of inteſtinal concretions, and the direful effects they are productive of; ſome of which ſhall now be ſelected.

Lanzoni mentions* the caſe of a woman in whoſe ſtomach were found ten ſtones, the largeſt weighing an ounce.

Dr. Coe, in his treatiſe on biliary concretions, gives an inſtance of a woman from whoſe rectum was extracted a concretion, the nucleus of which was a plumb-ſtone†. In the Edinburgh Medical Eſſays‡ we have an account of a ſimilar fact. In this laſt caſe the ball was of an irregular cubical ſhape, and weighed five drachms. In the Eſſays and Obſervations, Phyſical and Literary, is the hiſtory of a boy who had three ſtones extracted from the rectum, the nuclei of which were the ſmall bones of ſheep's trotters §.

The third volume‖ of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris contains an account of a woman from whoſe bowels was taken a ſtone weighing two ounces two drachms and a half.

In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. XXVII. we have an account of a concretion formed upon a plumb-ſtone, and retained in the inteſtinum cæcum; and in the London Medical Journal, vol. VI. p. 355, Mr. Johnſon, of Lancaſter, relates the caſe of a woman who voided, by ſtool, a ball of hardened fæces, weighing three quarters of an ounce, the nucleus of which was alſo a plumb-ſtone.

Theſe facts (and other ſimilar ones might eaſily be collected from books) are ſufficient to ſhew that inteſtinal calculi are not limited to the quadruped; and that they occur more frequently in the human body than has perhaps been generally ſuſpected.

An Account of ſome Obſervations made by a young Gentleman who was born blind, or loſt his Sight ſo early that he had no remembrance of ever having ſeen, and was couched between Thirteen and Fourteen Years of Age.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

THOUGH we ſay of this gentleman that he was blind, as we do of all people who have ripe cataracts, yet they are never ſo blind from that cauſe but that they can diſcern day from night, and, for the moſt part, in a ſtrong light, diſtinguiſh black, white, and ſcarlet; but they cannot perceive the ſhape of any thing; for, the light by which theſe perceptions are made being let in obliquely through the aqueous humour, or the anterior ſurface of the chryſtalline (by which the rays cannot be brought into a focus upon the retina), they can diſcern in no other manner than a ſound

is no ſuggeſting any uſe that they can furniſh to the œconomy of theſe animals, we may, perhaps, be juſtified in concluding that they are formed by diſeaſe in their inteſtines. The poſitive confirmation of this hypotheſis may be difficult, but it may in time, perhaps, be decided, by the obſervation of diligent naturaliſts. See Reaumur's paper on the formation of pearls and ſhells, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1717.

* Acta Phyſ. Med. Nat. Curioſ. vol. I. p. 117.

† De Coe on Biliary Concretions, p. 137. ‡ Vol. I. p. 243.

§ Vol. II. p. 345. ‖ P. 56.

ſound eye can through a glaſs of broken jelly, where a great variety of ſurfaces ſo differently refract the light, that the ſeveral diſtinct pencils of rays cannot be collected by the eye into their proper *foci*; wherefore, the ſhape of an object in ſuch a caſe cannot at all be diſcerned, though the colour may. And thus it was with this young gentleman, who, though he knew theſe colours aſunder in a good light, yet, when he ſaw them after he was couched, the faint ideas he had of them before were not ſufficient for him to know them by afterwards, and therefore he did not think them the ſame which he had before known by thoſe names. Now, ſcarlet he thought the moſt beautiful of all colours, and of others the moſt gay were the moſt pleaſing; whereas, the firſt time he ſaw black it gave him great uneaſineſs; yet, after a little while, he was reconciled to it; but, ſome months after, ſeeing by accident a negro woman, he was ſtruck with horror at the ſight. When he firſt ſaw, he was ſo far from making any judgement about diſtance, that he thought all objects whatſoever touched his eyes (as he expreſſed it), as what he felt did his ſkin, and thought no objects ſo agreeable as thoſe which were ſmooth or regular, though he could form no judgement of their ſhape, or gueſs what it was in any object that was pleaſing to him. He knew not the ſhape of any thing, or any one thing from another, however different in ſhape or magnitude; but, upon being told what things were, whoſe form he before knew from feeling, he would carefully obſerve, that he might know them again; but, having too many objects to learn at once, he forgot many of them; and (as he ſaid) at firſt he learnt to know, and again forgot, a thouſand things in a day. One particular only (though it may appear trifling) I will relate: having often forgot which was the cat and which the dog, he was aſhamed to aſk, but catching the cat (which he knew by feeling) he was obſerved to look at her ſtedfaſtly, and then ſetting her down ſaid to puſs, "I ſhall know "you another time." He was very much ſurpriſed that thoſe things which he had liked beſt did not appear moſt agreeable to his eyes, expecting thoſe perſons would appear moſt beautiful that he loved moſt, and ſuch things to be moſt agreeable to his ſight that were ſo to his taſte. We thought he ſoon knew what pictures repreſented which were ſhown to him, but we found afterwards we were miſtaken; for, about two months after he was couched, he diſcovered at once that they repreſented ſolid bodies, when to that time he conſidered them as party-coloured planes, or ſurfaces diverſified with variety of paint; but even then he was no leſs ſurpriſed, expecting the pictures would feel like the things they repreſented, and was amazed when he found thoſe parts, which by their light and ſhadow appeared now round and uneven, felt only flat like the reſt, and aſked which was the *lying ſenſe*, feeling or ſeeing?

Being ſhown his father's picture in a locket at his mother's watch, and told what it was, he acknowledged a likeneſs, but was vaſtly ſurpriſed, aſking how it could be that a large face could be expreſſed in ſo little room? ſaying, it ſhould have ſeemed as impoſſible to him as to put a buſhel of any thing into a pint. At firſt he could bear but very little light,

light, and the things he saw he thought extremely large: but, upon seeing things larger, those first seen he conceived less, never being able to imagine any lines beyond those he saw. The room he was in, he said, he knew to be but part of the house, yet he could not conceive that the whole house could look bigger. Before he was couched, he expected little advantage from seeing, worth undergoing an operation for, except reading and writing; for he thought, he said, he could have no more pleasure in walking abroad than he had in the garden, which he could do safely and readily. And even blindness, he observed, had this advantage, that he could go any where in the dark much better than those that can see: and, after he had seen, he did not soon lose this quality, nor desired a light to go about the house in the night. He said, every new object was a new delight; and the pleasure was so great that he wanted ways to express it. But his gratitude to his operator he could not conceal, never seeing him for some time without tears of joy in his eyes, and other marks of affection; and, if he did not happen to come at any time when he was expected, he would be so grieved that he could not forbear crying at his disappointment.

A year after first seeing, being carried upon Epsom Downs, and observing a large prospect, he was exceedingly delighted with it, and called it a new kind of seeing. And now, being lately couched of his other eye, he says that objects at first appeared large to his eye, but not so large as they did at first to the other; and, looking upon the same object with both eyes, he thought it looked about twice as large as with the first couched eye only, but not double, that we can any ways discover.

JOHN ROMLEY, 1731.
Haxey, Lincolnshire.

Curious account of a Canada *Goose.*

[*From the Environs of* London. Vol. IV. *By the Rev.* D. Lysons.]

THE following account of a Canada goose is so extraordinary that I am aware it would with difficulty gain credit, was not a whole parish able to vouch for the truth of it. The Canada geese are not fond of a poultry-yard, but are rather of a rambling disposition; one of these birds was observed, however, to attach itself, in the strongest and most affectionate manner, to the house-dog, would never quit the kennel except for the purpose of feeding, when it would return again immediately. It always sat by the dog, but never presumed to go into the kennel, except in rainy weather. Whenever the dog barked, the goose would cackle, and run at the person she supposed the dog barked at, and try to bite him by the heels. Sometimes she would attempt to feed with the dog; but this the dog, who treated his faithful companion rather with indifference, would not suffer. This bird would not go to roost with the others at night, unless driven by main force, and when in the morning she was turned into the field, she would never stir from the yard gate, but sit there the whole day in sight of the dog. At last, orders were given that she should be no longer molested, but suffered to accompany the dog as she liked. Being thus left to herself, she ran about the yard with him all night; and what is particularly

ticularly extraordinary, and can be atteſted by the whole pariſh, whenever the dog went out of the yard and ran into the village, the gooſe always accompanied him, contriving to keep up with him by the aſſiſtance of her wings, and in this way of running and flying, followed him all over the pariſh. This extraordinary affection of the gooſe towards the dog, which continued till his death, two years after it was firſt obſerved, is ſuppoſed to have originated from his having accidentally ſaved her from a fox, in the very moment of diſtreſs. While the dog was ill, the gooſe never quitted him day nor night, not even for food, and it was apprehended that ſhe would have been ſtarved to death, had not orders been given for a pan of corn to be ſet every day cloſe to the kennel. At this time the gooſe generally ſat in the kennel, and would not ſuffer any one to approach it, except the perſon who brought the dog's or her food. The end of this faithful bird was melancholy; for when the dog died, ſhe would ſtill keep poſſeſſion of the kennel, and a new houſe-dog being introduced, which in ſize and colour reſembled that lately loſt, the poor gooſe was unhappily deceived, and going into the kennel as uſual, the new inhabitant ſeized her by the throat and killed her. A ſimilar affection was obſerved between a cat and a pidgeon ſome years ago, at the houſe of the late Robert James, eſq. of Putney, with this difference, that it appeared reciprocal. What rendered it more extraordinary was, that they were both found on one day, on the wall of the garden, and both became domeſticated at Mr. James's, where they continued to be inſeparable companions.

On the faſcinating power of Snakes.

[*From New Travels into the interior of* Africa; *tranſlated from the* French *of* La Vaillant.]

THE converſation that took place upon this occaſion, and which powerfully intereſted the company, reminds me of a curious event that happened at the ſame time, and which I cannot paſs over in ſilence.

Our eyes were naturally attracted by objects before us. Mine indeed, by an involuntary impulſe, are ſure to be directed to whatever trees are in ſight. We perceived the branches of one near us to move. Immediately we heard the piercing cries of a ſhrike, and ſaw it tremble as if in convulſions. We firſt conceived that it was held in the gripe of ſome bird of prey: but a cloſer attention led us to diſcover, upon the next branch of the tree, a large ſerpent that, with ſtretched out neck and fiery eyes, though perfectly ſtill, was gazing at the poor animal. The agony of the bird was terrible; but fear had deprived it of ſtrength, and, as if tied by the leg, it ſeemed to have loſt the power of flight. One of the company ran for a fuſee; but before he returned the ſhrike was dead, and we ſhot only the ſerpent.

I requeſted that the diſtance between the place where the bird had experienced the convulſions, and that occupied by the ſerpent before it was ſhot, might be meaſured. Upon doing ſo, we found it to be three feet and a half, and we were all convinced that the ſhrike had died neither from the bite nor the poiſon of its enemy. I ſtripped it alſo before the whole company, and made them obſerve that it was untouched, and had

had not received the ſlighteſt wound.

I had my reaſons for what I did. Extraordinary as the fact may appear, and though the perſons who had been the witneſſes could hardly believe, even after having ſeen it, it was to me not new. A ſimilar adventure had happened to me in the canton of the Twenty-four Rivers, and I inſtantly related it, to confirm what we had juſt ſeen.

Hunting one day in a marſhy piece of ground, I heard, all at once, in a tuft of reeds, a piercing and very lamentable cry. Anxious to know what it was, I ſtole ſoftly to the place, where I perceived a ſmall mouſe, like the ſhrike on the tree, in agonizing convulſions, and two yards farther a ſerpent, whoſe eyes were intently fixed upon it. The moment the reptile ſaw me, it glided away, but the buſineſs was done. Upon taking up the mouſe it expired in my hand, without its being poſſible to diſcover by the moſt attentive examination, what had occaſioned its death.

The Hottentots, whom I conſulted upon this incident, expreſſed no ſort of aſtoniſhment. Nothing, they ſaid, was more common; the ſerpent had the faculty of attracting and faſcinating ſuch animals as it wiſhed to devour. I had then no faith in ſuch power; but ſome time after, ſpeaking of the circumſtance in a company of more than twenty perſons, in the number of whom was colonel Gordon; a captain of his regiment confirmed the account of the Hottentots, and aſſured me that it was an event which happened very frequently. "My teſtimony," added he, "ought to have the more "weight, as I had once nearly be-"come myſelf a victim to this faſci-"nation. While in garriſon at "Ceylon, and amuſing myſelf, like "you, in hunting in a marſh, I was "in the courſe of my ſport ſudden-"ly ſeized with a convulſive and "involuntary trembling, different "from any thing I had ever experi-"enced, and at the ſame time was "ſtrongly attracted, and in ſpite of "myſelf, to a particular ſpot of the "marſh. Directing my eyes to this "ſpot, I beheld with feelings of hor-"ror, a ſerpent of an enormous ſize, "whoſe look inſtantly pierced me. "Having, however, not yet loſt all "power of motion, I embraced the "opportunity before it was too late, "and ſaluted the reptile with the "contents of my fuſee. The report "was a taliſman that broke the "charm. All at once, as if by a "miracle, my convulſions ceaſed; I "felt myſelf able to fly; and the "only inconvenience of this extra-"ordinary adventure was a cold "ſweat, which was doubtleſs the "effects of my fear, and of the vio-"lent agitation my ſenſes had un-"dergone."

Such was the account given by this officer. I do not pretend to vouch for its truth; but the ſtory of the mouſe, as well as of the ſhrike, I aver to be a fact. I will add, alſo, that, ſince my return to France, having had occaſion to talk with Blanchor upon the ſubject, an officer who ſucceeded Boufflers in the government of Senegal, he aſſured me with confidence, that both at Goree and in Senegal, the opinion was univerſal; that aſcending the river of that name, as far even as Galem, three hundred leagues from its mouth, it equally prevailed among the Moors, at the right, and the negroes, at the left; that among theſe people nobody doubted this power in certain

ſpecies of ſerpents, of faſcinating both animals and men; and that the tradition was founded upon long experience, and the many misfortunes they are continually witneſſing.

Here again let it be remembered, that I am only the hiſtorian, and that I take upon me neither to validate nor explain theſe reports. With reſpect to the two inſtances I have adduced, and of which I am at once the recorder and the evidence, they will probably be regarded by moſt of my readers, as the pure effect of that extreme and involuntary terror which every animal experiences by inſtinct, at ſight of an enemy that has power over its life; and they will alledge, perhaps, in ſupport of this ſuppoſition, the example of the ſetter, who retains in their place a partridge or a hare, by the mere circumſtance of his preſence or look.

To this I reply, that if a partridge or a hare remain quiet before the dog, it is not ſo much from a ſudden impulſe of fear, as from deliberate cunning. While cloſe upon the ground, they imagine themſelves to be concealed from the enemy. What confirms this conjecture is, that if the dog approach near enough to ſeize upon his prey, the bird inſtantly takes wing, and the hare ſcampers away. It will certainly not be denied me, that it is fear which makes them fly. Such is the powerful effect of inſtinct, in every animal, at the appearance of danger. But why do not the hare and the partridge, at ſight of the dog, remain fixed and motionleſs with terror, like the ſhrike and the mouſe in preſence of the ſerpent? The rat does not remain ſtationary at the approach of the cat, but haſtens away the moment he perceives her. May not then the look and preſence of a ſerpent, and the nature of the corpuſcles that emanate from its body, produce a very different effect from the emanation and look of the cat?

Deſcription of the Giraffe, or Camelopard.

[*From the ſame.*]

THE Giraffe chews the cud, as all horned animals with cloven feet uſually do. Like them, too, it crops the graſs; though ſeldom, becauſe paſture is ſcarce in the country it inhabits. Its ordinary food is the leaf of a ſort of mimoſa, called by the natives kanaap, and by the planters kamel doorn. The tree being peculiar to the canton, and growing only there, this may be the reaſon why it takes up its abode in it, and why it is not ſeen in thoſe regions of the ſouth of Africa, where the tree does not grow. This, however, is but a vague conjecture, and which the reports of the ancients ſeem to contradict.

Its head is, unqueſtionably, the moſt beautiful part of its body. Its mouth is ſmall: its eyes large and animated. Between the eyes, and above the noſe, it has a very diſtinct and prominent tubercle. This is not a fleſhy excreſcence, but an enlargement of the bony part, the ſame as the two little boſſes, or protuberances, with which its occiput is armed, and which riſe as large as a hen's egg, one on each ſide of the mane, at its commencement. Its tongue is rough, and terminates in a point. Each jaw has ſix grinders on each ſide; but the lower jaw only

only has eight cutting teeth in front, while the upper jaw has none.

The hoof is cloven, has no heel, and much reſembles that of the ox. It may be obſerved, however, at the firſt ſight, that the hoof of the fore foot is larger than that of the hind foot. The leg is very ſlender; but the knee is ſwelled like that of a ſtumbling horſe, [couronné,] becauſe the animal kneels down to ſleep. It has alſo a large calloſity in the middle of the ſternum, owing to its uſually repoſing on it. If I had never killed a giraffe, I ſhould have thought, with many other naturaliſts, that its hind legs were much ſhorter than the fore ones. This is a miſtake: they bear the ſame proportion to each other as is uſual in quadrupeds. I ſay the ſame proportion as is uſual, becauſe in this reſpect there are variations, even in animals of the ſame ſpecies. Every one knows, that mares are lower before than ſtallions. What deceives us in the giraffe, and occaſions this apparent difference between the legs, is the height of the withers, which may exceed that of the crupper from ſixteen to twenty inches, according to the age of the animal: and which, when it is ſeen at a diſtance in motion, gives the appearance of much greater length to the fore legs.

If the giraffe ſtand ſtill, and you view it in the front, the effect is very different. As the fore part of the body is much larger than the hind part, it completely conceals the latter; ſo that the animal reſembles the ſtanding trunk of a dead tree.

Its gait, when it walks, is neither aukward nor unpleaſing, but it is ridiculous enough when it trots, for you would then take it for a limping beaſt, ſeeing its head perched at the extremity of a long neck which never bends, ſwaying backwards and forwards, the neck and head playing in one piece between the ſhoulders as on an axis. However, as the length of the neck exceeds that of the legs at leaſt four inches, it is evident that, the length of the head too taken into the account, it can feed without difficulty, and of courſe is not obliged to kneel down, or to ſtraddle with its feet, as ſome authors have aſſerted.

Its mode of defence, like that of the horſe and other ſolidungulous animals, conſiſts in kicking with the heels. But its hind parts are ſo light, and its jerks ſo quick, that the eye cannot count them. They are even ſufficient to defend it againſt the lion, though they are unable to protect it from the impetuous attacks of the tiger.

Its horns are never employed in fight. I did not perceive it uſe them againſt my dogs. And theſe weak and uſeleſs weapons would ſeem but an error of Nature, if Nature could ever commit error, or fail in her deſigns.

Deſcription of the Secretary Bird.

[*From the ſame.*]

DESCENDING from a mountain to a deep bog, I perceived almoſt perpendicularly beneath me a bird riſing and ſtooping very rapidly, with very extraordinary motions. Though I was well acquainted with the ſecretary, and had killed ſeveral in the country of Natal, it was impoſſible for me, in my vertical ſituation, to diſtinguiſh this,

this, though I ſuſpected it from its actions: and having found means of approaching pretty near it, under cover of ſome rocks, without noiſe, and without being perceived, I ſaw it was one actually fighting with a ſerpent.

The battle was obſtinate, and conducted with equal addreſs on both ſides. But the ſerpent, feeling the inferiority of his ſtrength, employed, in his attempt to flee and regain his hole, that cunning which is aſcribed to him; while the bird, gueſſing his deſign, ſtopped him on a ſudden, and cut off his retreat by placing herſelf before him at a ſingle leap. On whatever ſide the reptile endeavoured to make his eſcape, his enemy ſtill appeared before him. Then uniting at once bravery and cunning, he erected himſelf boldly to intimidate the bird; and hiſſing dreadfully, diſplayed his menacing throat, inflamed eyes, and a head ſwelled with rage and venom.

Sometimes this threatening appearance produced a momentary ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities: but the bird ſoon returned to the charge; and covering her body with one of her wings as a buckler, ſtruck her enemy with the bony protuberances of the other, which like little clubs, ſerved the more effectually to knock him down, as he raiſed himſelf to the blow. I ſaw him ſtagger and fall; the conqueror then fell upon him to diſpatch him, and with one ſtroke of her beak laid open his ſkull.

At this inſtant, having no farther obſervation to make, I killed her. In her craw, for this bird has one, though no perſon has noticed it, I found on diſſection eleven pretty large lizards; three ſerpents as long as my arm; eleven ſmall tortoiſes, very entire, ſeveral of which were about two inches in diameter, and a number of locuſts, and other inſects, moſt of which were ſufficiently whole to be worth preſerving and adding to my collection. The lizards, ſerpents and tortoiſes, had all received the blow on the head from the beak.

I obſerved too, that beſide this maſs of food, the craw contained a ſort of ball, as large as the egg of a gooſe, formed of the vertebræ of ſerpents and lizards devoured before, ſhells of little tortoiſes, and wings, claws, and ſhields of different kinds of beetles. When this indigeſtible maſs becomes too large, the ſecretary no doubt, like other birds of prey, vomits and brings it up. However, from the ſuperabundant quantity of aliment contained in the craw of the one I killed, it certainly was not hunger that exited it to attack the ſerpent in the ſlough, but its natural hatred and antipathy for reptiles.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

First Report from the ſelect Committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of Corn.

THE ſelect committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the ſame, from time to time, as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, with their obſervations thereupon, proceeded, in the firſt inſtance, to conſider ſuch information as had been already collected concerning the ſame.

They examined, for this purpoſe, the minutes of the evidence taken before the lords of his majeſty's privy council, upon this ſubject. They received from ſir John Sinclair, one of the members of the committee, the ſubſtance of ſuch accounts of the ſtate of the late crop of grain, as the correſpondence of the board of agriculture had enabled them, at the preſent period, to collect. They had further the opportunity of receiving from many of their members a ſtatement of facts within their own knowledge, or communicated by reſpectable authorities from their different counties.

They have received alſo from his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, ſuch returns as had been hitherto made to the circular letter written by him, by his majeſty's command, to the cuſtodes rotulorum and ſheriffs depute in England and Scotland, deſiring them to obtain meetings of the magiſtrates for the purpoſe of procuring an account of the ſtate of the late crop: but theſe returns are not as yet ſufficiently numerous or complete to lead to any preciſe concluſion.

On the whole, however, the general information derived from the ſources above-mentioned ſatisfied your committee, that the crop of other ſorts of grain than wheat has been upon the whole abundant, but that the produce of wheat has proved ſo far deficient, as to require the adoption of the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual meaſures for the remedy or alleviation of ſo great an evil. They were therefore of opinion, that they ſhould beſt perform their duty by directing their immediate attention to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures; and have, on that account, deferred for the preſent purſuing a detailed inquiry into the exact amount of ſuch deficiency; but they propoſe to report the ſame more particularly to the houſe, when they ſhall have received ſuch further information as may enable them to

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collect more fully the general opinion, upon a point which they are ſenſible it is impoſſible at any time to aſcertain with any great degree of accuracy.

The firſt and moſt obvious mode of ſupplying this deficiency is, the importation of grain from foreign parts —and for the purpoſe of forming an opinion as to what may be the proſpect of ſupply from thence, and the moſt expedient means to be adopted for procuring it, your committee proceeded to examine ſuch perſons, from whoſe knowledge and experience in the trade of corn they could expect the beſt information. It appeared from their concurrent teſtimony, that, though the crop of wheat in the United States of America, and in the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, was repreſented as abundant; and in the northern and eaſtern parts of Europe as not materially deficient; yet, as the old ſtock was much exhauſted, and the demand great, the price, according to the laſt advices, was every where uncommonly high. But, though there was upon this point ſome difference of opinion, it appeared upon the whole very doubtful whether a ſupply to any conſiderable extent could be depended upon from foreign parts, whatever meaſures might be adopted. Your committee next proceeded to inquire what meaſures, in the judgment of theſe perſons, afforded the beſt probability of obtaining ſuch a ſupply. They thought it right to bring diſtinctly under their conſideration the alternative of leaving the whole care of ſuch purchaſes to the executive government, who would (it was conceived) be in ſuch caſe the only purchaſers, and be publicly known to be ſo; or of leaving the ſame to the ſpeculation of individual merchants, encouraged by a liberal bounty on importation, and by a public declaration on the part of government (as ſoon as ſuch declaration ſhall be practicable) of the quantity which they may then have at their diſpoſal in conſequence of former orders, and of their intention to give no further orders for the purchaſe of corn, and to ſell what may have been procured, in limited quantities, and at the market price. It appeared to your committee to be the preponderant opinion amongſt thoſe perſons to whom this alternative was ſtated, that, upon the whole, the reſtoration of the trade in corn to its natural channel, with the additional encouragement of a bounty, was the moſt eligible mode of endeavouring to procure from foreign parts ſuch ſupplies as thoſe markets might be found able to furniſh. Your committee were further confirmed in this opinion by the information they received from ſome of their members, that there were merchants who had ſtated to them their readineſs, under thoſe circumſtances, to engage in ſpeculations to a large extent. After a full conſideration and diſcuſſion of this important point, your committee were of opinion, "that it was "expedient for the executive go- "vernment to deſiſt from making "any further purchaſes of corn; and "that a bounty ſhould be granted "upon the importation of certain "ſorts of grain into this country, for "the encouragement of private ſpe- "culation."

Your committee next proceeded to the conſideration of the amount and diſtribution of ſuch bounty. They had been informed that, from the abundance of the crop of wheat in the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, there might be a con-

ſiderable diſpoſeable ſurplus in thoſe markets; but that, from the high price of freight and inſurance from thoſe ports, and from the difficulty of procuring ſhipping to go thither in ballaſt, a larger bounty would be required to encourage private ſpeculation in that quarter than in any other; they were therefore of opinion, that a bounty of twenty ſhillings per quarter, and a proportionate bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not leſs than 440 pounds avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not leſs than 196 pounds avoirdupois, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain from any port of Europe ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, or from any port in the Mediterranean, or in Africa, before the 31ſt day of Auguſt, 1796; until the quantity of ſuch wheat and flour, taken together, ſhall equal 300,000 quarters.

They were further ſatisfied, upon the beſt information they could collect, that from the other parts of Europe, and from America, a bounty of 15s. per quarter upon a certain quantity of wheat, and of 10s. per quarter upon all exceeding it, would be ſufficient to give a fair chance of procuring for the Britiſh markets a large proportion of whatever ſupply thoſe countries might be expected to furniſh beyond their own conſumption: and they were therefore of opinion, that a bounty of fifteen ſhillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not leſs than 440 pounds avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not leſs than 196 pounds avoirdupois, which ſhall be imported from all other parts of Europe, before the 31ſt day of Auguſt 1796; until the quantity of ſuch wheat and flour, taken together, ſhall equal 500,000 quarters. Your committee were alſo of opinion, that a bounty of fifteen ſhillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not leſs than 440lb. avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not leſs than 196lb. avoirdupois, which ſhall be imported from any of his majeſty's colonies in America, or from the United States, before the 31ſt of Auguſt 1796; until the quantity of ſuch wheat and flour taken together, ſhall equal 500,000 quarters. Your committee were alſo of opinion, that a bounty of ten ſhillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of wheat, weighing not leſs than 440lb. avoirdupois, or on any number of barrels of flour, weighing not leſs than 196lb. avoirdupois, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain before the 31ſt day of Auguſt 1796, and on which none of the before-mentioned bounties ſhall have been paid.

Your committee being convinced, that if a conſiderable quantity of Indian corn could be obtained (which from the abundance of that crop appears not improbable) it would afford a material relief, were alſo of opinion, that a bounty of five ſhillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of Indian corn, or on any number of barrels of Indian meal, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain before the 31ſt day of Auguſt 1796; until the quantity of ſuch Indian corn and meal, taken together, ſhall equal 500,000 quarters. Your committee were alſo of

opinion,

opinion, that a bounty of three ſhillings per quarter, and a proportional bounty per barrel, ſhould be given on any number of quarters of Indian corn, or on any number of barrels of Indian meal, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain before the 31ſt day of Auguſt, 1796; and on which the before-mentioned bounty ſhall not have been paid.

Your committee have ſome reaſon to believe, that there may appear ſuch a deficiency in the crop of rye, as may lead to the application of ſimilar meaſures for the encouragement of the importation of that ſpecies of grain, as have been recommended reſpecting wheat; but they do not yet conſider their information upon that point as ſufficient to authorize them, at the preſent moment, to report any opinion to that effect.

Your committee have thought it incumbent upon them, humbly to ſuggeſt ſuch meaſures as have hitherto appeared, in their judgment, the moſt likely to facilitate the procuring, without loſs of time, in the leaſt exceptionable manner, and on the leaſt unreaſonable terms, the largeſt ſupply of grain from foreign parts, which, in the preſent relative ſtate of the markets, they can be expected to afford. It was particularly with a view to expedition that they have ſuggeſted the propoſed plan of arranging the bounty. But they feel it, at the ſame time, their indiſpenſable duty expreſsly to ſtate, that they are far from entertaining any opinion that any ſupply, by importation, can be depended upon to ſuch an amount as to remove the neceſſity of recurring to every other practicable and reaſonable mode, by which the preſent ſcarcity may be relieved; and particularly of attending to ſtrict economy in the conſumption of wheat and flour, and of promoting the ſubſtitution, to a certain extent, of other articles of food.

They intend to proceed immediately to the conſideration of theſe and other parts of this extenſive and important ſubject; and will, with the permiſſion of the houſe, report, from time to time, ſuch opinions as they may be enabled to form thereupon.

Second report from the ſelect Committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of Corn.

THE ſelect committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the ſame from time to time, as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, with their obſervations thereupon,—have received, ſince their laſt report, further information reſpecting the deficiency in the crop of rye, and the great want of that article in thoſe parts of the country where it forms the principal ſubſiſtence of the people; and they are thereby induced to think that ſimilar meaſures ought to be adopted for the encouragement of the importation of that ſpecies of grain, as have been recommended reſpecting wheat. They beg leave therefore to ſubmit their opinion to the houſe, that a bounty of ten ſhillings per quarter ſhould be given for every quarter of rye, weighing not leſs than fifty pounds per buſhel, which ſhall be imported into Great Britain before the 30th day of September, 1796, until the quantity of ſuch rye ſhall exceed 100,000 quarters; and alſo that a bounty of ſix

ſhillings per quarter ſhould be given for every quarter of rye which ſhall be imported into Great Britain before the 30th day of September, 1796, exceeding the quantity to which the before-mentioned bounty is limited.

Your committee are alſo inclined to recommend an extenſion of the period for which the ſeveral bounties on grain and flour are propoſed to be granted. They obſerve, from the weekly returns of the price of wheat in the whole kingdom, and of the price and quantity in the London market ſince January laſt, that the higheſt price and the greateſt ſcarcity took place during the months of July and Auguſt, and particularly in the latter. Theſe, therefore, are the months for which it is moſt important to provide; and they are led to fear, that if the bounty is confined to ſuch corn as may arrive before the 31ſt of Auguſt, merchants may be diſcouraged from ſending ſupplies to this country during that month, by the apprehenſion that they may not arrive in time to be entitled to the bounty. They beg leave therefore to ſuggeſt an extenſion of the time to the 30th of September; and they ſubmit, whether it might not alſo be expedient to place, in proper hands, a diſcretionary power of allowing the bounties to ſuch ſhips as may arrive before the 15th of October, upon proof of their having actually ſet ſail for Great Britain, from their reſpective ports, at ſuch time that they might, in the ordinary courſe of their voyage, have arrived before the 30th of September.

Your committee have alſo received a ſuggeſtion from merchants trading to the ſouthern parts of Europe and to Africa, that it would be adviſeable to enlarge the quantity to which the higheſt bounty upon corn, brought from thoſe quarters, was propoſed to be limited: they do not ſtate an expectation that the whole of that quantity can be procured; but they are apprehenſive that the original limitation may tend to check ſpeculation, by the fear of exceeding the quantity ſpecified—and they propoſe, therefore, that the higheſt bounty ſhould be extended to 400,000 quarters.

Your committee have alſo examined ſeveral merchants reſpecting the proportion which the bounty upon flour ought to bear to that upon wheat; they have been ſatisfied by this examination that, in conſideration of the various ſizes and weight of the barrels uſed in different countries, it would be more adviſeable to grant a bounty on the hundred-weight of flour than on the barrel, as had been at firſt ſuggeſted; that it is expedient to adopt, on the importation of wheat and wheat flour, the ſame proportion of bounties which has been already eſtabliſhed by the legiſlature on the exportation of the ſame (i. e.) 1s. 6d. per hundred weight of wheat flour, as equivalent to 5s. per quarter of wheat; and that the ſame rule ought to be applied to Indian corn and meal.

In ſuggeſting, in their former report, that the bounty given on wheat ought to be limited to ſuch as weighed not leſs than at the rate of 55 pounds per buſhel, your committee proceeded on information then received, that wheat of a lower weight was uſually of ſo inferior a quality, as to be unfit for the uſe of man; and under a full perſuaſion of the neceſſity of fixing ſome limit, in order to prevent the object, for which

which the bounty is given, from being defeated by the importation of corn inapplicable to the ſubſiſtence of the people. They have ſince received further information, which has ſatisfied them, that wheat, naturally of ſomewhat a lower weight, may produce wholeſome food; and that cargoes, not unfrequently, arrive out of condition, in conſequence of which the weight is for the time diminiſhed, though it ſoon recovers; and that it might prove an inconvenient reſtraint on ſpeculation, if the merchant were expoſed to loſe the whole of the bounty, by a ſlight inattention of his agents abroad, or by a temporary and accidental deterioration of the article imported: they are therefore of opinion, that a bounty, equal to four-fifths of the propoſed bounty, ſhould be given on all wheat weighing not leſs than at the rate of fifty-three pounds per buſhel.

Your committee having ſtated ſuch further obſervations as they have thought neceſſary, reſpecting the amount of the bounties, and the limitations as to weight and quantity, and time, beg leave to recommend, for the prevention of fraud, that all corn and flour imported for bounty ſhould be ſubject, in addition to the inſpection of the proper officers of the cuſtoms, to the examination of perſons qualified to judge thereof; that without the certificate of ſuch perſons, ſtating that the article is merchantable and fit for making bread, no bounty ſhould be paid; and that the importation of corn and flour for bounty ſhould be confined to ſuch ports in which it is probable that perſons ſo qualified may be found.

Your committee have alſo received information that there are ſhips now in the ports of this country laden with corn, which are intended to be reported for exportation, and that other ſhips may arrive, the conſignees of which may ſend their cargoes to foreign ports, unleſs tempted by the bounty to unload them here; and they beg leave, therefore, to ſubmit the expediency of extending the bounty to the cargoes of all ſhips which may now be in the ports of this country, or may arrive here previous to the paſſing of the act by which it is to be granted.

Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of Corn.

THE ſelect committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of corn, and to collect evidence relative thereto, and to report the ſame from time to time, as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, with their obſervations thereupon, have received, ſince their firſt report, a conſiderable number of returns, made by the cuſtodes rotulorum of the different counties, reſpecting the ſtate of the laſt crop, together with much additional intelligence upon that ſubject communicated by many of their members. They find it, however, impoſſible as yet to draw, either from theſe returns or from any other quarter, a preciſe concluſion. The returns are ſo incomplete in their number, and are founded upon ſo many different principles, ſome ſtating the whole quantities of grain produced, others the number of acres ſown, and others again the average produce of each acre; and drawing, in ſome inſtances, a compariſon with the

crop of laſt year, in others with that of certain preceding years, and in others with what is generally called a fair crop, that it is extremely difficult to combine and compare them, ſo as to ſtate accurately the reſult of the whole.

Your committee would have endeavoured to render this inveſtigation more complete, if they had not felt the great importance of ſuggeſting, without further delay, ſuch meaſures as have occurred to them for alleviating an evil which evidently exiſts to ſuch an extent as to call for the moſt effectual remedy.

From the beſt conſideration of ſuch information as they have hitherto obtained, they ſhould not feel themſelves authorized in aſſuming, as the ground of any opinion they may offer, that the deficiency of the crop of wheat is leſs than from one fifth to one ſixth, compared with the crop of laſt year, and from one fourth to one fifth, compared with an average crop. The crop of rye, of which no great quantity is uſually grown, may probably be conſidered as equally deficient; but the crops of barley and oats are repreſented to be nearly double thoſe of 1794, and at leaſt one fifth better than an average crop.

It appears alſo, from the concurrent teſtimony of intelligent perſons, that the ſtock of wheat in hand at the commencement of the laſt harveſt was much leſs than at the ſame period of the preceding year, and there is alſo reaſon to believe that a larger quantity has been uſed for ſeed in the preſent ſeed time than in the laſt.—One of the cauſes of the extreme high price which prevailed antecedent to the laſt harveſt, was generally ſuppoſed to be the very exhauſted ſtate to which the ſtock of the country had then been reduced. In order to avoid a repetition of this evil, to the ſame or to a much greater extent (if the ſucceeding crop ſhould, from unfavourable ſeaſons, be later or leſs productive than uſual) it is certainly extremely deſirable that the ſtock remaining in the country at the commencement of the next harveſt ſhould be more adequate to the demand than what remained this year at a ſimilar period. Whatever is neceſſary for this purpoſe, ought therefore to be added to the amount of the deficiency.

Your committee have ſtated theſe circumſtances to the houſe, in order to explain more fully the grounds of their opinion, that there will be no ſecurity againſt very conſiderable diſtreſs in the courſe of the enſuing year, unleſs the deficiency of wheat and rye can be ſupplied by importation, or unleſs other means can be found, by which, out of the ſtock of different ſorts of grain in the country, a comfortable and wholeſome ſubſiſtence can be furniſhed to the people during the whole of that period.

Upon the firſt part of this alternative, your committee have already humbly ſubmitted their opinion; and though they flatter themſelves, that from the adoption of the meaſures now in contemplation for the encouragement of the importation of wheat, of Indian corn, and of rye, ſome conſiderable ſupplies may be procured from foreign parts, yet they ſhould think it unwiſe to reſt in any great degree upon the hope that ſuch ſupplies can cover a large proportion of the deficiency. Your committee would feel great regret in ſtating this to

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the houſe, if they were not alſo of opinion, upon the fulleſt conſideration, that the country poſſeſſes other reſources, both more extenſive, and more ſecure, in an economical uſe of the ſtock of wheat in the kingdom, and in the abundant crops of barley, of oats, and of potatoes.

It is obvious, that there muſt be a very numerous claſs of families where, in times of ordinary plenty, the conſumption of wheaten bread and of flour is by no means an object of ſtrict regulation and attention; and it can be as little doubted, that, under ſuch a preſſure as the preſent, an important reduction might be effected in this reſpect, without diminiſhing, in any degree, the quantity neceſſary for ſubſiſtence. It is alſo to be remarked, that the conſumption of this claſs of perſons and their families, together with another claſs, far more extenſive, conſiſts in a large proportion of other articles than bread; and that the ſituation of thoſe claſſes may enable them, as circumſtances require, to augment in ſome degree that proportion, and thereby to leave a larger ſhare of the ſtock of wheat to thoſe for whoſe ſubſiſtence it is more immediately eſſential.

The reduction of the conſumption of wheat may be conſiderably aided amongſt this deſcription of perſons, and, in a great degree, extended to all claſſes of the people, if they can be induced to employ the other reſource to which your committee have referred, and to avail themſelves of the abundance of other crops to ſupply the deficiency of wheat.

For the purpoſe of aſcertaining in what proportion the articles before enumerated, and others, could be mixed with wheat, ſo as to produce a bread likely to anſwer the purpoſes of general conſumption, your committee have examined the reſult of a variety of experiments, made by the victualling office, under the direction of the privy council, and ordered to be communicated to them; and of further experiments, ſince made by the ſame office, under the direction of your committee; and have been alſo aſſiſted by the board of agriculture, who have communicated to them an account of trials made with a ſtill greater variety of mixtures. Your committee ſee no reaſon to doubt that good bread may be made from any of theſe mixtures, with no greater proportion than three-fifths or two-thirds of wheaten flour; and there is the beſt reaſon for concluding that ſuch bread would be wholeſome and nutritive, becauſe in many parts of this country, where labour and induſtry are carried to as great an extent as in any other, the people are wholly fed by bread made of ſome one or more of the component parts of theſe mixtures. Your committee are further encouraged in this opinion, by finding, that in the courſe of the laſt ſeaſon, the uſe of mixed bread of various kinds has been introduced into general conſumption in many places whoſe conſumption was before confined to wheaten bread; that the conſequence has been a conſiderable reduction of price to the labouring poor in ſuch places; and that the uſe of it has not been found to be attended with any inconvenience. The variety of different ſpecies of mixed bread is ſuch, as to offer a conſiderable number of alternatives to different parts of the country; and they will be naturally led to ſelect thoſe which are leaſt foreign

to their habits and prejudices, and of which, from local circumſtances, they can moſt conveniently procure a ſupply.

That the ſacrifice of ſome degree of indulgence, or of prejudice, is one, which, under the preſent circumſtances, can be made, and ought to be made, and that without ſuch a ſacrifice to a conſiderable extent, the country will be expoſed to ſtill greater difficulties than thoſe with which it has ſo lately contended, is an opinion with which your committee are ſo ſtrongly impreſſed, that they cannot too earneſtly recommend it to the ſerious attention of this houſe, and of the nation at large.

Deeply, however, as they feel this impreſſion, they are far from propoſing any legiſlative meaſure to force a compliance with this ſuggeſtion. They well know that the people of this, and of every other country, are attached by habit to their accuſtomed ſpecies of food; and that however they may, by recommendation and example, be induced to make a partial change, yet any ſudden and compulſory alteration might, perhaps, be more ſenſibly felt than the very grievance it was intended to remedy.

There are indeed many precedents in the ſtatutes of this country, of the interpoſition of the legiſlature for this purpoſe, at times when, from the leſs advanced ſtate of cultivation and commerce, diſtreſſes of this kind occurred much more frequently and ſeverely than at later periods; and even in more recent times, an act paſſed* which authorizes magiſtrates, whenever they think the caſe requires, to ſet the aſſize upon ſtandard wheaten bread alone, and thereby to prohibit the making of all other ſorts of bread. Your committee, however, entertain great hopes, that without applying this principle to the preſent caſe, the general impreſſion produced by the late diſtreſs, and continued by the preſent ſcarcity, will incline men of all deſcriptions to unite voluntarily in the only meaſure which can give effectual and immediate relief; and they conceive, that if this houſe ſhould give to ſuch a meaſure the ſanction of its example and recommendation, there could be little doubt of its being adopted by a proportion of the community ſufficiently numerous to ſecure the attainment of the object in view.

Your committee beg leave to ſubmit this ſuggeſtion to the wiſdom of the houſe; and they hope it will not be thought beyond the line of their duty, if, upon an occaſion ſo urgent in point of time, they preſume alſo to ſuggeſt the principal points which ſuch an engagement ought, in their humble opinion, to embrace.

To reduce the conſumption of wheat in the families of the perſons ſubſcribing ſuch engagement, by at leaſt one third of the uſual quantity conſumed in ordinary times.

In order to effect this purpoſe, either to limit to that extent the quantity of fine wheaten bread conſumed by each individual in ſuch families;

Or, to conſume only mixed bread, of which not more than two thirds ſhall be made of wheat;

Or, only a proportional quantity of mixed bread, of which more than two-thirds is made of wheat;

Or, a proportional quantity of bread made of wheat alone, from

* 13 Geo. III.

which

which no more than five pounds of bran is excluded;

If it ſhould be neceſſary, in order to effect the purpoſe of this engagement, to prohibit the uſe of wheaten flour in paſtry, and to diminiſh, as much as poſſible, the uſe thereof in other articles than bread;

By one or more of theſe meaſures, or by any other which may be found equally effectual, and more expedient and practicable, in the reſpective ſituations of perſons ſubſcribing, to inſure to the utmoſt of their power the reduction above mentioned.

This engagement to continue in force until fourteen days after the next ſeſſion of parliament, unleſs the average price of wheat ſhall, before that time, be reduced to an amonnt to be ſpecified.

Appendix to the Third Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into conſideration the preſent high price of Corn.

THE committee beg leave to lay before the houſe, as an appendix to their laſt report, an account of the experiments made by the victualling office upon different kinds of mixed bread, under the directions of the privy council, and of this committee; they have not thought it neceſſary to add to the account of the experiments made by the board of agriculture, as they underſtand that it is the intention of that board to communicate that account to the public, together with their obſervations thereupon.

The committee have proceeded to take into their further conſideration different branches of this extenſive ſubject. Being aware, however, that ſome of them contain matter which ought not to be made the object of regulation, except upon mature deliberation, and a clear conviction of neceſſity, they have thought it moſt conſiſtent with their duty, to defer making any further report till after the receſs; but they beg leave to add to this appendix, a few papers which have been communicated to them; not as intimating any opinion whatſoever, as to the different obſervations and ſuggeſtions contained in theſe papers, but with a view of drawing attention to the principal points of which it may be neceſſary for the committee to reſume the conſideration.

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An Account, ſhewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, and rye, reſpectively dreſſed through a thirteen ſhilling cloth, and of the denomination of ſtandard, or the whole of the flour of the grain, from which the loaves, preſented to a committee of the honourable houſe of commons on the 9th inſtant, were manufactured as ſpecified in the accompanying ſchedule.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per buſhel.	Weight of the whole.	Meal.	Loſs on grinding.	The whole of the Grain dreſſed through a 13s. cloth.	Loſs on dreſſing.	Bran.
	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.	lb. oz.
Wheat - - -	59 $9\frac{19}{40}$	476 $11\frac{4}{5}$	470 $8\frac{2}{5}$	6 $3\frac{2}{5}$	381 $9\frac{4}{5}$	0 $3\frac{1}{5}$	88 $11\frac{2}{5}$
Barley - - -	49 $10\frac{3}{16}$	397 $1\frac{1}{2}$	388 15	8 $2\frac{1}{2}$	286 $7\frac{1}{2}$	3 $1\frac{1}{2}$	99 6
Oats - - - -	40 $11\frac{11}{16}$	325 $13\frac{1}{2}$	314 5	11 $8\frac{1}{2}$	137 $11\frac{1}{2}$	1 $7\frac{1}{2}$	175 2
Rye - - - -	54 $10\frac{9}{16}$	437 $4\frac{1}{2}$	433 11	3 $9\frac{1}{2}$	312 $14\frac{1}{2}$	1 14	118 $14\frac{1}{2}$

An Account, ſhewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, and rye, reſpectively, dreſſed through a twenty-one ſhilling cloth, and of the denomination of houſehold flour, from which the loaves, preſented to a committee of the honourable houſe of commons on the 9th inſtant, were manufactured, as ſpecified in the accompanying ſchedule.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per buſhel.		Weight of the whole.		Meal.		Loſs on grinding.		Fine Flour.		Middling.		Loſs on dreſſing.		Bran.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
Wheat - - -	59	$9\frac{19}{40}$	476	$11\frac{4}{5}$	470	$8\frac{2}{5}$	6	$3\frac{2}{5}$	279	6	100	4	2	3	88	$11\frac{2}{5}$
Barley - - -	49	$10\frac{3}{16}$	397	$1\frac{1}{2}$	388	15	8	$2\frac{1}{2}$	160	8	123	2	5	15	99	6
Oats - - - -	40	$11\frac{11}{16}$	325	$13\frac{1}{2}$	314	5	11	$8\frac{1}{2}$	64	3	70	6	4	10	175	2
Rye - - - -	54	$10\frac{9}{16}$	437	$4\frac{1}{2}$	433	11	3	$9\frac{1}{2}$	191	14	117	13	5	$1\frac{1}{2}$	118	$14\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. The ſeveral ſpecies of grain in theſe tables were Britiſh, and of the growth of the preſent year; and coſt, on the 26th of October, 1795, viz.—Wheat, 96s. per quarter—oats, 29s. 6d.—barley, 38s.—rye, 50s. 6d. At which time the middlings from wheat were worth 99s. per quarter of 10 buſhels of 56lb each; and the bran from ditto, 10s. per quarter of 10 buſhels of 16lb each. But the value of the middlings and bran produced from the other ſpecies of grain, the Victualling Board are not of themſelves competent to ſpeak to.

Victualling Office, Nov. 11, 1795.

Victualling Office, 8th Dec. 1795.

An Account, ſhewing the produce of one quarter of wheat, barley, oats, rye, and Indian corn, reſpectively, dreſſed through a twenty-one ſhilling cloth; prepared in purſuance of a letter from the honourable Dudley Ryder, chairman of the corn committee of the honourable houſe of commons, dated the 28th November laſt.

SPECIES OF GRAIN.	Weight per buſhel.		Weight of the whole.		Meal.		Loſs on grinding.		Fine Flour.		Middlings.		Loſs on dreſſing.		Bran.	
	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
Wheat - -	59	$9\frac{19}{40}$	476	$11\frac{4}{5}$	470	$8\frac{2}{5}$	6	$3\frac{2}{5}$	270	6	100	4	2	3	88	$11\frac{2}{3}$
Barley - -	49	$10\frac{3}{16}$	397	$1\frac{1}{2}$	388	15	8	$2\frac{1}{2}$	160	8	123	2	5	15	99	6
Oats - -	40	$11\frac{11}{16}$	325	$13\frac{1}{2}$	314	5	11	$8\frac{1}{2}$	64	3	70	6	4	10	175	2
Rye - -	54	$10\frac{9}{16}$	445	$8\frac{1}{2}$	437	$4\frac{1}{2}$	8	4	191	14	117	13	8	11	118	14
Indian corn	52	12	422	6	415	15	6	7	124	12	204	14	0	1	77	4

N. B. The ſeveral ſpecies of grain (excepting the Indian corn) above-mentioned were Britiſh, and of the growth of the preſent year; and coſt, on the 26th October 1795, viz.—Wheat, 99s. per quarter—oats, 29s. 6d.—barley, 38s.—rye, 50s. 6d—Indian corn, 46s. At which time the middlings from wheat were worth 96s. per quarter of 10 buſhels of 56 lb.—and the bran from ditto, 10s. per quarter of 10 buſhels of 16 lb. But the value of the middlings and bran produced from the other ſpecies of grain, the Victualling Board are not of themſelves competent to ſpeak to.

An Account, shewing the produce of 7 lb. (*the stipulated quantity for two quartern loaves*) *of sundry mixtures of grain, &c. directed to be baked into bread;—shewing the weight of dough made therefrom, the quantity required for making two quartern loaves, according to the custom of the town bakers, being* 9 lb. 10 oz. *or* 4 *lb.* 13 oz. *each;—the weight it turned out over or short thereof;—and the weight of the bread when taken out of the oven:—prepared in pursuance of a letter from the chairman of the corn committee,* 28*th Nov. last.*

No.	DESCRIPTIONS OF BREAD.	FLOUR.	DOUGH.						BREAD.			
		Wt. allowed for making two quartern loaves, at 3lb. 8oz. each.	Wt. after being properly mixed with yeaft, falt, and water.		Over or fhort of the Weight allowed.				Wt. when taken out of the oven.		Wt. when cold.	
					Over.		Short.					
		lb.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.	lb.	oz.
1	2 3 wheat, 1-3 Indian corn —	7	11	9	1	15	0	0	8	10	8	7
2	2-3 ditto, 1-3 barley — —	7	10	14	1	4	0	0	8	7	8	3½
3	2-3 ditto, 1-3 oatmeal —	7	10	8	0	14	0	0	8	9	8	4½
4	2-3 ditto, 1-3 rye — —	7	10	15	1	5	0	0	8	9	8	5¼
5	2-3 ditto, 1-3 potatoes —	7	8	15	0	0	0	11	8	1½	7	12½
6	3-5 ditto, 1-5 Indian corn, 1-5 potatoes	7	9	12	0	2	0	0	8	11¾	7	8
7	3-5 ditto, 1-5 barley, 1-5 potatoes	7	9	6	0	0	0	4	9	3½	8	14¾
8	3-5 ditto, 1-5 oatmeal, 1-5 potatoes	7	9	10	0	0	0	0	8	12	7	8¼
9	3-5 ditto, 1-5 rye, 1-5 potatoes	7	9	5	0	0	0	5	8	14	8	9¼
10	3-5 ditto, 1-5 Indian corn, 1-5 barley	7	11	3	1	9	0	0	9	1¼	8	13½
11	3-5 ditto, 2-5 potatoes — —	7	8	10	0	0	1	0	7	11	7	9

Copy of a Letter from Charles Dundas, esq. to the Chairman of the Committee appointed to enquire into the high price of Corn.

SIR,

AS many of the members who have attended the committee appointed to enquire into the high price of corn, may visit their constituents during the Christmas recess, I beg leave to call their attention to a subject which I conceive does most materially affect the sale of wheat, and to propose a remedy for some part of the grievances which are now complained of, meaning that our constituents may be consulted, during the adjournment of parliament, on the practicability of adopting weight as a regulator of measure, which appears to me to be the only just criterion of the quality of corn.

By this, jobbing would be annihilated, and certainty would be established in the returns of your markets, and in the profits of the miller, mealman, and baker. At this instant, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion, that the Wincheſter bushel is the legal standard, yet there does not exist a certain measure in the kingdom. The bushel kept in the exchequer is less than eight of the standard gallons there, the gallon less than four standard quarts, and the quart is more than two standard pints. The bushel of queen Elizabeth, 1591, contains 2,124 cubical inches; the gallon of the same date, 271 cubical inches, and the pint, dated 1602, $34\frac{8}{10}$ cubical inches: Therefore the inequalties of your regulating standard measures are as follow.

	Cubical inch.
13 Wm. III. c. 5. Round $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Diameter 8 inches	2,150
The standard bushel in the exchequer	2,124
Eight of the standard gallons	2,168
Thirty-two of the standard quarts	2,240
Sixty-four of the standard pints	2,227

But this inequality of your standard measures is not the grievance of which I particularly complain; it is the uncertain practice of selling corn in the country markets by measures of various sizes, which is an evident fraud on the consumers of bread, and an advantage to none but the jobbers in corn, who, from practice, are as well acquainted with the size of every farmer's bushel as with his face. As the measure varies almost every ten miles, the difference is a great encouragement to corn dealers, and the public are deceived by seeing in the Gazette the account of the prices of grain in the different counties, which cannot be accurately collected, whilst the measures so locally differ.

In markets where certainty of measures is not strictly attended to, all averages must be false. In many, where the nine gallon measure is customary, I have known measures of ten gallons, and, what is a shameful fraud on the consumer, gentlemen's bushels of ten gallons and a half.—The dealers, knowing this, give an advanced price for the largest measures, consequently when the average of the market is struck, and a return made by a reduction of the customary measure of the market to Wincheſter measure, the price of the measures of ten gallons being ranked as nine gallons, they raise the price of the article considerably above the value it sold for. In other markets, where no average is taken, the price of bread is generally fixed from the highest

higheſt ſale of the beſt wheat which has been in the market; conſequently the price of flour, bearing a proportionate value to the wheat of which it is made, and that being put at a higher average (owing to this falſe return) it follows, that bread is ſold at a dearer rate than it would be if the ſale of wheat was properly regulated.

It will be ſaid, Why is not the uſe of the Wincheſter buſhel enforced, as the law directs? This has been attempted during the laſt century without ſucceſs; it is a very unpopular proceeding to bring this forward. The lower order of people deteſt it, from the ſmallneſs of its contents, and, the dealers of proviſions inſtigate them to this, it being their intereſt to retain every uncertainty in weights and meaſures, and this cannot be enforced but by informations, which do not ſuit the honeſt character of the people of this country; but if it was brought into general uſe, certainty (which is one object of this letter) could not be obtained; for in the act of meaſuring, no two men fill the ſame quantity into the ſame buſhels, and the manner of ſtriking the meaſure is as uncertain as that of filling it. Weight, regulated by the 35th Geo. III. which gives the magiſtrates a power of preventing falſe weights, would remedy this, and prove the difference of the quality of good and bad wheat, which is ſuppoſed to be nearly one third; this difference will ſhew the fallacy of the original formation of the buſhel, which is to contain 495,040 grains of wheat, "well dried and "gathered out of the middle of the "ear," notwithſtanding there is perhaps as much difference in ears of wheat, ariſing from ſoil, climate, and culture, as there is in the uncertain meaſures of this kingdom. The ſyſtem of weighing corn is practiſed in many parts of the country; it is authorized to be done by the 31ſt Geo. III. in which act the reſpective weights of all grain taken by the buſhel, and alſo of the meal of the different grains, is inſerted; and as moſt corn dealers buy according to their judgment of the weight of grain, and all millers weigh their corn on its being delivered at the mill, the regulation which I propoſe would not be ſtrange to them, and it will place the ſhop-keeper, manufacturer, and labourer (who purchaſe wheat for their own uſe) on a fair footing with dealers. It will reward the induſtrious farmer, by giving the higheſt price to the beſt and cleaneſt corn, while it expoſes the idle and ſlovenly farmer, by reducing his price to the proportionate quality of his unproductive grain.

Salt was originally ſold by meaſure—it is now ſold by weight, 56lb. to the buſhel. The act which regulated this, in one inſtant equalized all the ſalt meaſures in the kingdom; the ſame effect would follow a ſimilar proceeding in the ſale of corn, by which the aſſize on flour might be juſtly ſet, and the relation between the articles of corn, flour, and bread, aſcertained and fairly regulated, and the magiſtrates ſhould be empowered to control the clerk of the markets, millers, and bakers, ſo as to prevent fraud, which is the only object of any regulation which I wiſh to propoſe; but perhaps, if the quantity to be weighed in the market was declared to be not leſs than a buſhel, this would meet the ideas of many gentlemen who now complain of the difficulty of the poor becoming the purchaſers of ſmall quantities of corn, and are deſirous of having

ing that quantity pitched in the market as a ſample. And alſo, as the weight of the buſhel of the different grain is fixed by the 31ſt George III. c. 30. I ſhall add that regulation to what I wiſhed to ſubmit to the conſideration of the committee.

	lb. avoirdupoiſe.
Buſhel of Wheat, weighing	57
Rye	55
Barley	49
Beer or bigg	42
Oats	32

ſhall be reſpectively deemed equal to every ſtandard Winch. buſh.

Wheat meal	56
Wheat flour	55
Rye meal	53
Barley meal	48
Beer or bigg meal	41
Oatmeal	22

ſhall be deemed equal to every ſuch buſhel of the unground grain whereof it is made, and what will not paſs through a fourteen ſhillings cloth is to be conſidered as wheat meal.

If, therefore, the committee are of opinion that the introduction of the uſe of weight, to regulate and aſcertain the meaſures of corn, is likely to produce certainty in the returns from the markets of corn in this kingdom, and by a juſt and clear ſtatement of the relations between the prices of wheat and flour, to enable us to prevent fraud, and to ſupply the inhabitants of the country with bread at a more moderate rate than it has been ſold for, allowing a fair profit to the perſons employed in the manufacturing of theſe articles, I would recommend the following reſolutions, or ſuch as would enable the committee to act with certainty in ſetting the juſt values on flour and bread.

1. That the returns ſhall be made of the corn ſold from every market town in England, ſtating the quantity and the weight of grain ſold in ſuch markets.

2. That in ſtriking the average of the grain ſo ſold, it ſhall be computed from the weight of ſuch grain, as that is fixed by the 31ſt Geo. III. c. 30.

3. That a certain quantity of the grain intended to be ſold, not leſs than one Wincheſter buſhel ſhall be pitched in the public market, and the weight of the wheat, or other corn, openly marked on ſuch ſample.

4. That the weight of the buſhel, and the quantity of the corn ſold, ſhall be delivered, with an account of the price, to the clerk of the market for the purpoſe of making his returns, and alſo to prove the quality of the corn, if the quantity ſold ſhould prove, on the delivery, to be of an inferior quality to the ſample produced in the market.

MILLERS.

1. To keep a regular account of the weight of all corn delivered in at their reſpective mills for the purpoſe of being ground.

2. To grind all grain ſeparately, maſlin excepted.

3. To keep a regular account of the produce of the ſaid grain, ſubject to inſpection of the magiſtrates of the county or diſtrict where the mills are ſituated, when they ſhall find occaſion for ſetting an aſſize on flour or bread.

4. Perſons who have had corn made into flour at any mill, to have the option of paying the miller's toll either in money or in kind (meal) as they chooſe.

5. That nothing in this ſhall affect the cuſtoms of ſoke mills, as far

far as relates to their ancient tenures, but that the magiſtrates ſhall have a power of examining their books as above.

When I propoſe theſe reſolutions to the committee, it is for the purpoſe of drawing their attention to the ſubject, and to requeſt of them to converſe with their intelligent neighbours in the country, who are either farmers, flour dealers, or bakers. I have received ſeveral letters on this ſubject, containing opinions of perſons of experience and practice. They all agree in the juſtice of the plan I propoſe; ſome dread the diſlike which attends every thing that is new; but almoſt all allow that the improvement would be of conſiderable benefit to the country. I am particularly ſatisfied by the decided opinions (in favour of weight being the regulator of meaſure) of Mr. Strutt, of Terling, of Mr. Davies, of Longleat, and Mr. Meſſiter, of Wincanton (in their letters to Mr. Morton Pitt) and of Mr. Billingſley, of Aſhurſt Grove in Somerſetſhire: gentlemen who are ſo fit to judge, from their ability, experience, and judgment in theſe matters. Mr. Billingſley is deſirous that the weight of the grain ſhould be put higher than it is directed by the 31ſt Geo. III. I have ſubjoined his letter to this, that the weight he recommends may be conſidered.

I have only to add, that ſhould the committee, on their return to parliament, approve of the propoſal I have now made, and it is thought of too great importance to be contained in a part of the act for regulating the objects which now engage the attention of the corn committee, I will (unleſs ſome gentleman of more conſideration will undertake it) move for leave to bring in a bill for the purpoſes ſtated in this letter.—"To uſe weight as the regulator of meaſure, in buying and ſelling of corn;" not intending to carry the bill through the houſes of parliament in this ſeſſion, but that it ſhould be printed and diſtributed in the country, and brought forward hereafter, if it ſhould be generally approved.

I have the honour to be,
With much reſpect,
Your obedient ſervant,
CHARLES DUNDAS.

Barton-court, near Newbury,
7th Dec. 1795.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Billingsley to Charles Dundas, eſq.

DEAR SIR,

SHOULD parliament think proper to alter the preſent mode of ſelling grain, and to ſubſtitute weight inſtead of meaſure, I think the ſtandard ſhould be fixed rather high than low.

Suppoſe the following:

Wheat	—	63 per Winch. buſh.
Barley	52 or 53	ditto
Oats	38 or 40	ditto

It is not only my own opinion, but alſo that of the moſt intelligent farmers and corn dealers in our part of the kingdom, that ſuch an alteration would be highly conducive to the general weal of the kingdom.

I am, dear Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
J. BILLINGSLEY.

Aſhurſt-grove, Dec. 6, 1796.

10*th Dec.* 1795.

P.S. Since I had the honour of ſubmitting the above letter to the committee,

committee, I have received ſeveral letters from gentlemen of experience and judgment in the country, on the propoſal of ſubſtituting weight as the regulator of meaſures in the ſales of corn; all of whom (except two very reſpectable men) approve of the plan. The two gentlemen I allude to, ſay, there will be an alteration without an improvement: their reaſons have, however, relieved my doubts, as they reſt their opinions on two grounds:

1ſt. That weighing will occaſion trouble.

2d, That it is already practiced by all ſkilful purchaſers.

In anſwer to the firſt. When a load of wheat is delivered, if the ſacks ſhould be ſuſpected to be ſmall, they are ſooner weighed than meaſured; and if the corn is not as clean as the ſample was, the weight will prove this, which cannot be done by meaſure.

In loading and unloading of ſhips, after having aſcertained the weight of a box or machine to run the wheat into, the weight of the grain would be much ſooner proved than the quantity by meaſure.

Secondly, as to the preſent practice of weight being uſed, I am well acquainted with this circumſtance, and it is a very obvious reaſon for endeavouring to make the mode general, as by this public regulation, fraud would be prevented, and the labourers or manufacturers purchaſing corn would be put on an equality with the moſt artful ſeller.—I have introduced the pitching of a buſhel in the public markets, to meet the wiſhes of many reſpectable members of the houſe of commons, in conſequence of applications from their conſtituents, who have found great difficulty in procuring wheat to purchaſe. But as pitching a buſhel may be attended with inconvenience to the farmer, and alſo raiſe the price of that ſmall quantity to the poor; and as compulſive regulations are conſidered by many as unjuſt and impolitic, in the ſale of an article the growth of which is optional, I beg to ſuggeſt to the committee the propriety of empowering the magiſtrates of towns, the clerks of the markets, or the overſeers of the poor in their pariſhes, to open or authoriſe ſhops (under the regulation of their juſtices of the peace) to ſupply the labourers, manufacturers, poor, &c. of their pariſh, with any quantity, from one peck to one quarter of corn, at the market price, with ſuch addition as would be neceſſary to pay the attendance of a perſon to retail it. This increaſe of price would be very inconſiderable, and would be much leſs than the value of the time, which would be thrown away by the purchaſer waiting in the market, or his loſs by his ignorance of the quality of the commodity.

What I have ſaid reſpecting millers, appears to me to be moſt neceſſary to do away the preſent opinion, that the high price of flour is in ſome degree owing to the millers or mealmen; but as a reſpectable baronet has brought forward a bill on this ſubject, the reſolutions contained in my letter reſpecting millers may be rendered unneceſſary, except in drawing the attention of the country to the conſideration of theſe ſubjects, which I hope will be the conſequence of the attention which has been paid by the committee to enquire into the cauſes of the high price of corn.

A table,

A table, like the following, might regulate the prices of a market, as far as related to the quantity and weight:

per buſhel.			*per load.*		
lb.		lb.	l.	s.	d.
60	or	59 —	12	0	0
58	—	57 —	11	17	6
56	—	55 —	11	15	6
54	—	53 —	11	12	6
52	—	51 —	11	10	0
50	—	49 —	11	7	6

Thus 1*l.* 10*s.* per load difference would be made in the price, where 28lb. per ſack was the difference in weight, which would be five half hundreds in a load of wheat, which is the exact weight of a ſack of flour, and which the beſt wheat would produce more than the lighteſt.—I have added this as a rule to ſettle any diſpute, in caſe the wheat delivered under a particular ſample, ſhould prove lighter than the buſhel or ſack regiſtered with the clerk of the market.

I will only add, that from every converſation which I have had with farmers, mealmen, and millers, ſince this ſubject was brought forward, I am convinced that the uſe of weight, as the regulator of meaſure, will prevent fraud in dealings in corn, and will enable the magiſtrates or others, to regulate the price of bread by the average price of wheat or flour, inſtead of being fixed by the higheſt price of wheat, as it is at preſent. C. D.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Davies to William Morton Pitt, eſq.

Longleat, Nov. 22, 1795.

YOUR queſtion—"Whether it be poſſible or proper that farmers, who ſell their corn by ſample, ſhould be obliged to bring the whole or a certain quantity of it to market?"—involves ſo many objects of conſideration, that I muſt beg your leave not only to give my opinion but to ſtate my reaſons at ſome length; the ſubject is a ſerious one, and I truſt you will not think me more prolix than it requires.

The difficulties in reducing this plan to practice ſeem to be theſe:

1ſt. The infrequency of market towns in many parts of the kingdom, and the diſtance from thoſe towns to the places where corn is conſumed.

2d. The increaſed expence of carrying corn to markets; and then, in many inſtances, bringing it back again to be conſumed near the ſpot where it grew.

3. The impolicy, if not injuſtice, of reſtraining, by compulſive means, the ſale of an article, which, however indiſpenſable in itſelf, has as fair a claim as any other article of trade to a free and voluntary mode of ſale; eſpecially an article of which the growth is optional on the part of the ſeller.

4. The abſolute impoſſibility of ſecuring a conſtant uniform ſupply on every market day, ſufficient for the conſumption of the diſtrict dependant on that market, till the next market day.

The above are my doubts as to the practicability or even the poſſibility of carrying a plan of this kind into effect. My opinion is, that it can do but little good, and may do a great deal of harm; and I take the liberty of ſupporting that opinion by the following reaſons.

The preſent, and indeed every ſcarcity of corn, ariſes chiefly from a failure of crops.

That failure muſt be compenſated to the grower (who is obliged to pay the ſame rent in all ſeaſons) by an

increaſed price.—That price is always regulated by the demand.—The great *deſideratum* is to keep the demand and the ſupply as nearly regular as poſſible. The propoſal now made to the committee has that end for its object. I have, with all deference, to prove that it is inadequate.

I live in a ſituation moſt likely to furniſh me with the means of information; *viz.* at the junction of the country which produces corn, with the country which conſumes it, within five miles of the great corn market of Warminſter.

From Warminſter, for near forty miles eaſtward, through Wilts and Hants, is a country which does not conſume one fourth part of the corn it grows.—From Warminſter, for near forty miles weſtward, through a great part of Somerſetſhire, and including Bath and Briſtol, is a country which does not produce one fourth part of the corn it conſumes.

The other three-fourths of corn conſumed in the latter diſtrict is brought chiefly from the former (for the increaſed population of the north has deprived Briſtol of the reſource it once had down the Severn). Warminſter and Devizes are the principal markets by which this quantity is ſupplied. From theſe towns, to Briſtol and Bridgewater, there is not a market where corn is expoſed for ſale in bulk. But would it be politic to compel the growers of this one-fourth part of the conſumption of Somerſetſhire to bring it to Warminſter or Devizes, or to Bridgewater or Briſtol, to ſell it, to be carried back again to be conſumed by the manufacturing towns of Frome or Shepton Mallett, poſſibly within a few miles of the place of its growth, at an advanced price, occaſioned by this uſeleſs carriage*. I may be aſked, Why cannot markets be held at theſe towns?—I anſwer the eſtabliſhment of markets is not the work of a day;—and ſuppoſe they were eſtabliſhed, ſtill that would not increaſe the quantity of corn grown in that country. The dealers muſt ſtill go eaſtward for three-fourths of their ſupply, to the neglect of their own trifling markets, which of courſe would ſoon come to nothing again.

The avowed object of the plan before the committee is, doubtleſs, to defeat a ſuppoſed combination between buyers and ſellers of corn to keep up its price, and to lay the markets open to a fair competition; and a very laudable object it is. I have already ſtated my doubts as to the poſſibility of carrying this plan into execution, or indeed any plan that would defeat this kind of combination; but I have very great doubts in my own mind as to the exiſtence of combination to the extent we frequently hear of, and ſtill greater as to the magnitude of the injury ſuppoſed to be done thereby to the public.—I am ſenſible I am taking the

* The propoſal made in the committee, of obliging farmers to bring at leaſt a ſack of corn to market as a ſample, or even a buſhel, is objectionable; the latter quantity, ſmall as it is, cannot be brought ten miles under an expence of two ſhillings, and nobody could buy it at that additional expence, unleſs they alſo contracted to take a greater quantity with it to cover that expence: the poor, for whom it is intended, could never buy it. Beſides, in all manufacturing countries the poor ſeldom buy wheat at market, or would if they could; the labourers in agriculture in the villages buy it of the farmers for whom they work: the manufacturers live from hand to mouth, and buy bread ready baked. Beſides, it is ſeldom reckoned how much a poor man loſes in time and expences in going to market to buy corn, even if he could buy it.

unpopular

unpopular ſide of the argument.—I think you will agree with me in ſome parts of it at leaſt; and if you do not, I am ſure you will not be offended at my giving my opinion.

That a combination ſhould exiſt among farmers is impoſſible; —they are too numerous, and many of them too neceſſitous, ever to act in concert.

Rich farmers may undoubtedly (and this year they have done it) keep their wheat from market. In times of ſcarcity, like the laſt months of June and July, it is well they did, we ſhould otherwiſe have been quite ſtarved in Auguſt. The ſhortneſs of the ſupply then produced a ſaving in the conſumption, and thereby the ſtock in hand laſted out. Suppoſe we had had a wet harveſt; in that caſe the new corn could not have been ground without an addition of old. The rich farmers who had wheat left would then have been uſeful men. The fact ſpeaks for itſelf.

As to jobbers of corn, theſe men may combine together; their number is but few, comparatively ſpeaking; but how do they combine? not to raiſe the price of corn, but to ſink it! Warminſter market, though a ſack market, and not a ſample market, is in a great meaſure governed by theſe men; and were it not for them, Bath and Briſtol muſt be fed much dearer than they are now. If theſe men cannot get corn at one market they go to another, and if there is not enough at market they go to farm houſes. But when they get to the places of conſumption, there the combination ends, and competition begins;—leſs profit will ſuffice theſe men than the expence that would be incurred by ten times the numbers of bakers and malſters, coming twenty or twenty-five miles to market. In fact, had it not been for men of this deſcription, Briſtol would have been ſtarved laſt ſummer.—There were inſtances, more than once, of that city being without a fortnight's ſupply of corn. Theſe men knew it, and ranſacked the country for more.—They did it for their own ſakes, and thereby ſerved the community.

But even admitting a combination between farmers and jobbers to exiſt in any particular country; the moment corn gets above the price at which it would bear the additional expence of carriage ten miles farther, there is an end of the combination; and if it was poſſible the whole kingdom could combine, an importation from any country where it could be got cheaper would inſtantly knock it up. In fact, theſe very men, though dealing at all times under ſuſpicions, and this year frequently in danger of their lives, are the very hands that tranſfer the plenty of one country to relieve the diſtreſſes of another; and though at former periods, as well as now, they have, in times of dearth, been pointed at as the cauſe of it, they have to my knowledge this year more than once ſaved whole towns from famine. In fact, times of ſcarcity are favourable to this ſet of men. They are then (againſt their will, I allow) particularly uſeful to all countries who do not grow corn enough for their conſumption.—In times of plenty they cannot exiſt to anſwer their own purpoſe—in thoſe times they are not wanted.

But the great evil which we in this country feel, and which our great corn markets rather encourage than prevent, is the inequality of meaſures by which corn, and

particularly wheat, is ſold; I do not ſpeak of the various provincial meaſures. It is immaterial to a country whether eight, nine, or twelve gallons are ſold for a buſhel, provided all parties underſtand what the meaſure is.

But in this country, in all villages and ſmall towns where there is no aſſize of bread, the baker ſells his bread and flour at his own price, for which he always quotes the higheſt market price of wheat; a few farmers, who happen to have extraordinary good wheat, make a point of adding two or three quarts to the meaſure. This ſack of corn, ſo much better and bigger than the average of the market, will frequently ſell for one fifth more than inferior ſamples of fair meaſure in the ſame market. This high price, and which it is the intereſt of the buyer to give, forms a ſtandard of price of bread and flour for the enſuing week.—No exiſting laws are adequate to the remedy of this evil, for as neither buyer nor ſeller complain, who is to re-meaſure this corn, though ſold in a public market? Beſides, there is ſo much art in meaſuring corn, that two people may make ſeveral quarts difference in a ſack, and yet both appear to meaſure fair.—If any remedy can be applied to this evil, it muſt be a compulſion to ſell corn by weight; —this is done by choice at Manchester and Liverpool, and in this country the buyer always aſks the weight, though he does not buy by it:—in fact, weight determines the quality as well as the quantity. If weight was adopted, the price would be nearly equal, and it would then be poſſible to frame a fair aſſize table, which in my opinion is impoſſible to do from meaſure, eſpecially in ſuch a year as this, when the difference in the price of good and bad wheat is full one third.

I cannot help thinking, that if this meaſure was tried a year, it would be found efficacious.—It would do one thing in an inſtant, which the legiſlature has not been able to do in a century—"equalize all the various meaſures in the kingdom."

Copy of a Letter from Sir Francis Baſſet, bart. to the Chairman of the Corn Committee.

Upper Groſvenor-ſtreet,

SIR, Dec. 22, 1795.

MANY complaints having been made in different parts of England, of the hardſhips ſuffered by the poor from the preſent mode of payment for grinding corn, and alſo of the difficulty of obtaining redreſs, whenever there is a ſuſpicion that frauds are practiſed by the millers; I beg leave, through you, to ſubmit to the corn committee a plan for remedying thoſe ſuppoſed grievances.

I would propoſe, in the firſt place, to alter the preſent cuſtom of taking toll, into a uniform payment in money, to be ſettled by the juſtices, with reſpect to all mills where ſuch alterations would not interfere with peculiar rights, eſtabliſhed by the courts of law. I further propoſe to enable thoſe perſons who may in future think themſelves aggrieved by millers, to obtain redreſs by a ſummary proceeding before two juſtices of the peace, inſtead of being obliged to have recourſe to ſo expenſive and ſo tedious a proceſs as an indictment. As the law ſtands at preſent, the proprietor of an old mill may take his accuſtomed toll; but as that toll is known only to himſelf

himſelf (for it is rarely avowed to his cuſtomer) this gives him a conſiderable latitude, and is a conſtant and never-failing ſource of jealouſy to thoſe who employ him. I have juſt ſaid that the cuſtomer ſeldom knows what he pays; but in the few caſes which have come to my knowledge, where the miller profeſſes to take a fixed toll, it varies from three to ſix pounds per Wincheſter buſhel, beſides the allowance from a pound to a pound and half for waſtage. In taking toll, the miller, by uniform cuſtom, helps himſelf from the top, which conſiſts of the beſt and fineſt flour. It appears then, that the proprietor of an old mill may take ſuch toll as is juſtified by cuſtom; but the owner of a new mill may take what toll he chuſes, according to the opinion of lord Holt, in the caſe of the king and Burdett: this, probably, is the only exiſting caſe in which a tradeſman arbitrarily fixes the price of his own labour, without acquainting his employer what his terms are.

The millers, of courſe, profeſs to take a fair price for their labour, and could not therefore, I preſume, reaſonably object to a regulation, obliging them to receive a fixed payment in money, inſtead of an arbitrary and uncertain toll in grain; indeed, if they are convinced that the complaints alleged againſt them are unfounded (as in many caſes they probably are) they would rather rejoice to ſee a mode of payment adopted, by which all jealouſies will be avoided in future, and by which they would receive an adequate compenſation for the labour performed, and the capital employed. The toll, as now taken, is certainly extremely oppreſſive to the poor, who pay the moſt when they can the leaſt afford it; and if frauds are ever practiſed by millers, they are moſt likely to take place when there is the greateſt temptation, that is when corn bears a high price.

It will not be neceſſary to ſay much reſpecting the preference which a ſummary proceeding muſt have over an indictment. An indictment is attended with a great certain expence, with conſiderable delay, is liable to much evaſion and uncertainty as to the iſſue; the expence of an indictment, if traverſed, amounts to at leaſt ſeven pounds: this circumſtance alone, would make it impoſſible for a poor man to have recourſe to it; and, indeed, would render it imprudence even for a wealthy perſon, as in moſt caſes he would find the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe. But the delay is another main objection to proceeding by indictment, for if traverſed, it cannot be tried till the ſeſſions after it is laid; but, after all, if neither expence nor delay are conſidered as ſufficient objections, it muſt be obſerved, that when the cauſe is brought to iſſue, though the complainant may prove that the miller has taken exorbitant toll, the indictment muſt fall to the ground, provided it appear that the predeceſſors of the miller have taken the ſame toll, or that he is the proprietor of a new mill.

The meaſure I have in view, contains ſome other regulations, but they are chiefly ſubordinate, and connected with the two objects I have ſtated. If the plan I propoſe ſhould be adopted, I think few diſputes would hereafter ariſe between millers and thoſe who employ them, as the chief ſubjects of their uſual differences, name-

ly, the exorbitancy and uncertainty of the toll, would no longer remain. But if, contrary to my expectation, there ſhould be any complaints in future, they would be ſettled at a ſmall expence, and without any delay, before two juſtices of the peace, probably well known to both the contending parties. I propoſe that the deciſion of the juſtices ſhould be final, for the purpoſe of avoiding expence and delay; but if this power is thought too great to be lodged in the hands of theſe magiſtrates, an appeal may be allowed to the quarter ſeſſions.

I beg pardon for taking up ſo much of your time on this ſubject, which really appears to me important, and therefore to deſerve the ſerious conſideration of the corn committee.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FRANCIS BASSET.

The Select Committee have come to the following Reſolutions reſpecting the making of mixed Bread.

Reſolved, March 24, 1796.

1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that magiſtrates ſhould, in times of ſcarcity and high price of corn, have power to make certain regulations relative to the manufacture and ſale of certain ſorts of meal and bread; which they do not now by law poſſeſs.

2. That it is the opinion of this committee, that whenever the average price of middling Britiſh wheat ſhall be above a certain ſum, magiſtrates, at their general quarter ſeſſions, or at any ſeſſions to be ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe, ſhall be empowered, within their reſpective juriſdictions, to prohibit, for a limited time, the ſeparation at the mill of more than five pounds of bran from every ſixty pounds of wheat; and alſo to prohibit the ſale of any wheaten meal from which a greater proportion of bran ſhall have been ſeparated.

3. That it is the opinion of this committee, that no miller ſhould be prevented from making fine flour for the conſumption of any perſons who reſide within the diſtricts where the uſe of fine flour is not prohibited, ſo far as the making ſuch flour for the conſumption of ſuch perſons hath been the uſual courſe of his trade.

4. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magiſtrates be alſo empowered to prohibit, within their reſpective juriſdictions, for a limited time, the making for ſale any other bread made of wheat meal alone, than ſuch as ſhall be made of the whole meal, deducting only at the rate of five pounds of bran out of ſixty pounds of wheat.

5. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magiſtrates be empowered, within their reſpective juriſdictions, to prohibit, for a limited time, the making of any bread for ſale, except ſuch as ſhall be made of the whole meal of wheat as above deſcribed, or of ſuch mixtures of wholeſome farinaceous food, and in ſuch proportions as they ſhall appoint.

6. That it is the opinion of this committee, that for the purpoſe of carrying the laſt reſolution into effect, magiſtrates be empowered to oblige the millers, within their reſpective juriſdictions, for a limited time, to grind and dreſs, if required, and if conſiſtent with the powers and mechaniſm of their mills, ſuch ſorts of grain as ſhall be neceſſary for making the ſaid approved mixtures.

7. That

7. That it is the opinion of this committee, that magiſtrates ſhall not make any of the prohibitions before mentioned, without ſufficient public notice.

8. That it is the opinion of this committee, that within the city of London and the liberties thereof, the company of the bakers of the ſaid city, and in any other county, city, diviſion, diſtrict, town, or place, any baker or maker of bread for ſale, miller or mealman, may, within the reſpective juriſdiction to which he or they do belong, or wherein he or they do exercife their trade, occupation, or myſtery, have an opportunity of offering to ſuch juſtices as aforeſaid, all ſuch objections as ſuch company of bakers, or ſuch bakers or makers of bread for ſale, or ſuch millers or mealmen, may have and think fit to offer, againſt any ſuch prohibition or regulation as aforeſaid, at the time when ſuch juſtices as aforeſaid ſhall have under conſideration the ordering any ſuch prohibition or regulation.

Eſſay on the Science of Orcharding. *By* Thomas Skip Dyot Bucknall, *eſq.*

[*From the Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted at* London, *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.* Vol. XII.]

Sir,

I HAVE been twice this ſummer to view the Orchards at Sittingborne, and deſire the favour of you to acquaint the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, that, to fulfil the promiſe conveyed in the memorial I did myſelf the honour of preſenting to them, I now ſend further obſervations to throw the huſbandry of Orchards under ſuch culture as to preſerve the tree, and improve the fruit.

The appearances were much to my ſatisfaction, and I ſaw great reaſon to be pleaſed with the operation of pruning; yet ſeveral of the cherries were much gummed. I examined to ſee whether the gum was from freſh fiſſures, or thoſe formerly medicated; and to a certainty the former medications were perfectly healed; and I did not obſerve, but that the cherry bears the knife very well, with the aid of the medication. I pointed out theſe circumſtances to the tenants; and deſired they would look to them, and open the blotches which had affected the trees ſince pruning.

Mr. R. and I. Boulding informed me that the medication had been objected to, on account of the tar. I ſhould not have thought this of conſequence ſufficient to mention to the Society, if it had not been repreſented by William Pattenſon, eſq. in a paper publiſhed in the eleventh volume of their tranſactions, that to ſmear the ſtems of trees with tar, to keep cattle from biting them, is injurious: certainly, in the ſenſe there conveyed, the obſervation is perfectly right; and to explain the difference, I muſt beg the indulgence of the ſociety; for to ſuffer any doubt to remain either in the ſcience or practice, would entirely deſtroy the whole ſyſtem.

The formation of Gum.—From the ſtems and leaves of trees a conſtant and copious evaporation is regularly going on, as may be proved by the air-pump. Now any ſudden check ſtriking the tree ſtops the pores, and obſtructing the perſpiration throws all the ſap into diſorder; which ſoon becoming

becoming vitiated, and nature having no other way of relieving itſelf, forces a fiſſure through the bark, out of which oozes the almoſt ſtagnated ſap, which, there condenſing, becomes gum very ſoon; after which the bark, wanting its due portion of nouriſhment, begins to crack and ſplit: from that time the tree runs faſt into ruin.

Therefore any ſmearing, or other cauſe which may impede a juſt circulation and perſpiration, muſt injure the tree; but the medication cannot produce any of theſe evils; for it is applied merely as a plaſter, and is never extended further than on the bare wood, or torn bark, and where the gum is oozing through the bark. I deſire to aſſure the ſociety that in each of theſe caſes, the medication, from its drying qualities, becomes ſupremely ſalutary, and the wounds heal in half the time they can do when expoſed to heat, cold, moiſture and vermin: for the misfortune is, being left expoſed, the wounds do not heal; there the evil lays.

Mr. Boulding, in his certificate, ſays, "When we took off a large "branch or two, the wounds gene- "rally cankered; which made us "leave them in the encumbered "ſtate they were in, rather than run "any hazard."

Mr. Lake alſo remarked, "Many "died; others were wounded by a "canker in the bark, from the bot- "tom of the body to the top arms." Mr. Fauſſet ſays, "I appriſed Mr. "Bucknall that his orchards in the "occupation of Mrs. Boulding were "in a very declining ſtate; and, in "autumn 1789, having buſineſs with "him. I again repeated my thoughts "relative thereto; and that, if ſome- "thing was not done to recover the "trees, I ſuſpected that great part, "if not all of them, would certainly "die. He (Mr. Bucknall) ſaid he "could eaſily reinſtate the trees and "bring them to health, and would "come down for that purpoſe, and "be anſwerable the trees ſhould not "ſuſtain any injury; and he did "come down in the ſpring follow- "ing."

My agent Mr. Fauſſet, the tenants, Mr. Lake and the Bouldings, all concur in ſaying that the trees were in an actual ſtate of decay (ſee Vol. XI). This is a circumſtance neceſſary to be fully eſtabliſhed, as any one may ſee they did recover and wonderfully. This induces me to ſay that from the certainty of ſucceſs and eaſy application, the medication ſurpaſſes any thing for ſuch pruning as orchards require. Where trees have been ſo long neglected as to become hollow, I would recommend the compoſition prepared by Mr. Forſyth, becauſe the hollow parts require a ſubſtance to fill them up; and I have the happineſs of ſaying that Mr. Forſyth and I go on the ſame principle; each planning for the general good of ſociety, and the improvement of art.

And, as I have long wiſhed to introduce the name of orchardiſt, I here deſire it may take place; and for the encouragement of thoſe who are willing to undertake the art, ſay that it is eaſily learnt and highly pleaſurable; for what can be a greater gratification, than to ſee nature improving under our hands?

It is a miſtake to cut off the heads of trees, and engraft them, merely to procure young wood; pruning being better, as an old tree cannot continue in health after ſuch loppings; for the head being gone, the roots become inactive, and more

miſchief

miſchief takes place out of ſight than can be repaired in years. Do not attempt to force a tree higher than it is diſpoſed to grow, for that will not improve the fruit: the rule ſhould be—keep the branches out of the reach of cattle, then let them follow their natural growth; for each different ſpecies of the apple and other fruits have a growth peculiar to themſelves. With regard to general pruning, do it as ſoon as the fruit is off, that the wounds may tend toward healing before the froſt comes on; but do not ſuffer a broken or decayed branch to continue at any ſeaſon.

If I may make uſe of an exploded idea, the ſubſtantial form of the tree is the ſame before and after pruning; that is, the tree continues of the ſame ſize, and all extreme ſhoots keep the ſame diſtance, which is an improvement no one has brought into practice; for each perſon employs his ſtrength to knock the heads of the trees to pieces, mutilating them, till he leaves the tree in a more decaying ſtate than when he firſt attempted the pruning it. Having ſpoken thus freely, I muſt, in juſtice to the age, ſay, there are few profeſſional men who are not expert at wall-fruit pruning; becauſe, it being their profeſſion, they attend to what they are about.

Hints on Planting.—The prevention of a diſeaſe is preferable to the cure; therefore, if poſſible, chooſe the trees the year before they are to be planted, and ſee that they are properly pruned in the nurſery, by taking off, perfectly cloſe, all rambling and unſightly branches, leaving the heads to three or four good leading ſhoots; from this forecaſt the trees will not require pruning for ſome time, and, having no wounds to heal the year they are tranſplanted, will greatly accelerate their growth. Be ſure the trees are young; and do not plant any galled, fretted, or cankered plants; for it is certain that there is a vapour ariſes from cankered trees which affects the ſound ones.

When the trees are taken up, keep the roots as long as is convenient, which will give them a diſpoſition to run horizontally, from which, the roots being more under the influence of the ſun, the ſap is richer, and produces the ſweeteſt, faireſt fruit; prepare ſtakes before the day of planting, for the trees muſt be well ſtaked and defended from cattle; and other precautions with which the planters are well acquainted.

Chooſe your ground carefully, that your plantation may be ſcreened on the eaſt, north, and weſt ſides, and open to the ſouth: and tell the nurſeryman that he muſt attend to the natural growth of the different fruits, and mark them, that they may be planted thus—one row of the talleſt ſtrongeſt growers on the three cold ſides, and that row ſhould be planted twice as thick as any other; then one row more of the next free-growers parallel to the laſt rows; and ſo go on gradually, declining in ſize till you come to the centre.

What I mean by twice as thick, place a low rambling growing fruit-tree between each of the other; for the intention here is to raiſe ſhelter; and it would be adviſeable on the outſide of the plantation to run a row of underwood, more than a pole wide of the freeſt growing trees which the country produces; be aſſured the wood will more than pay for the expence. Be not tenacious of the ſize or ſhape of the orchard; for, in ſome ſituations, by taking a little more or leſs ground, much good may reſult.

reſult. Before the ground is laid out, let the mind be active to ſecure the little riſings or inflections, to catch the ſun, and exclude the cold. The Scotch fir, or other valuable trees, may be happily introduced at a diſtance for ſhelter, and which would alſo greatly embelliſh the appearance of the country.

Such a plantation may be expected often to bear a crop when the whole neighbourhood fails; and every one knows the value of a good crop in a failing year. Theſe ideas are on a large ſcale, for the ſupply of the London markets: and, though I can bring no proof that ſuch an orchard exiſts, the hints here given are to point out that poſition is an eſſential circumſtance both for the whole plantation and every individual tree. Always remembering local circumſtances muſt govern the buſineſs: Follow nature.

If I have expreſſed this clearly, the orchard will appear as it were encloſed on three ſides; the larger trees are to keep off the blighting winds; and leaving the plantation open in the middle and to the ſouth, is to diſſipate the ſtagnant vapours which ſtunt the fruits in the ſpring; beſides, the ground being open in the middle, the verdure or crop under the trees will be more valuable: this mode of planting will alſo appear handſome, and each tree enjoy the happieſt influence of the ſun and air. The cuſtom of intermixing fruits by chance is always unſightly and detrimental; for the ſtrong growers conſtantly ſtunt and ſpoil the more delicate fruits by overtopping them; whereas by this mode the delicate fruits fall to the centre and ſouth.

In new plantations be careful not to place the trees too deep; more miſchief ariſes from that one ſource than all the other combined cauſes: but when the trees are too deep, a method may be introduced for raiſing them, or for ſetting them upright when they lean, alſo for making the barren trees fruitful, provided they are in high health; if not, the ſooner they are grubbed up the better. Alſo avoid planting too thick, for ſunſhine and ſhade are unalterably the cauſe of ſweet and ſour fruits.

I have been careful in expreſſing the manual operations in a plain and ſhort manner, that the practice might appear eaſy. As for the natural and philoſophical accounts of the bark, the formation of gum, the power of vapour, &c. with the relative cauſes of decay in vegetation, I have entered more fully into them, in hopes of inducing gentlemen to take up the practice, and eſtabliſh the profeſſion of an orchardiſt.

Laſtly, I beg the ſociety not to deem any of theſe circumſtances viſionary; for I have ſo long dwelt upon the ſubject as to be fully perſuaded of the efficacy of the whole practice, and that it may be rationally expected from judicious pruning, that the crooked trees may be made ſtrait, the ſterile fruitful, and the old handſome; as the power of nature may thereby be regenerated, the diſeaſe removed, all the branches ſupplied with young and bearing wood; ſo that we may almoſt ſay the cauſes of decay are baniſhed: but to ſupport theſe aſſertions, the trees ought from their earlieſt infancy to be in good hands, and regular pruning introduced. I am, ſir, Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

THOMAS SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL.

Hampton Court,
15 *Nov.* 1793.

Orchardiſt's

Orchardiſt's Tools recommended by Mr. Bucknall.

Two pruning-knives, a ſaw, two chiſſels, a mallet, a ſpoke-ſhave, and a painter's bruſh. With the chiſſels and ſpoke-ſhave work upwards, or the bark will ſhiver: the ſaw muſt be courſe ſet, all the other tools ſharp and ſmooth; and to ſhew the ſize and form of the pruning-knives, three are reſerved in the ſociety's repoſitory, for the inſpection of the public.

Concluding Eſſay on the Science of Orcharding. By the ſame.

[*From the Tranſactions of the Society inſtituted at* London, *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.* Vol. XIV.]

IN this year's paper I deſire to introduce to the ſociety ſome valuable additions to the ſcience of orcharding:

Firſt—the removing trees of the age of twenty years or upwards, to ſupply any deficiencies; by which means the rows in the plantations will be fully kept up, and the orchard remain perfect, with trees of the ſame age and ſort as thoſe which have decayed or died.

Secondly—the engrafting of new bark upon trees that have been injured by cattle, carts, &c. and thus trees kept in a perfect ſtate, which otherwiſe would have died, or ſoon gone to decay. But I wiſh previouſly to impreſs on the minds of the ſociety, that, in the whole extenſive orchards throughout the kingdom, moſt of the ſtandard fruit-trees may be prevented becoming rotten, hollow, or much decayed, until, by great length of time, a dryneſs, want of energy, or by their own weight, they fall into actual diſſolution; and as it is allowed, that large trees yield the moſt productive crops, either individually, or per acre, attention ſhould be given to run the trees to ſize; for at preſent there is no competent idea to what extent trees may be induced to grow, by a ſuitable manure and proper management.

The baneful effects of canker may be nearly baniſhed from the more delicate fruit trees, and the oozing of gum in a great meaſure prevented in the different ſpecies of the cherry, and other ſtone fruits.

In the firſt paper I did myſelf the honour of preſenting to the ſociety, I repreſented that "pruning is an "important article, with regard to "the health of trees, and their bear-"ing; and, if judiciouſly done, they "will come into bearing ſooner, "and continue in vigour for nearly "double their common age."—(See A. Regiſter for 1793, p. 82). That attentive care which chooſes the proper ſoil; places the trees at due diſtances, according to their natural growth; keeps the branches free and open, that the ſun may paſs over the ground; all being perfectly pruned and regularly cleaned, ſo that the tree may become healthy, round and large, and carefully apply the manure and culture moſt proper for fertilizing the lands appropriated to orcharding: when theſe advantages ſhall be really united, it may reaſonably be expected that the fruits muſt be larger, finer coloured, freer from ſpecks, and of a richer quality; whence ſuch fruits muſt have a pre-eminence in the markets; or, if originally intended to be thrown into the mill, the cider will be more in quantity, ſtronger, and higher flavoured;

voured; proofs of which may eaſily be brought. As I apprehend the orchards and ſtandard fruit-gardens of this country may ſoon be eſtimated at ſome hundred thouſand acres, and ſhould expect from the improvements attempted to be introduced, that in ten years time each acre, on an average, will increaſe by the improved culture, to more than one pound per acre in value per annum, I hope it will not be thought arrogant in me to ſay, that I look upon myſelf as being the actual means of beneſiting my country to the amount of more than three hundred thouſand pounds a year.

And if orchardiſts will conſider this poſition to be founded in truth, it will be an incitement to their exertions. The premiums offered by the ſociety to promote the proper planting and culture of orchards, it is expected will ſpread emulation among the planters, and (aided by the extenſive improvements of inland navigation, by which fruit and cider may be conveyed from one extremity of the kingdom to the other), the culture of orchards may be regarded as a national concern.

When pruning ſhall be fully underſtood, and generally practiſed, the beneſits reſulting therefrom will appear to be much more the effect of judgment than the reſult of actual labour; for I have often mentioned, among my friends, my expectation, when the trees are properly brought into order, the whole ſyſtem will be little other than penknife-pruning, except what may ariſe from accident or neglect. So far from wiſhing to have large limbs wantonly taken from trees, the rule is, "keep the "branches out of the reach of cattle, "then let them follow their natural "growth."—(See the preceding paper, p. 91). This would ſoon be verified, if a few proprietors and cottagers conſidered the nature of this buſineſs, and began pruning their own trees from the firſt planting, by way of example. When the cottager comes to prune his maſter's trees, then will each concur in opinion, for it depends more upon the mind than upon the hand; and yet there is no myſtery—the maſter ſpeaking, the cottager comprehends his directions, and thus the work would go on properly. In Mr. Boulding's certificate (A. R. for 1793, p. 83), "we were ſometimes in "doubt whether a particular branch "ſhould be taken off or not; the rule "eſtabliſhed was, conſider, will that "branch be in the way three years "hence? If it will, the ſooner it is "off the better."

I have taken much pains to correct prejudice and eſtabliſh a rational culture, and have no doubt but it will become general; yet, I muſt confeſs, I ſhould like to ſee it fully eſtabliſhed in my own time. The whole ſyſtem is grounded on the regular operations of nature in the productions of vegetation: the advantages are fully explained in the reſpective papers; and, for the mere labourer, there is a ſhort abſtract and inſtructions in Vol. XIII. (A. R. for 1795, p. 77). I have reconſidered every thought, and find them all concenter in the ſingle word HEALTH.

My chief inducement in writing on the art of pruning, was to reſcue ſo valuable a branch of agriculture from neglect, or from the more deſtructive manner in which the work has hitherto been performed. Obſerve in my new ſyſtem, "the trees "continue of the ſame ſize both be-"fore and after pruning, and all the "extreme

"extreme ſhoots keep at the ſame "diſtance, which is an improve-"ment not before brought into prac-"tice."—See the preceding paper, p. 91.

I have undertaken to produce four apple-trees within the ſame incloſure, each of which ſhall cover ten poles of ground long before they fall into actual decay; and for that purpoſe have meaſured four trees on the north ſide of Sittingbourne, in an orchard belonging to a gentleman at Maidſtone; and, with proper management, there is no doubt but they may be brought to that ſize. As they ſtand cloſe to the road, where they will be under general obſervation, I ſhould think, if a viſible improvement becomes apparent in trees thus marked for public trial, it would counteract the negligent habit of ſtill ſuffering large trees to continue ſo encumbered; theſe trees are of great magnitude, and cannot be leſs than an hundred years old; are in high health; yet much over-run with ſtumps, dead-wood, moſs, &c. I remember the ground more than forty-years, and think if my ſyſtem had been introduced when that orchard was firſt planted, there would have been, inſtead of four trees, at leaſt ten times that number, and of equal value. I muſt ſay they are noble trees, and might become beautiful, if that epithet may with propriety be applied to an apple-tree. I have had a long correſpondence with the gentleman, either to purchaſe the orchard, or to have the liberty of pruning thoſe trees *gratis*; and under ſuch conditions I have determined not a branch ſhall be touched, but with the conſent of the tenant: I muſt not ſay more upon this ſubject until I know the reſult; if I am diſappointed, there are other trees in the neighbourhood of the ſame age, but they are neither ſo healthy, nor ſo well ſuited for my purpoſe.

Several times I have been aſked how much an old tree ought to be pruned?—The proper anſwer would be, if it be very old, and much encumbered, do not let in the cold winds; but, with care, take off the ſtumps, with all the decayed, rotten, and blighted branches, leaving the reſt to the diſcretion of each perſon, who will ſoon ſee how much is neceſſary; ſelf-conviction being the beſt ſchool for improvement. The truth is, whoever would form orchards to produce credit to himſelf and profit to his ſucceſſor, muſt not ſuffer the trees to become old before the operations commence, but determine that pruning, cleaning, and rubbing off the rotten bark, ſhould be begun in the nurſery, and regularly continued to the extremity of old-age; from which method very little wood need be taken off at a time; and, by uſing medication, the wounds will heal, without cauſing any more blemiſhes than the tree was ſubject to at the time the limb was taken off; for it is not the firſt cutting which blemiſhes the tree, but the corroſion, ariſing from neglect.

Let each perſon therefore determine, that no ſtandard fruit-tree ſhould be ſuffered to remain encumbered with rotten and decaying branches; for theſe, admitting the water into the tree, and contaminating the balſamic virtues of the ſap, lay the foundation of ſure deſtruction to the tree, and furniſh to inſects a *nidus* under the rotten bark, in which they depoſit their eggs.

I mentioned to Mr. Fauſſet, in the

the year 1789, as appears in Vol. XI. (A. R. for 1793, p. 85,) that the greater part of the miſchief affecting my trees, aroſe from inſects, vermin, and microſcopic animalculæ, getting under the bark, which has the laſt year been more fully elucidated by William Hampſon, of Dewnap, eſq. in the thirteenth volume of Tranſactions, (A. R. for 1795, p. 80,) under the article Inſects; and the prevention is there ſo properly pointed out by him, that, in the character of orchardiſt general, I wiſh ſtrongly to enforce the practice. I have often ſeen whole crops of the more delicate apples deſtroyed by the foliage being eaten off in the ſpring: the hardy fruits are not ſo liable to theſe diſaſters, for the ſtrong health of thoſe trees in a great meaſure ſecures them from ſuch depredations.

Laſt ſummer, in Kent, I had much converſation with ſome very intelligent men, on the ſubject of orcharding and general agriculture. A gentleman on the hills ſhewed me ſome large trees, and aſked my opinion. I replied, "Do nothing; "for you can gain no credit by "them, from the energy or active "powers of vegetation having been "long exhauſted in thoſe trees:" but I pointed out ſome young ones where pruning might be happily applied, and he might make a trial on one of the large ones.

At Brambling, I viſited an orchard at the requeſt of the owner: the trees required more cleaning than pruning, and I requeſted he would be careful to attend the operation himſelf, and his orchard would become more valuable, by the quantity and quality of the fruit. I recommended him to encloſe the ground, which contained about ſix trees, with hurdles, and he might eaſily unite that ſpot with his pig-ſties, and ſuffer the hogs to be conſtantly running over that ground; and, from the manure thus obtained, the trees would receive a viſible energy, which would ſoon appear in the growth of thoſe trees, when compared with the others, and that the improvement of the trees was to be the criterion for him to act by; for the freer the trees grow, the more effectually they recover the pruning, by throwing out young wood; and I remarked, that if the orchard was my own, I would open the gate, without reward, for the drovers to bring in the yearling cattle, which paſs the road from October to Midſummer, for three years; and ſuch practice would double the value of the fruit: I mean, to what it will be ten years hence, for the trees are viſibly going off, though now they are juſt in a ſtate to be recovered.

Laſt year I recommended cleaning by ſoap-ſuds (A. R. for 1795, p. 80.) A gentleman at Wandſworth uſes oil, which has a wonderfully good effect. I ſhould think the oil might be applied about a month after the ſuds. As I am, in large concerns, a friend to cheapneſs for the bulk of mankind, I imagine any damaged oil would do: oil certainly is beneficial to trees.

Theſe obſervations are ſufficient to ſhew that I am attentive, and vary the advice, according to the ſtate and value of the trees. Some gentlemen in my neighbourhood have made very handſome exertions; but I wiſh to bring the improving trees into univerſal practice, and keeping them in bearing to a great age; and would recommend that perſons, for their own

ſatisfaction,

ſatisfaction, ſhould ſelect a certain number of trees, according to their fancy, and mark them in pairs, as to their age, freeneſs of growth, and other circumſtances, ſuitable to trial, prune and manure one, and leave the other in the ſtate of nature; but, for experiment, do not prune two trees ſtanding next to each other, in the ſame year, when the pre-eminence of the practice will ſoon appear:—ſuch a mode is bringing orcharding to a fair trial; and, if I had been ſo prudent as to have managed my trees alternately, two-thirds of the growers in Eaſt Kent would have acquired the ſcience before this time. It may appear that I argue this ſubject too ſtrongly; but, when we recollect that the ſociety has been thirty years engaged, and ſhewn moſt aſſiduous and laudable exertions, aided by many high premiums, to aſcertain the comparative advantages of the drill and broad-caſt huſbandry, we muſt ceaſe to wonder that the ſcience of orcharding has not made greater progreſs.

It is recommended, that the rows of trees ſhould not ſtand north and ſouth, but a point of the compaſs towards the eaſt, as the ſun will then ſhine up the rows ſoon after ten o'clock, which, in the ſpring of the year, will ſerve to diſſipate the vapours collected in the night: theſe vapours ſtunt the fruit in the early ſtages of its growth; and, where the ſhaws are properly attended to, this poſition will beſt enable them to divide and blunt the power of the winds, and prevent blights, and the ſhaw might be a little brought over the ſouth: but, as each ſituation has a predominant wind, this is only hinted to put the planter upon his guard: the ſhaw alſo will greatly protect the fruit from the ſeverity of the autumnal winds, at which ſeaſon half the crop of fruit is thrown from the tree before it is ripe; and the heads at that time of the year being loaded with fruit and leaves, many trees are actually torn out of the ground, or ſo lacerated as to be ſpoiled, which a proper ſhaw might prevent. Judicious ſhelter ſhould be the firſt object thought of in forming an orchard on a large ſcale.

Had I been poſſeſſed of ground near my own dwelling, I ſhould ten years ago have planted an extenſive experimental orchard — it would have given me much pleaſure; but there is no land attainable; and experiments cannot well be conducted at a diſtance, to any great credit, where the only object is to raiſe emulation by way of example.

When I pruned the trees in my orchards, at Sittingborne, in the year 1790, they being young, I cut freely, for they were greatly encumbered and decaying, and half the wounds were made by taking off the ſtumps, and cutting down the cankers and gum, as certificates fully prove (A. R. for 1793, p. 84): and I was certain the trees would be greatly improved by the pruning; but I muſt mention they have not been touched ſince, leſt any perſon who may examine the orchard by way of obſervation, might confound the former and new wounds together.

Let no one be afraid of the expence, for that is trivial; fourpence-halfpenny per tree once in three years would overpay it, after the trees have been brought into order, if the maſter would only take care they are kept clean, and the caſual accidents duly attended to. Ac-

cording to my ideas, the age of a tree is not to be conſidered; for the judgment muſt be taken from the energy and freeneſs of growth, as many trees are in a more declining ſtate at ſixteen than others at an hundred. Since I have mentioned comparative age, obſerve, from ſixteen to twenty, is a critical time for the delicate fruits: if they continue in health beyond that period, they generally go on well afterwards; and, upon ſome future occaſion, I ſhall introduce root-pruning.

Were it neceſſary more fully to enforce the practice of pruning, ſuppoſe an order was given, that all peach-trees ſhould remain unpruned for five years: from thence be aſſured, there would ſcarcely be a high flavoured peach in the kingdom, all either ſour or inſipid. The apple or cherry do not require the ſame care the peach does; yet each are well worthy of attention. I obſerved, in Vol. XII.—(See the preceding paper, p. 92.) "that ſunſhine and ſhade "are unalterably the cauſe of ſweet "and ſour fruits."

Thoſe acquainted with the wine countries know, that the natives beſtow much labour in manure, culture, pruning, and more particularly in bringing the grapes to perfect ripeneſs; and I do not ſee why, in Britain, ſome part of that attention ſhould not be given to the apple.

It is proper here to recommend to nurſerymen, to be attentive to their GRAFTS, for more depends upon it than is imagined; as, from the grafts being full, well wooded, clear, and properly choſen, the fruit will be both larger and higher flavoured. Though the ſoil and culture may be the ſame, the health of the wood of the tree is alſo moſt materially affected during the whole time of the tree's exiſtence, by the proper maturity the ſcion was in at the time it was firſt put into the ſtock.

As this is to be my laſt eſſay, I wiſh to ſend it out as perfect as I can, and beg excuſe for the great length. Let any perſon, whoſe mind has, by precept, been turned to philoſophical enquiries, conſider the following ſtatement: when an orchard has become old and much encumbered, ſo that the trees, from being too thick, totally overſhade the ground, if one of thoſe trees dies, the four next ſurrounding it will each of them throw out their branches to fill up that void ſpace; the ſap of thoſe four trees tending that way by the active influence of the ſun and air, and the other parts of thoſe trees ſtill remaining encumbered, will of conſequence decline in vegetation; for the energy is drawn the contrary way. Theſe things happen every day, but on the unobſerving eye make little impreſſion. This intuitive energy of nature is not confined to vegetation, for it pervades all nature: then why not ſuppoſe, if a part of a tree is decayed, and you take it out, that nature is capable of filling up the void ſpace: that ſhe is capable, is moſt undoubted, and ſhe will do it too, if there is any energy left, by ſupplying younger and better-bearing wood than that which is taken away.

Where the trees are ſo cloſe and encumbered, that the agricultural vegetation cannot thrive under them the fruit from ſuch an orchard will hardly be large and high-flavoured; neither will it keep ſo well.

Laſt autumn, the delicate fruit-trees were much incommoded with a whitiſh mould or mildew, which I have regularly obſerved to take place in what is called muggy weather; this

this is what lays the firſt foundation of canker; it was very prevalent about ſeven years back. I have long known it to ariſe from animalculæ, ſettling on the wounded parts of the tree, and the ſhoots of the preſent year. In Vol. XIII. (A. R. for 1795. p. 80) I pointed out the cure, which is rubbing off with the lard medication; and I recommend to have the ſhoots cut at a large bud; for, when they have been thus affected, there are but few of them will ſtand the cold of the winter: they generally die off about half way up. I have formerly quite removed the canker from ſome nonpareils, which, after three years medication, threw out ſhoots a yard long; this induced me to ſay, that the mercury gave an energy to the plant; I mean, by the mercury curing the diſeaſe, the plant recovered its energy: any one may ſatisfy himſelf that it is animalculæ, by rubbing a little of the mildew between his thumb and his fore-finger, when the inſects actually break, and produce a matter like the cochineal fly (*coccus mali*).

Another circumſtance worthy obſervation is, the cuſtom of attempting to check the too great flow of the ſap, particularly in pear-trees, by cutting a circle through the bark, with the intention to make the tree fruitful; much better would it be, by natural means, to lead the ſap regularly through all the branches; the action of the ſun would then properly impel it to the extreme parts of the tree, for ſwelling the buds, and ſupporting the fruit; and this even flow of ſap is what produces fruitfulneſs, and is implied, (A. R. for 1793, p. 82.)—"the more the range of branches ſhoot circularly, the more equally will the ſap be diſtributed, and the better will the tree bear."

Let me entreat thoſe intereſted in fruit plantations, to unite in eſtabliſhing and exalting the ſcience of orcharding, to make it one of the handmaids of commerce: it is certainly the poor man's friend, the rich man's pleaſure, the pride and ornament of the reſpective ſpots attached to each habitation. View the trees in ſpring unfolding and raiſing their beautiful bloſſoms and leaves up to the eye of heaven, and in autumn gently bending their pliant branches for the induſtrious hand to gather the fruits. Do not wonder that I ſhould ſhew a little enthuſiaſm for the welfare of a ſcience which I have actually created, and from which I have received much ſatisfaction.

The ancients had their goddeſs Pomona, to whom they paid divine honours, which goddeſs was no other than an ideal ſuperintendency ſuppoſed to preſide over orchards; which is a moſt convincing proof that they held the culture of fruits in high eſtimation.

Through the whole proceſs I have confined my inſtructions to ſtandard trees; but now ſay, they are equally applicable to fruits in general, even to the hawthorn, whoſe bloſſoms in ſpring, and fruit for the birds in autumn, make it worth ſome attention in parks, and ſuch plantations.

For the full eſtabliſhment of the art, nothing more is neceſſary, than to gain two or three capital landowners in each diſtrict, who occupy their own eſtates, and influence them to examine the ſyſtem, and follow it, from which much improvement muſt reſult. In every ſcience the principles muſt be underſtood before the

practice can become general. I am, ſir, Your moſt humble ſervant,

T. SKIP DYOT BUCKNALL.

Hampton Court,
Jan. 6, 1796.

An Account of the Drainage of a Marſh near Marazion, *in* Cornwall, *formerly overflown by the ſea, and looked upon as irreclaimable, but now in a ſtate of cultivation. From the ſame.*

ON purchaſing the leaſehold of an eſtate near Marazion, in Cornwall, conſiſting of about two hundred acres, I found ſeventy in a ſtate of good cultivation, and one hundred and thirty acres of waſte land, conſiſting of marſh, croft, and ſandy ſoils. I flattered myſelf, that a great part of this unprofitable ſpot might be converted into uſeful and valuable land, which, in this neighbourhood, in the common ſtate of cultivation, is worth from three to ſix pounds the Corniſh acre (about one-fifth part larger than ſtatute meaſure). From a proſpect of recovering that part called the Marſh, which had hitherto been accounted irreclaimable, I laid down a plan of draining the ſame, which, if I ſucceeded in, might probably induce the proprietors of other tracts of marſh-land in this vicinity, to make ſimilar attempts.

The novelty of my draining ſcheme, with its attendant difficulties, joined to the great diſlike which moſt farmers in the weſt of England have to the improvement of low lands, drew on me the cenſure of the public, who treated the ſcheme as chimerical, and impoſſible to be effected for the following reaſons:

Firſt—Becauſe the ſea had acceſs to this land, and overflowed it at ſpring tides with two feet water;

Secondly—If the ſea were excluded, the freſh water would be accumulated, and ſtill keep it in the ſtate of a bog, as the water had no other vent than by its direct communication with the ſea; and,

Thirdly—That if the ſucceſs in the drainage ſhould be equal to my moſt ſanguine expectations, yet the nature of marſh land, in general, would not admit of any valuable improvement.

However cogent theſe reaſons might appear to the public, I was convinced that they aroſe more from the want of a ſpirit of enterprize, and little knowledge of the nature of ſuch ſoils, than from a decided conviction of the failure of the plan; and, on conſidering the advantages likely to reſult from the improvement, in caſe of ſucceſs, and the example given to my countrymen, who poſſeſs ſimilar tracts of marſh land, I was emboldened to undertake the drainage of this bog, which for time immemorial had been looked on as utterly irreclaimable.

The ſpot fixed on for the intended improvement, conſiſted of ſixty-three acres, ſtatute meaſure; of which thirty-ſix acres were marſh; ſeventeen acres of a light blackiſh land, and ten acres of croft, conſiſting of a light black mould, with a ſubſtratum near the ſurface, of a fine tenacious clay. The croft and ſandy land lay on a riſing ground, ſerving as a ſurrounding ſkirting to the marſh, and which, from their gentle elevations, might be uſeful in rainy ſeaſons for cattle to reſort to.

On conſidering that the moſt fertile ſoils conſiſt of a combination of clay, ſand, and vegetable matter, in different

different proportions, and that theſe three ſubſtances were almoſt diſtinct, and to be procured in any quantity from this improvable ſpot, it appeared probable that, after a complete drainage was performed, little more remained to be effected, than a happy combination of theſe three ſoils, ſo contiguous to each other, to render the whole good and productive land.

The marſh, containing thirty-ſix acres, is ſituated between the croft and the ſandy ſoil, which has been thrown up by the ſea, and ſerves as a natural embankment againſt the water, which at every ſpring-tide overflowed this low-land to the height of two or three feet, by a direct communication of a river which carries off a part of the redundant water collected on its ſurface, from its own ſprings and others in its vicinity, and the rain from the higher grounds.

This marſh, from time immemorial, has produced nothing but ruſhes, flags, goſs (*arundo phragmitis*), *iris paluſtris*, water-lily, and ſeveral other aquatic plants, which, from their verdure, ſerved only as a decoy for cattle, that were frequently ſmothered in attempting to reach them, to the great loſs and injury of the tenants. Several perſons alſo have loſt their lives by getting at night into this moraſs, over which boats have frequently paſſed to enable ſportſmen to ſecure the game which flocked to this place in great quantities during winter. From the production of marſh miaſmata, fevers of the low nervous kind, but particularly agues, have greatly prevailed, to the annoyance and diſtreſs of the neighbourhood.

The great and inſuperable difficulty, which hitherto prevented even an attempt towards the draining this bog, aroſe from its being under the level of the ſea at ſpring-tides; ſo that no deeper outlet could be procured than the river, which ſupplied it with ſalt-water. But, on conſidering the nature of water, which preſſes equally on every ſide, I ſuſpected that a pipe, with a valve at its extremity, introduced at half-ebb, through the ſandy embankment, to the body of the marſh, would tend to carry off the ſurface-water; and, from the ſhutting of the valve, on the approach of the tide, no ſea-water could gain admittance through the tube. On taking an accurate ſurvey of the levels from the ſea, at the point of half-ebb, to the ſurface of the ground in the marſh, meaſuring in length one hundred and ſeventy-four yards, it was found that ſix feet of level could be gained, after allowing two feet for the flowing of the water through the pipe; accordingly, an embankment of one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-five yards in length, formed of ſtrong clay turf, about five feet high and ſix feet thick, was made round the two ſides of the marſh, which were liable to be overflown by the ſea; the ditch ſerving as a channel to carry off the water, which uſed to flow over its ſurface. In order to carry off the water ſtill remaining on the marſh, I procured one hundred and ſeventy-four yards of ſquare pipe, nine inches diameter and two inches thick, made of round fir-wood called balk, which, in the mines of this county, is the wood moſt commonly made uſe of, and found to be very durable, eſpecially if kept conſtantly in water.

In May, 1793, the firſt pipe was laid down on the ſhore, at the point

of half ebb, and ſecured by means of a large rock, to prevent it from ſwimming; the other pipes were ſucceſſively joined, and laid nearly on a plane with the firſt, by throwing open the ſand. As we advanced to the higheſt part of the ſandy embankment, which was twenty-four feet above the pipes, the difficulties were conſiderably increaſed, by the great quantity of ſand neceſſary to be removed, and its tendency to fall on the workmen; ſo that the approach towards the marſh became tedious, and very expenſive. However, by purſuing every cautious plan which could be deviſed, to prevent accidents, and to make the work ſecure, we arrived, in five weeks time, at the borders of the marſh, paſſing under the river and new-made embankment at the depth of ſix feet under the ſurface, where the pipe opened into a reſervoir of eighteen feet ſquare and eight feet deep, prepared to collect the ſurface-water, which immediately flowed through the pipe with great rapidity, and diſcharged itſelf into the ſea, till the whole of the ſtagnant water was taken off. The aperture of the ſea-pipe had iron-bars placed before it, to prevent the inſinuation of extraneous bodies, and alſo a valve made of ſtrong wood, lined and hung with leather, and loaded with iron, to prevent it from ſwimming at the approach of the tide, which always ſhut it ſo cloſe as to effectually exclude the ſea-water: the pipe within the reſervoir had alſo a ſimilar valve, for the ſame purpoſe, near its extremity, which was covered with an iron grating, to prevent the intruſion of roots, weeds, &c. that might probably obſtruct the paſſage of the water.

As ſoon as the tide returns to the pipe, which is uncovered ſix hours in twelve, the marſh water ceaſes to flow; and, during that time, collects within the reſervoir and trenches till the ſea begins again to retire; and when the collected water becomes of equal weight with the ſea water over the ſhore pipe, it ſinks gradually till the pipe is left by the ſea, when it regularly diſcharges the water ſtrained from the marſh land; and which amounts in winter to about 129,600 gallons, or 2160 hogſheads in twenty-four hours; but, in ſummer the quantity is trifling, and does not exceed 43,200 gallons or 720 hogſheads. Some little difficulty at firſt aroſe from the valve not ſhutting itſelf properly, by the intruſion of pebbles; but this was eaſily removed, by adding about two feet of pipe beyond the valve.

Trenches or open drains of three feet deep, five feet wide at the top, and three at the bottom, were immediately carried from the reſervoir, which was the loweſt place, to the extreme parts of the marſh, on the ſandy ſide, about ſix feet within the new embankment, and interſected by others at right angles towards the croft, from fifty to ſeventy-two yards diſtance, according to the nature of the ground, dividing the whole into regular oblong fields, as in the plan; the wetneſs of the ſoil, and the great difficulty of procuring a firm footing for the workmen, obliged them to ſtand on pieces of timber, to complete thoſe numerous drains, which every day grew firmer; and in a few weeks the ſoil became ſo conſolidated, as to admit of perſons walking over it with tolerable ſafety. In making theſe drains, a pot of copper coins, containing about

one

one thouſand, was diſcovered at the depth of three feet from the ſurface, which, on examination, appeared to belong to the emperor Victorinus, who reigned in the third century; theſe coins were much injured by the corroſion of the marine acid, but ſeveral were ſtill perfect enough to trace the outlines of the emperor.

As ſoon as the evaporation aſſiſted the conſolidation of the ſurface, the air, within a mile of the marſh, became ſo ſtrongly impregnated with a ſulphureous ſmell, as to render the place quite obnoxious to paſſengers, till the ground was perfectly dry; this might probably happen from the evaporation of the fluid parts, producing a decompoſition in the mud, forming therein a *hepar ſulphuris*; or hepatic air may be eaſily produced, by adding ſea water to dung, or vegetable ſubſtances, from the vitriolic ſalts contained in the water, and which probably was the caſe in this ſoil. In the courſe of a few months the ſurface of the marſh was depreſſed from twelve to eighteen inches; ſo that the bed of the river became higher than the ſurface of the land.

In making the drains, it was diſcovered, that the upper ſtratum, of two feet and a half, conſiſted of a dark-coloured mud, formed from the ſediment of ſtagnant water and a peaty ſubſtance, bound firmly together by an infinite number of the goſs and ruſh roots; the ſubſtratum, an entire body of peat three feet and an half deep, of which twenty-one inches are of a very black colour, and the loweſt part of a light browniſh or deep yellow; under the peat lies a ſtratum of ſand about five feet deep, which carries evident marks of its being the bed of the ſea, of a very ancient date, and which has been gradually excluded by means of the accumulation of muddy ſediments, and the dropping of the leaves, &c. of aquatic plants; and which together form peat moſs. The horizontal poſition of the leaves and ſtems, which are eaſily diſcovered in the peat, is a ſtrong preſumption of thoſe bodies having fallen down, and being buried by the conſtant accumulation of mud, which with the leaves are the component parts of peat, though by ſome it has been ſaid to be a vegetable production, *ſui generis*. The total excluſion of air is abſolutely neceſſary before theſe bodies will aſſume the real appearance or properties of peat moſs; and it is probable, that the upper ſtratum, which at this time partakes of very little of real peat, would at a future period, by the gradual addition of ſimilar bodies and the excluſion of air, poſſeſs the ſame qualities and properties as the under ſtratum, and by this gradual accumulation totally exclude the ſea. But the coins found in the marſh indicate that the production of peat moſs has been very ſlow in this particular ſpot.

The ſtratum of ſand under the peat does not appear to be the original bed of the ſea; for on ſtreaming or ſearching for tin, from ſix to ten feet deeper, another ſtratum was diſcovered, conſiſting of round ſmooth pebbles and gravelly ſubſtances containing tin; among which are bodies of trees, and a large number of hazel-nuts in the moſt perfect ſtate, and which muſt have been collected in this place by means of ſome extraordinary inundation, that ſwept thoſe beds away from the higher lands.

In conſequence of the diſcovery of peat in this marſh, a large quan-

tity has been cut up, dried, and made uſe of as an article of fuel, for a variety of purpoſes, to which it is admirably adapted, and ſold at a much cheaper rate than coals, and boils water in much leſs time; it is applied in public breweries, and for every culinary purpoſe as an article of fuel; it is made uſe of to great advantage in grates, hearths, or ovens, and when coaked, will ſerve for the niceſt operation in chemiſtry, and in that ſtate is ſufficiently ſtrong to ſmelt metals of the moſt difficult fuſion: experiments are now making on it to calcine lime, which is intended as manure for this land. This peat produces a ſmall quantity of red aſhes, which, on lixiviation, are found to contain a large proportion of ſea ſalt, which, for land not already impregnated with the marine acid, will prove a valuable manure.

After the drains were finiſhed, all further operations on this land were diſcontinued till the ſpring of 1794, when the ſurface of a great many acres, conſiſting of light ſedgy ſubſtances, was pared and burned during the ſummer, and the aſhes ſpread over the land; afterwards the plough was introduced, to deſtroy the amazing growth of the *arundo phragmitis*, which, from the infinite number of its ſtrong ſpreading roots, bound the ſurface ſo firmly together, as to require a numerous team of cattle to plough it a proper depth, and which, from their frequent treading over the ſame ground, rendered the ſoft parts impaſſable; but this difficulty was overcome by ploughing the firſt time without a mould board, ſo that fewer oxen were able to perform the ſame work. The ſoil, on being turned up, yielded a moſt offenſive ſmell, though not of the ſulphur kind. The land was frequently ploughed and harrowed, even to ſix or ſeven times, the inflammable ſubſtances ſet on fire, and the aſhes ſpread on the ſurface. After all theſe operations, which were alſo repeated in 1795, the ground became conſiderably depreſſed, and ſo conſolidated as to admit of carts with narrow wheels, loaded with a ton of clay, to paſs over it with great eaſe. On the ſides of the drains, large quantities of yellow ſea ſalt may be collected, and which were produced by the evaporation of its fluid parts.

In the ſpring of 1794, four acres of oſiers were planted, after the ground had been thrown up into ridges; but the large quantity of ſea-ſalt deſtroyed the whole, except a few which grew on the higher ground in great luxuriancy. The oſiers at firſt put forth fine ſhoots; but as ſoon as their tender roots abſorbed the ſaline particles in the ſoil, they died immediately. Potatoes were alſo planted in large quantities the ſame ſeaſon; but moſt of them, particularly in the low places, where they never vegetated, ſhared the ſame fate.

On enquiry I find that thoſe farmers who lay large quantities on their piles (heaps) of manure, experience the ſame loſs on theſe ſpots for two or three years afterwards; and then the ground aſſumes the richeſt ſtate of vegetation. In the ſpring of 1795, after the ſurface was covered with large quantities of clay, ſeveral acres were ſown with oats, ſome of which produced very good crops, particularly in thoſe places where the marine acid was diminiſhed. Turnips and potatoes alſo grew well.

At

At preſent, the *poa trivialis* grows naturally in the greateſt luxuriancy on every part where the ſaline particles are not in too large a quantity: the appearance of this graſs is a ſure indication of the ſoil having parted with a large proportion of the ſalt. Several ſorts of cultivated graſſes have been tried in ſmall quantities, as rye-graſs, tre-foil, clover, and meadow fox-tail (*alopecurus pratenſis*) which thrive with great luxuriancy; chicory (*cycorium intybus*) has been ſown, and grows, but does not thrive well, moſt probably from the ſalt.

It is ſurpriſing to ſee the effects of frequent ploughing, &c. on this kind of ſoil, which, though at firſt only a congeries of roots and light ſubſtances, has, in a year or two, by ſuch practice, aſſumed an earthlike appearance; and, with the addition of clay, lime, ſmall quantities of manure, particularly of animal oil, and frequent heavy rolling, is likely to become, from the moſt uſeleſs ſpot, the moſt productive land for paſture, to which only it ſhould be applied. In order to conſolidate the ſoil more perfectly, ſo that the earthy particles may embrace the roots of the graſſes, and retain their proper moiſture, on which the luxuriancy of ſuch ſoils in a great meaſure depends, the ſurface is to be frequently compreſſed, by means of a rolling-cart, which may be burdened according to the ſtate of the land, and is a moſt uſeful machine to carry manure on low-lands during wet ſeaſons.

This machine conſiſts of three circular pieces of ſtrong elm, two feet diameter, and each eighteen inches long, through which a ſtrong iron axis is paſſed, ſo as to protrude a few inches on each end beyond the rollers; after all, allowing an inch between each piece, for the convenience of turning round. On the projecting part of the axis, a fixed frame-work is placed to ſupport the cart, which may be loaded to any degree, and employed ſimply as a roller, or to carry manure, &c. on land where common wheels cannot be admitted.

Every meadow in this improved ſpot can be watered with much eaſe, by means of the river cloſe to the embankment, and which will be employed for that purpoſe, when paſture is introduced throughout the whole.

Marſh lands in general will admit of the greateſt improvement, by the following mode of treatment:

Firſt—By a mechanical arrangement and change of its different parts, as by frequent ploughing, harrowing, and burning.

Secondly—by the addition of heavy ſubſtances, as marle, clay, gravel, &c.

Thirdly—By ſuch ſubſtances as act chemically, and bring the inert vegetable matter into action, as lime, chalk, alkaline ſalts, &c.

Fourthly—By manures, particularly thoſe which contain a large quantity of animal oil or mucilage, as putrid fiſh, ſea-wrack, ſtable dung, &c.; for marſh-land in general ſeldom contains any animal ſubſtance, which, in a great meaſure, is the grand conſtituent part of a rich ſoil.

Fifthly—By compreſſion, with rolling-carts, cattle, &c.

Sixthly—By watering.

The ſandy and croft ſoils adjoining to the marſh have been cultivated, and produced this ſummer very excellent crops of potatoes, turnips, barley, oats, buck-wheat, and tares.

Thirty-ſix acres, at 22l. 6s. 2½d. per acre, is 795l. 13s. 6d. the amount of all the expences to make the marſh paſture land.

Letters

Letters from Mr. John Ball, *of* Williton, *giving an account of his method of preparing Opium from Poppies grown in* England.—*From the ſame.*

My lords and gentlemen,

BY your ſecretary, Mr. More, I received your reſolutions reſpecting your purchaſing from me the mode of my preparing the ſample of opium which I took the liberty of ſending to you for your particular inſpection, and at the ſame time to beg the favour of your having a ſufficient trial of its properties, which I find you have been ſo obliging as to have done; and likewiſe have granted to me the fifty guineas as a purchaſe of my method of preparing opium; for which you have my ſincere thanks; and I am exceedingly pleaſed to find, that it was thought worthy the notice of ſo honourable and reſpectable a ſociety; and am ſatisfied there can be no other mode of preparing or collecting the true and genuine opium, than what follows.

Nothing can be more ſimple, or attended with leſs expence, than the making or extracting the pure and genuine opium from the large poppies, commonly called or known by the name of garden poppies; the ſeeds of which I would adviſe to be ſown the latter end of February, and again about the ſecond week in March, in beds three feet and an half wide, well prepared with good rotten dung, and often turned or ploughed, in order to mix it well and have it fine, either in ſmall drills, three in each bed, in the manner ſallads are ſown, and, when about two inches high, to thin them one foot apart; or otherwiſe, to ſow them in beds in the broad-caſt way, and thin them to the ſame diſtance (if the weather ſhould prove wet at that time, thoſe that are taken up may be tranſplanted; but I do not ſuppoſe the tranſplanted ones will anſwer, having but one ſpill-root, and will require frequent waterings): keep them free from weeds, they will grow well, and produce from four to ten heads, ſhewing large and different coloured flowers, which, when the leaves die away and drop off, the pods then being in a green ſtate, is the proper time for extracting the opium, by making four or five ſmall longitudinal inciſions with a ſharp-pointed knife, about one inch long, on one ſide only of the head or pod, juſt through the ſcarf-ſkin, taking care not to cut to the ſeeds: immediately on the inciſion being made, a milky fluid will iſſue out, which is the opium, and, being of a glutinous nature or ſubſtance, will adhere to the bottom of the inciſion; but ſome are ſo luxuriant, that it will drop from the pod on the leaves underneath. The next day, if the weather ſhould be fine, and a good deal of ſunſhine, the opium will be found a greyiſh ſubſtance, and ſome almoſt turning black: it is then to be ſcraped off the pods, and, if any, from the leaves, with the edge of a knife, or an inſtrument for that purpoſe, into pans or pots; and in a day or two it will be of a proper conſiſtence to make into a maſs, and to be potted.

As ſoon as you have taken away all the opium from one ſide of the pod, then make inciſions on the oppoſite ſide, and proceed in the ſame manner. The reaſon of my not making the inciſions all around at the firſt, is, that you cannot ſo conveniently take away the opium; but every perſon, upon trial, will be the beſt judge. Children may with eaſe be ſoon taught to make the inciſions, and

and take off the opium; ſo that the expence will be found exceedingly trifling.

The ſmall white ſeeds in that ſtate will be found very ſweet and pleaſant, and may be eat without the leaſt danger; and it is the cuſtom in the eaſt to carry a plate of them to the table, after dinner, with other fruits.

I intend this year to keep apart a ſmall quantity of opium from each coloured poppy, to find out if any one more than another produces the greateſt quantity, or of the greateſt ſtrength; and ſhall ſave ſeeds of each, to ſow ſeparately the next ſpring.

I am of opinion, that numbers of incloſures taken from hills in a ſouth aſpect, with a very little expence, may be brought into a proper ſtate for the growth of poppies.

I ſhould think that an inſtrument may be made of a concave form, with four or five pointed lances, about the twelfth or fourteenth part of an inch, to make the inciſions at once; and likewiſe ſomething of the rake-kind, ſo that the three drills which I have directed to be made in each bed, may be performed at the ſame time.

By a calculation which I have made, ſuppoſing one poppy, growing in one ſquare foot of earth, and producing only one grain of opium, more than fifty pounds will be collected from off one ſtatute acre of land; but, upon recollecting that one poppy produces from three, four, to ten heads, and in each from ſix to ten inciſions are made; and I am poſitive, from many of them (I mean one inciſion) the laſt year, I took away two or three grains. What muſt then be the produce? Opium is now twenty-two ſhillings the pound.

I am,
My lords and gentlemen,
Your moſt obliged and moſt
devoted humble ſervant,
JOHN BALL.

Williton,
June 2, 1795.

SIR,

I HAVE this day ſent you, by the coach from Bridgewater, the opium which I promiſed you; and take this opportunity of informing you reſpecting the poppies. If you recollect, I was fearful that the tranſplanted ones would not anſwer, and am now convinced, having a large quantity of poppies which had ſown themſelves: when of a proper ſize, I tranſplanted about four thouſand in beds, but not one ſingle plant came to perfection; therefore, ſhall never tranſplant any more; and, not having ſaved any ſeeds the laſt year, owing to my not being at home at the proper time, I could not ſow any. The bed where the poppies had ſown themſelves was five hundred and ſeventy-ſix feet ſquare, from which I collected about four ounces of opium, notwithſtanding the plants were very thick; and, to ſhew you the advantage of giving them ſufficient room, from ſome few plants which were detached, I took from fifteen to thirty-four grains: theſe had ſown themſelves on ground that had been well manured with rotten dung, which points out the utility of good cultivation: the ſemi-double, and thoſe of a dark colour, produced the moſt opium. The pods ſhould be about the ſize of a walnut, before you make the inciſion: the dried poppy-heads which I had from the druggiſt in London, are full three times as big as what mine are, conſequently

ſequently muſt produce a much greater quantity of opium.

I am, ſir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN BALL.

Williton,
Auguſt 22, 1795.
Mr. MORE.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the favour of your letter dated the 10th inſtant, by which I find you have extracted ſome opium from ſingle poppies; if you will pleaſe to advert to my letter of inſtructions for ſuch purpoſe, I ſaid I had collected my opium from double or ſemi-double poppies, which accidentally grew in my garden; by which I find the produce to be more than double what you collected from the ſingle: as a proof, I will do myſelf the pleaſure of ſending you ſome opium, which I have abſolutely collected myſelf this year from one poppy; I ſhould ſuppoſe it more than thirty grains: twenty-eight heads grew on that poppy: it was of the ſemi-double kind. I ſhall likewiſe ſend you ſome of the heads from which I extracted the opium, being far preferable to the ſingle, as appears from the produce of each.

I remain, Sir,
Your very humble ſervant,
JOHN BALL.

Williton,
Sept 12, 1795.
Mr. MORE.

Theſe letters are followed by certificates, from eminent medical gentlemen, eſtabliſhing the claims of the Engliſh opium to equal ſtrength with the foreign, and to ſuperior flavour and purity.

Method of reſtoring the Bark to Trees.

[*From the ſame.*]

IN the ſeverity of the ſpring of 1794, ſome fatted ſheep were turned into a valuable orchard of mine, of about twenty years growth, and they in a ſhort time actually ſtripped the bark from ſeveral of the trees, entirely round the bodies, leaving the wood bare for at leaſt ſixteen inches.

I was ſo much hurt by this accident as to determine to do ſomething for the preſervation of the trees, and ſave them, if poſſible. The firſt ſtep I took was to take off the arms from ſeveral of the trees which were moſt injured; and, from the largeſt of thoſe arms, I flawed off ſlips of rind of about two or three inches in width, and placed four or five of them perpendicularly round the naked part of the body; but I ſhould obſerve, that I firſt cut away all the rind that was bitten, and then raiſed the rind up, top and bottom, and put the ends of the ſlips under, that the ſap might circulate; and afterwards bound them exceedingly tight with rope yarn: I then applied a compoſition of loam and cow-dung with a little drift ſand, over which I tied ſome old ſacking; which was the whole of the proceſs.

Mr. Dyot Buckhall, perceiving this method very likely to ſucceed, requeſted I would help to give a recital, the heads of which we wrote upon the ſpot, and he aſſured me he had ſent them to you: but leſt he may have made any miſtake, he wiſhed I would ſend you the account myſelf.

The experiment being made in the

the ſpring of 1794, a minute inſpection at this time muſt determine the fate of it; and, permit me to aſſure you, it has ſucceeded far beyond my expectation: the ſlips adhere as cloſe, and are as full of ſap, as the rind on any other trees. They are now in their full bloſſom, ſtrong, and vigorous, apparently as if they had received no injury. But I muſt obſerve, were I to make the experiment again, I could do it more dexterouſly; and I muſt mention an error I was guilty of in haſte, by placing ſome of the ſlips the wrong way upwards; conſequently the ſap could not circulate.

Method of renovating decayed Apple-Trees.

[*From* Wanſey's *Journal of an Excurſion to the* United States.]

Mr. PRIAM, at dinner one day, was telling us, that in the neighbourhood of Worceſter, in Connecticut, when their apple-trees grew old and decayed, it was cuſtomary to ſtrip off the bark from ſuch trees, and then they would have a new ſmooth bark, and bear with freſh vigour. This diverted Mr. Genet extremely; he was too polite to ſay directly, that he doubted the fact, but declared, that he thought the receipt for reſtoring youth had been loſt ever ſince the days of Medea; that it was a moſt happy diſcovery, and if it could be removed from trees to men, he would himſelf, when he was old, undergo the operation, and publiſh the receipt for the good of mankind. We all rallied the gentleman a good deal upon it, as it is generally underſtood, when you ſtrip a tree of its bark, you kill it. Mr. Priam, however, the next day, brought Mr. White, another gentleman of Connecticut, to us at breakfaſt, who confirmed the aſſertion as a fact within his own knowledge, with this additional circumſtance, that great care is taken not to injure the inner bark, from whence a gummy ſubſtance oozed, which formed the outer rind, as perfect and ſmooth as on a young tree, and that the trees were actually thereby renovated.

On the Uſe of Rice, by Thomas Barnard, eſq. Treaſurer to the Foundling Hoſpital.

IN the beginning of laſt ſummer, when every individuals attention was directed to the ſaving of flour, one of the firſt meaſures adopted with that view in the Foundling hoſpital was, to ſubſtitute rice-puddings for thoſe of flour, which, by the table of diet, were uſed for the children's dinner twice a week; and the reſult of the experiment proved, that one pound of rice would, in point of nutriment, ſupply the place of eight pounds of flour. The flour-puddings for each day had conſiſted of 168lb. of flour, 14lb. of ſuet, and 14 gallons of milk, and coſt 3l. 2s. 3d. The rice-puddings, ſubſtituted in their place, were made of 21lb. of rice, 16lb. of raiſins, and 14 gallons of milk, and coſt 1l. 9s. 2d. being not quite half the expence of the flour puddings. The 21lb. of rice was found to produce the ſame quantity of food as the 168lb. of flour; but being more liked by the children, the quantity of rice has ſince been increaſed to 24lb.

The increaſe that rice acquires by

by being baked with milk, may be aſcertained by baking in a common pan, without any previous preparation, eight ounces of rice, four ounces of raiſins, and two ounces of brown ſugar, with two quarts of milk, which, at the expence of about nine-pence, will produce four pound and a half weight of ſolid, nutritious, and pleaſant food.

To ſhew, however, that the increaſe of bulk and weight is not merely, though partly, owing to the milk, but chiefly to the nutritious quality of rice,—take a quarter of a pound of plain rice, and tie it up in a bag, ſo looſe as to be capable of holding about five times that quantity, and boil it, it will produce above a pound of ſolid rice food; which, however eaſy the cookery, will, if eaten with either ſweet or ſavoury ſauce, make a good palatable pudding.

If to the quarter of a pound of rice is added an egg, a pint of milk, a little ſugar and nutmeg, it will make a better pudding than is made with either flour or bread. Obſerve, that it is only to the boiled pudding the egg ſhould be added.

Rice is alſo a good ingredient in bread. Boil a quarter of a pound of rice till it is ſoft; then put it on the back part of a ſieve to drain it, and, when it is cold, mix it with three quarters of a pound of flour, a tea-cup full of yeaſt, a tea-cup full of milk, and a ſmall table-ſpoon full of ſalt. Let it ſtand for three hours; then knead it up, and roll it up in about a handful of flour, ſo as to make the outſide dry enough to put into the oven. About an hour and a quarter will bake at, and it will produce one pound fourteen ounces of very good white bread. The loaves ſhould be ſmall, not larger than what is above-mentioned. It ſhould not be ate till it is two days old.

N. B. The draining of the rice will ſupply the place of ſtarch for common articles.

In addition to the above, it is to be obſerved, that with a little bacon and ſeaſoning, or any other meat, or with cheeſe, it ſtews down into a cheap and ſavoury diſh, and that there is hardly any preparation of baked or boiled meat in which rice is not an economical and uſeful ingredient.

The preceding calculations were made when rice was at a higher price than at preſent. It will probably be much cheaper, as large quantities of rice are expected.

The nutritious quality of rice is attended with this benefit, that it is a food upon which hard work can be done. It contains a great deal of nutriment in a ſmall compaſs, and does not paſs quickly off the ſtomach, as ſome other of the ſubſtitutes for wheat flour do; but is bracing and ſtrengthening, and conſequently very uſeful and proper for the laborious part of the community.

Mode of preventing the Water in Sheep.

[*From the European Magazine.*]

SIR,

IT has often been remarked how little the diſorders incident to ſheep are even known in ſheep countries. The common ſhepherds keep pace with the common farriers, and only obſerve, *that the animals have always died, muſt die, and they cannot help it.*

The following experiment, therefore, may be uſeful to be made public,

lie, communicated to me by a tenant of mine.

A farmer near Kilham turned his flock of ſheep into a field of turnips he had hired, which were remarkably ſtrong and good. In a ſhort time he loſt about twenty of them by the diſorder called the WATER. He grew ſo alarmed in conſequence, that he removed his ſheep, and would eat no more of the turnips. On this the owner of the land remonſtrated, and inſiſted on the turnips being eaten upon the ground. After ſome little time and altercation, the farmer brought back his flock, and ſhortly after about ſix more died. On this he took his final leave of the turnips, and ſaid, *they killed ſheep, and he would have nothing more to do with them.*

The owner of the land had them publicly cried, but the turnips had got ſo bad a name, that with no little difficulty they were let at half price. The next farmer ſent on his ſheep, and in a ſhort time loſt about eight or ten. On this ſecond diſaſter the reputation of the turnips was gone entirely, and my tenant had the offer of them for nothing, provided he would eat them up, to which he agreed.

He ſent there *ſix hundred and thirty ſheep*, ſo that the experiment was a very full and fair one. The method he purſued he had heard of in Northumberland. As ſoon as the ſheep had filled themſelves with the turnips, he made his ſhepherd go amongſt them and move them about. They voided in conſequence a good deal of water. He did this for ſome days at ſtated intervals, and ſometimes made his ſhepherd go amongſt them in the middle of the night. By this method they were never ſuffered to lie long and ſwell with what they had eaten. The conſequence of this proceeding was, that after eating up the whole of theſe fatal turnips, he removed his ſix hundred and thirty ſheep all in good condition, without the loſs of a ſingle ſheep.

Two circumſtances may fairly be deduced from the above experiment: The firſt, that the complaint of the Water, which frequently kills ſheep when firſt put on to turnips, ariſes from their gorging themſelves with this watery food, and then remaining without exerciſe to carry off the beginning complaint: The ſecond, that this method may tend to prevent the diſorder, at the ſmall expence of a little trouble to the ſhepherd.

Should this method prove on trial as ſucceſsful as the experiment gives the hope, the farmer will have many reaſons to thank the man who tried it, and the public will be obliged by the communication. In that caſe the more it is circulated the better.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient humble ſervant,
EDWARD TOPHAM.

Wold Cottage, near Driffield,
April 26.

A new Method of raiſing Wheat for a ſeries of years, on the ſame Land. By Dr. Hunter, *of* York.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

THE erroneous idea that plants draw from the earth ſuch particles only as are congenial to their own natures, has probably occaſioned the farming maxim, "That wheat cannot be raiſed for a ſeries of years upon the ſame land." But the truth is, that under the broad-caſt huſbandry,

bandry, there is not ſufficient time for manuring and ſtirring the earth, between the operations of reaping and ſowing. Such being the caſe, may we not remove the obſtacle by ſubſtituting *tranſplantation* for *ſowing*. With a view to decide upon this important queſtion, a gentleman has inſtituted the following experiment:—In October 1795, a quart of wheat was drilled in a piece of garden ground, and on the 22d of March, 1796, the plants were taken up and tranſplanted into a field, which before had borne a crop of potatoes. The ſoil was a light loam, and contained ſix hundred ſquare yards, or half a rood. The land was only once ploughed, harrowed, and rolled, after which the plants were pricked down at the depth of one inch within the ground, and at the diſtance of nine inches from each other, each ſquare yard containing ſixteen plants. The expence of planting out was, by a ſkilful farmer, eſtimated at one guinea per acre, ſuppoſing the work to be chiefly done by women and children. At this time (June 14) the plants make a fine appearance, not one of them having failed. Should this experiment anſwer the purpoſe for which it is made, it is propoſed after the crop is cut down, to have the land ploughed and manured, in order to prepare it for receiving another crop of tranſplanted wheat in the ſpring; and it is alſo propoſed to continue the experiment for a number of ſucceſſive years, in order to determine the doubtful point, "Whether wheat "can be raiſed for a ſeries of years "upon the ſame land?" Independently, however, of the original purpoſe for which the experiment was inſtituted, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the tranſplantation of wheat for a ſingle year, will turn out a beneficial improvement.

The following reaſons preſent themſelves:

1. The ſcheme ſaves eleven-twelfths of the ſeed uſually ſown.

2. It employs the feeble hands of the village at a time when they have but little work.

3. Land that in winter has become too wet for ſowing, may be planted in the ſpring, whereby it will be kept in its regular courſe of tillage.

4. The wheat may be hoed at a ſmall expence, which will keep the land clean, and ſave hand-weeding in ſummer.

5. The crop will probably exceed in quantity.

6. It will give the farmer a taſte for garden culture, which will inſenſibly remove that ſlovenlineſs too generally obſerved in farming operations.

7. Wheat may be tranſplanted upon any land, however light, if a judgment may be formed from a ſmall experiment made this year upon a piece of land, almoſt too light for rye.

8. As it ſeems to be an eſtabliſhed law in nature, that land will not puſh up more ſtalks from one ſeed than ſhe can well ſupport, it follows that the greater the ſurface a plant has to ſtand upon, the greater will be the number of ſtems produced. In this mode of culture, each plant has eighty-one inches of ſoil to grow upon, whereas in the broad-caſt huſbandry, the plants have only twelve inches.

9. Land, inſtead of lying waſte under a ſummer fallow, may be made to produce a crop of cabbages, turnips, peas, beans, potatoes, or ſummer

mer vetches, as preparatory to its being planted with wheat.

10. Should experience prove the juſtneſs of this idea, a field of five acres, kept conſtantly under tranſplanted wheat, will afford a ſufficient ſupply of bread-corn for a family of fourteen perſons.

This experiment was made in a field at Middlethorp, near York, belonging to Samuel Barlow, eſq.

Obſervations.—The crop was much neglected during its growth, not having been properly hoed. Beſides, it was much blighted and mildewed, owing, as ſuppoſed, to its growing in the middle of a field of very tall oats, whereby it was deprived of a free circulation of air. An experienced farmer eſtimated the loſs by mildew and neglect, at ſix buſhels per acre. Produce eleven pecks; which is at the rate of twenty-two buſhels per acre.

EXPERIMENT II.—Produce of tranſplanted wheat on one hundred and one ſquare yards, or the forty-eighth part of an acre—four pecks. This produce is at the rate of forty-eight buſhels per acre. The plants nine inches from each other.

Obſervations.—The land on which this experiment was made, was better wheat land than the former, and every neceſſary attention was beſtowed upon the crop. Having been planted a month later than the other experiment, with a view to aſcertain the beſt time for tranſplanting, the plants were thereby induced to tiller *more than neceſſary*, during the whole of the ſummer. I am inclined to think, that the ſecond week in March is the beſt time for tranſplanting wheat, for about that time the ſecond roots begin to ſprout from the crown. In both experiments, the ears of corn were uncommonly long. From the great ſpace allowed for each plant (eighteen inches), it becomes eſſentially neceſſary that the land ſhould have two, if not three, hoeings during the ſummer. It will be almoſt unneceſſary to remark, that when wheat is intended to be cultivated for a ſeries of years on the ſame land, that the ſame quantity of manure, and the ſame number of plowings, ſhould be annually beſtowed upon it, as if only intended for a ſingle crop. It is propoſed to continue theſe lands under wheat for ſome ſucceſſive years, in order to determine whether the ſame land can be made to produce wheat for a ſeries of years, a thing of great importance, and hitherto deemed impracticable. By combining theſe two experiments with all their advantages and diſadvantages, we may fairly eſtimate an acre of tranſplanted wheat at thirty-two buſhels, a crop conſiderably above the average of this country.

Mr. R. Tillyer Blunt's *new-invented Compoſition to be uſed inſtead of Yeaſt.*

TO make a yeaſt gallon of the above compoſition to be uſed as yeaſt, ſuch yeaſt gallon containing, and to contain, eight beer quarts, boil in common water eight pounds of potatoes, as for eating; bruiſe them perfectly ſmooth, and mix with them, whilſt warm, two ounces of honey, or any other ſweet, and one quart (being the eighth part of a gallon of yeaſt) of common yeaſt.

And, for making bread, mix three beer-pints of the above compoſition with a buſhel of flour, uſing warm water in making the bread; the water to be warmer in winter than in ſummer; and the compoſition to be uſed in a few hours after it is made; and as ſoon as the ſponge (the mixture of the compoſition with the flour) begins to fall the firſt time, the bread ſhould be made and put in the oven.

ANTIQUITIES.

On the ſtyle of Dreſs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

[*From the Continuation of Dr.* Henry's Hiſtory *of* England. *By* J. P. Andrews, *eſq.*]

TOWARDS the cloſe of the century the dreſs was again altered in many reſpects. The hat became more gay in appearance; it was covered with ſilk or velvet, but the beaver hat was the moſt expenſive, as it coſt from thirty to forty ſhillings. There were taffeta hats worn, with "monſters, antiques, "beaſts, fowles, and all manner of "pictures," embroidered with ſilk, gold, and ſilver.

The crown of the hat now grew high and narrowed towards the top, and had ſometimes a rich hat-band, adorned by goldſmith's work and precious ſtones*, which, with a feather and ſcarlet cloke, marked the man of diſtinction. The wearing of felt hats was a much more ancient cuſtom than is in general ſuppoſed. They are ſpoken of in Lydgate's 'London Licke-pennie†,' a poem made in the fifteenth century.

That of black velvet, with a red feather and band, was faſhionable in 1571.

The hair was now cut cloſe on the top of the head, and grew long on the ſides.

Jewels were ſometimes worn in the ear by ſhewy young men‡, and ſometimes ribbands.

* "My hat band. A row of diamonds of a thouſand markes!" *The Witts.*

"I had on a new cable hat-band, of maſſie goldſmith's work, then new come up, "which I wore about a murrey French hat, the brims of which were thick embroidered "with gold twiſt and ſpangles." *Every Man out of his Humour.*

† "Where Flemynger began on me for to cry:
"Maſter what will you chepen or bye?
"Fine *felt hats*, or ſpectacles to rede;
"Lay down your ſylver and here you may ſpede." *Lydgate.*

‡ Maſter Matthew, in 'Every Man in his Humour,' propoſes 'to pawn the jewel in 'his ear,' to pay for the warrant againſt Downright. Fuſtidio, in 'Every Man out of 'his Humour,' boaſts of his miſtreſs' favours, 'this ſcarf, or this ribband for my ear, &c. '&c.' The poet Gaſcoigne, as he draws his own picture, preſenting his book to Elizabeth, has a ſtill different ear ornament, a pen; and thus he ſings:

"Beholde, good queene, a poett with a ſpeare,
"(Straundge fightes well mark'd are underſtode the better)
"A ſoldier armde with penſyle in his eare;
"With pen to fighte, and ſworde to write a letter."
Frontiſpiece to Gaſcoigne's Tranſlation of "The Heremyte."

The beard was exceedingly leſſened*, and gradually dwindled into muſtachos† or whiſkers.

An old hiſtorian thus deſcants on the various beards of his age: "Some "are ſhaven from the chin lyke "thoſe of the Turkes; not a few cut "ſhort like the beard of Marques "Otto; ſome made round like a rub-"bing bruſh; others with a pique "devàn; Oh, fine faſhion! others "being ſuffered to grow long; the "barbers being growen as cunnynge "in this behalfe as the taylours. "And therefore, if a man have a lean "and ſtreight face, a Marquis Ot-"ton's cut will make it broad and "large; if it be platter like, a long "ſlender beard will make it ſeem the "narrower; if he be weaſel-beaked, "then ſo much haire left on the "cheakes will make the owner look "big like a bowdled hen, and ſo "grymme as a gooſe," &c.

The ruff became large, but not ſo much ſo as that of the ladies; it was ſometimes double, ſometimes wired, and ſometimes ſtiffened with yellow ſtarch. It exceeded all bounds, ſo far, that at length it caught the eye of the exact Elizabeth; who, equally diſpleaſed with that monſtrous garb, and with the length of the rapier of the day, directed officers to attend, and to clip the ruffs and ſhorten the ſwords of offenders againſt her rules.

The thick and ſtuffed garment now was diminiſhed to a long jacket‡, like a waiſtcoat, made of ſilk or ſatin, with a large cape and long cloſe ſleeves. The petticoat diſappeared; and the breeches, having diſcarded their indelicate and burleſque appendage, ended far above the knees§, where they were met by a ſtocking, not woven to fit the leg, but cut out by a taylor, from 'ſilk, velvet, da-'maſke, or other precious ſtoffe.' The coſt of this part of the dreſs was incredibly high.

The venerable Harriſon is laudably ſevere on the pains neceſſarily taken to make this ungovernable hoſe ſit ſmoothly on the leg. "Then" ſays he, "muſt the long ſeames of "our hoſe be ſet by a plumb-line; "then we puffe, then we blowe, "finally we ſweat till we drop, that "our clothes may ſtand well upon "us."

Roſes of very high prices were frequently worn on the ſhoes of faſhionable men. Sometimes the ſhoes had buckles of ſilver, or copper gilt. The garters coſt no more than about ſix ſhillings the pair, which in the next reign was hardly bought

* Yet the reverend John More, of Norwich, continued, during the reign of Elizabeth, to diſplay a moſt enormous beard, "That no act of my life," ſaid he, "may be un-"worthy of the gravity of my appearance."

† Very early in the 17th century, M. de Bouteville, condemned to loſe his head for a duel at Paris, was ſeverely reprimanded by the prieſt who attended his laſt moments, for taking great pains to lay his muſtachos on the block in ſuch a poſition that the axe might not diſcompoſe them. *Eſſais de St. Foix.*

‡ Yet of this reformed garment, the querulous Stubs complains, as being "ſo hard quilt-"ed, ſtuffed, bombaſted, and ſewed, as they can neither worke nor yet well play in "them, nor can the wearer 'bow himſelf to the ground,' ſo ſtiff and ſtordy they ſtand "about him." *Anatomie of Abuſes.*

§ Nailor came through London apparelled in a doublet and galey-gaſcoigne* breeches, all of crimſon ſattin, cut and raced.

* Hence the ludicrous word 'Gallygarſkins.'

Antiquar. Report, Vol. I.

for

for five pounds. The corked ſhoes, pantoffles, or pinſnets, were often of velvet, embroidered with gold or ſilver; and it was the mode to let the heel project an inch or two beyond that of the pantoffle, much to the inconvenience of the wearer.

The ſwords and daggers were richly gilt, the blades damaſked, and the ſcabbards covered with velvet.

The dreſs of the ſervant ſeems to have depended more on the maſter's caprice than on the faſhion*.

The head dreſs of the ladies varied much during the reign of Elizabeth.

The fly-cap, which was faſhionable in 1770, when formed of pearls, was the exact head-dreſs of her court ladies. Some ladies had a ſmall cap with a veil, which was thrown behind the neck. Some had† vaſt loads of falſe hair; others wore the hair entirely uncovered, and braided behind. Aldermen's wives had bonnets of velvet, large and ſhewy. A favourite covering for the head was 'the French hood,' which appears to have been a gauze or muſlin hood, ſhewing the hair on each ſide, and drawn from the back of the head down the forehead. The 'mi-'never cap,' which was white and three cornered, and whoſe peaks ſtood three inches above the head, was chiefly worn by citizen's wives. Chains and bracelets were ornaments uſed moſtly by women of rank.

The ruffs, made of lawn and cambrick, were immoderately large, and ſtiffened with‡ yellow ſtarch. They reached to the upper part of the head behind, and 'the poking of 'them' gracefully was a moſt important attainment§.

The waiſt became enormouſly long; and the bodice or ſtays finiſhed with a moſt extended point in front at bottom. To ſet this deforming

* A runaway page was thus deſcribed in the reign of Elizabeth:

Theſe are to pray you, &c. to make hew and cry for a yonge ſtripling aged twenty-two years, with one doblet of yellow million fuſtion, the one half buttoned with peche coloured buttons, the other half laced downwards. One payer of peche coloured hoſe, laced with ſmall tawnye lace. A graye hat, with a copper edge round it; a pair of watched ſtockinges. He hath two clokes, the one of weſſey collor, garded with two yards of black cloth and twiſted lace of carnacyon collor, and lined with crimſon bayes; the other is a red ſkipp ruſſet colour, ſtriped about the cape; and down the fore face twiſted with two rows of twiſted lace; ruſſet and gold buttons afore and upon the ſhoulder, being of the clothe itſelf, ſet with the ſaid twiſted lace, and the buttons of ruſſet ſilk and gold. *Antiqu. Report. Vol. II.*

† About 1595, ſuch quantities of falſe hair were worn, that women were on the watch to ſeduce children who had fine hair to private places, that they might poll their locks. *Stub's Anatomie of Abuſe.*

Stowe informs us that women's periwigs were firſt brought into England about the time of the maſſacre at Paris, A.D. 1572. *Mr. Steven's Notes on Timon of Athens.*

"That beaver band, the colour of that periwig."
A mad World, my Maſters.

‡ A Mrs. Dingen Van Pleſſe introduced both yellow ſtarch, and the uſe of lawn for ruffs. It was ſo very fine, "that it became a bye word," ſays Stowe, "that ſhortly they would "wear ruffes of a ſpider's web." Soon after the ladies began to ſend their daughters and kinſwomen to learn the art of ſtarching; ſhe received four or five pounds for teaching theſe to ſtarch, and twenty ſhillings for teaching them 'to ſeethe ſtarche.'

§ The ill-natured Puritans of the day exult in picturing a 'ſhoure of raine to catch 'them (the wearers of ſuch ruffs) before they can get harbour; then theyre great ruffs 'ſtrike ſayle, and down they falle, as diſh-clouts fluttering in the winde.'

faſhion in a more glaring light, the upper part of the gown, near the ſhoulders, appeared to be enlarged conſiderably by wool or other ſtuffing.

The fardingale, a Spaniſh petticoat, bulky over the hips, now went out of faſhion; it had probably been introduced during the connection of Philip and Mary; the moſt faſhionable ones were the Scottiſh fardingales. Howel intimates that this faſhion was invented to ſcreen unlicenſed pregnancy; and tranſlates the Spaniſh 'guard infanta,' by the term 'cover infant;' probably an error, as 'infanta,' in the Spaniſh tongue, means 'princeſs.'

Of this part of female attire, the humourous Heywood thus ſings.

On the faſhion of wearing Verdingales.

"Alas! poor verdingales muſt lie i' th' ſtreet;
"To houſe them no doore i'th' citee's made meete.
"Syns at our narrow doores they cannot win,
"Send them to Oxforde at Brode-gate to get in."

Perfumed gloves, ornamented with tufts of roſe-coloured ſilk, were ſo much the delight of Elizabeth, that ſhe would always be drawn with her favourite pair (preſented by Vere, earl of Oxford, returned from Italy) on her hands. Silk ſtockings, too, came in with Elizabeth; Mrs. Montagu, her ſilk woman, having preſented her with a pair of black ſilk hoſe in 1650, ſhe would never wear cloth ſtockings again. Her father, Henry, had worn cloth hoſe, and her brother, Edward, unleſs once when ſir Thomas Greſham gave him a pair of Spaniſh black ſilk. Knit ſtockings were firſt introduced to the Engliſh court by William, earl of Pembroke. A pair had been preſented to him by William Rider, an apprentice near London bridge, who made them in imitation of a pair brought from Mantua.

The pocket handkerchiefs of the ladies were frequently wrought with gold and ſilver, and their ſhifts were richly embroidered*. The chopine†, or chiopina, is ſometimes mentioned; it was an Italian ſhoe, with an heel ridiculouſly high.

The travelling dreſs of a lady was a large cloke and a ſafeguard‡, or huge outward petticoat.

* In the old ballad of George Barnwell, it is ſaid of Milwood,
"A handkerchief ſhe had,
"All wrought with beaten gold;
"Which ſhe to ſtay her trickling tears,
"Before her eyes did hold."
Rel. of Ant. Engliſh Poetry.

And in the ancient ditty of Lord Thomas and fair Annette, that lady ſays,
"My maids go to my dreſſing room,
"And dreſs me to my ſmocke;
"The one half is o' th' Holland fine,
"The other o' needle wo'k."
Strutt's Cuſtoms

† "As if her new chopines would ſcorn to bruiſe a ſilly flower."
Ram Alley, Act 5. Sc. 1.

‡ "The gentlewomen in cloakes and ſafeguards."
Stage Direction. Merry Devil of Edmonton, Act I.
"On with your cloak and ſafeguard, you arrant drab!"
Ram Alley, Act 1. Sc. 1.

A ſhort

A ſhort Account of ſeveral Gardens near London; with Remarks on ſome Particulars wherein they excel or are deficient; upon a view of them in December, 1691.—From "The Archæologia," Vol. XII. with additional Notes, from the European Magazine.]

1. HAMPTON-COURT GARDEN is a large plat environed with an iron paliſade round about next the park. laid all in walks, graſs plats, and borders. Next to the houſe, ſome flat and broad beds are ſet with narrow rows of dwarf box, in figures like lace patterns. In one of the leſſer gardens is a large green-houſe divided into ſeveral rooms, and all of them with ſtoves under them, and fire to keep a continual heat. In theſe there are no orange or lemon trees, or myrtles, or any greens, but ſuch tender foreign ones that need continual warmth.

2. *Kenſington Gardens* are not great, nor abounding with fine plants. The orange, lemon, myrtles, and what other trees they had there in ſummer, were all removed to Mr. London's and Mr. Wiſe's green-houſe*, at Brompton-park, a little mile from them. But the walks and graſs laid very fine, and they were digging up a flat of four or five acres to enlarge their garden.

3. *The Queen Dowager's*† *Garden at Hammerſmith* has a good green-houſe, with a high erected front to the ſouth, whence the roof falls backward. The houſe is well ſtored with greens of common kinds; but the queen not being for curious plants or flowers, they were not of the moſt curious ſorts of greens, and in the garden there is little of value but wall trees; though the gardener there, Monſ. Hermon Van Guine, is a man of great ſkill and induſtry, having raiſed great numbers of orange and lemon trees by inoculation, with myrtles, Roman bayes, and other greens of pretty ſhapes, which he has to diſpoſe of.

4. *Beddington Garden*‡, at preſent in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk,

* Theſe perſons are mentioned by Mr. Addiſon in the Spectator, No. 477, in theſe terms: "London and Wiſe are our heroic poets: and if as a critic I may ſingle out any paſſage of their works to commend, I ſhall take notice of that part of the upper garden of Kenſington, which was at firſt nothing but a gravel-pit. It muſt have been a fine genius for gardening, that could have thought of forming ſuch an unſightly hollow into ſo beautiful an area, and to have hit the eye with ſo uncommon and agreeable a ſcene as that which it is now wrought into. To give this particular ſpot of ground the greater effect, they have made a very pleaſing contraſt; for as on the one ſide of the walk you ſee this hollow baſon, with its ſeveral little plantations lying ſo conveniently under the eye of the beholder; on the other ſide of it there appears a ſeeming mound, made up of trees, riſing one higher than another in proportion as they approach the center. A ſpectator who has not heard this account of it, would think this circular mount was not only a real one, but that it had been actually ſcooped out of that hollow ſpace which I have before mentioned. I never yet met with any one who has walked in this garden, who was not ſtruck with that part of it which I have here mentioned."

† Katharine, widow of Charles II. The houſe ſhe reſided in is by the water ſide, now an academy in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Jones. *Lyſons's Environs of London*, Vol. II. p. 406. Since pulled down. *Ed. A. R.*

‡ This garden was laid out by Sir Francis Carew in the reign of queen Elizabeth. He planted it with choice fruit trees, in which he took great delight, and ſpared no expence in procuring them from foreign countries. The firſt orange trees in England are ſaid to have been planted by him. Aubrey ſays, they were brought from Italy by ſir Francis

Norfolk, but belonging to the family of Carew, has in it the beſt orangery in England. The orange and lemon trees there grow in the ground, and have done ſo for near one hundred years, as the gardener, an aged man, ſaid he believed. There are a great number of them, the houſe wherein they are being above two hundred feet long; they are moſt of them thirteen feet high, and very full of fruit, the gardener not having taken off ſo many flowers this laſt ſummer as uſually others do. He ſaid, he gathered off them at leaſt ten thouſand oranges this laſt year. The heir of the family being but five years of age, the truſtees take care of the orangery, and this year they built a new houſe over them. There are ſome myrtles growing among them, but they look not well for want of trimming. The reſt of the garden is all out of order, the orangery being the gardener's chief care; but it is capable of being made one of the beſt gardens in England, the ſoil being very agreeable, and a clear ſilver ſtream running through it.

5. *Chelſea Phyſic Garden* has great variety of plants, both in and out of green-houſes. Their perennial green hedges and rows of different-coloured herbs are very pretty, and ſo are their banks ſet with ſhades of herbs in the Iriſh ſtick way; but many plants of the garden were not in ſo good order as might be expected, and as would have been anſwerable to other things in it. After I had been there, I heard that Mr. Watts*, the keeper of it, was blamed for his neglect, and that he would be removed.

6. *My Lord Ranelagh's Garden* being but lately made, the plants are but ſmall; but the plats, borders, and walks, are curiouſly kept and elegantly deſigned, having the advantage of opening into Chelſea College walks. The kitchen garden there lies very fine, with walks and ſeats, one of which being large and covered, was then under the hands of a curious painter. The houſe there is very fine within, all the rooms being wainſcoted with Norway oak, and all the chimnies adorned with carving, as in the council-chamber in Chelſea college.

7. *Arlington Garden*†, being now in the hands of my lord of Devonſhire, is a fair plat, with good

Carew, from the ſeeds of the firſt oranges which were imported into England by ſir Walter Raleigh, who had married his niece, the daughter of ſir Nicholas Throckmorton? the trees were planted in the open ground, and were preſerved in the winter by a moveable ſhed; they flouriſhed for about a century and a half, being deſtroyed by the hard froſt in 1739-40.

* A few years before this period Mr. Watts ſeems to have conducted himſelf to the ſatisfaction at leaſt of ſir Hans Sloane, who in 1683 ſays he (Watts) had been very ſucceſsful in the management of his plants, and expreſſes ſome wonder that the *Cedrus montis Libani*, an inhabitant of a very different climate, ſhould thrive ſo well in the open air as to propagate itſelf by layers, and that ſeed ſown the laſt Autumn had ſucceeded very well. Miller ſays, that in 1750 theſe trees were upwards of eleven feet in girth. *Lyſons's Environs*, Vol. II. p. 167.

† Arlington Houſe and Gardens were ſituated at the north eaſt corner of the Green Park, where Arlington ſtreet ſtands. See in Dryden's Miſcellanies a Latin deſcriptive poem entitled, "Horti Arlingtoniani ad Cl. Dom. Henricum Comitem Arlingtoniæ by Charles Dryden, tranſlated by Samuel Boyſe in his Poems, 8vo. 1738." Both the original and tranſlation are alſo in Nichols's Collection of Poems, Vol. II. p. 156.

walks

walks both airy and ſhady. There are ſix of the greateſt earthen pots that are any where elſe, being at leaſt two feet over within the edge; but they ſtand abroad, and have nothing in them but the tree holy-oke, an indifferent plant which grows well enough in the ground. Their green-houſe is very well, and their green-yard excels; but their greens were not ſo bright and clean as farther off in the country, as if they ſuffered ſomething from the ſmutty air of the town.

8. *My Lord Fauconbergh's Garden**, at Sutton Court, has ſeveral pleaſant walks and apartments in it; but the upper garden next the houſe is too irregular, and the bowling green too little to be commended. The green-houſe is very well made, but ill ſet. It is divided into three rooms, and very well furniſhed with good greens; but it is ſo placed, that the ſun ſhines not on the plants in winter when they moſt need its beams, the dwelling-houſe ſtanding betwixt the ſun and it. The maze or wilderneſs there is very pretty, being ſet all with greens, with a cypreſs arbour in the middle, ſupported with a well-wrought timber frame; of late it grows thin at the bottom, by their letting the fir-trees grow without their reach unclipped. The incloſure wired in for white pheaſants and partridges is a fine apartment, eſpecially in ſummer, when the bones of Italian bayes are ſet out; and the timber walk with vines on the ſide is very fine, when the blue pots are on the pedeſtals on the top of it; and ſo is the fiſh-pond with the greens at the head of it.

9. *Sir William Temple* being lately gone to live at his houſe in Farnham, his garden and green-houſe at Weſt Sheene†, where he has lived of late years, are not ſo well kept as they have been, many of his orange trees, and other greens, being given to Sir John Temple, his brother at Eaſt Sheene, and other

* Afterwards the property of the earl of Burlington, and now of the duke of Devonſhire.

† Sir William Temple, in his eſſay on gardening, ſays, "the preſent way and humour of our gardening in England, ſeems to have grown into ſuch vogue, and to have been ſo mightily improved in three or four and twenty years of his Majeſty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and I believe none equals us in the variety of fruits which may be juſtly called good; and from the earlieſt cherry and ſtrawberry, to the laſt apples and pears, may furniſh every day of the circling year. For the taſte and perfection of what we eſteem the beſt I may truly ſay, that the French who have eaten my peaches and grapes at Sheen in no very ill year, have concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in France, on this ſide Fontainbleau; and the firſt as good as any they have eat in Gaſcony; I mean thoſe which come from the ſtone, and are properly called peaches, not thoſe which are hard and are termed pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at Madrid than in Gaſcony itſelf. Italians have agreed my white figs to be as good as any of that ſort in Italy, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates no more than in the Frontignac or Muſcal grape.

"My orange trees are as large as any I ſaw when I was young in France, except thoſe of Fontaignebleau or what I have ſeen ſince in the Low Countries, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of Orange's; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them; and as well taſted as are commonly brought over, except the beſt ſort of Seville and Portugal." *Temple's Works*, Vol. III. p. 213.

gentlemen;

gentlemen; but his greens that are remaining (being as good a ſtock as moſt green-houſes have) are very freſh and thriving, the room they ſtand in ſuiting well with them, and being well contrived, if it be no defect in it, that the floor is a foot at leaſt within the ground, as is alſo the floor of the dwelling-houſe. He had attempted to have orange trees to grow in the ground (as at Beddington), and for that purpoſe had encloſed a ſquare of ten feet wide with a low brick wall, and ſheltered them with wood, but they would not do. His orange trees in ſummer ſtand not in any particular ſquare or encloſure, under ſome ſhelter, as moſt others do, but are diſpoſed on pedeſtals of Portland ſtone, at equal diſtance, on a board over-againſt a ſouth wall, where is his beſt fruit, and faireſt walk.

10. *Sir Henry Capell's Garden* at Kew has as curious greens, and is as well kept as any about London*. His two lentiſcus trees (for which he paid forty pounds to Verſprit) are ſaid to be the beſt in England, not only of their kind, but of greens. He has four white ſtriped hollies, about four feet above their caſes, kept round and regular, which coſt him five pounds a tree this laſt year; and ſix lauriſtinuſes he has, with large round equal heads, which are very flowery and make a fine ſhow. His orange trees about fourteen feet wide, encloſed with a timber frame about ſeven feet high, and ſet with ſilver firs, hedge-wiſe, which are as high as the frame, and this to ſecure them from wind and tempeſt, and ſometimes from the ſcorching ſun. His terrace-walk bare in the middle, and graſs on either ſide, with a hedge of rue on one ſide next a low wall, and a row of dwarf trees on the other, ſhews very fine; and ſo do, from thence, his yew hedges, with trees of the ſame at equal diſtance, kept in pretty ſhapes with tonſure. His flowers and fruits are of the beſt, for the advantage of which two parallel walls, about 14 feet high, were now raiſed and almoſt finiſhed. If the ground were not a little irregular, it would excel in other points as well as in furniture.

11. *Sir Stephen Fox's Garden* at Chiſwick†, being of but five years ſtanding, is brought to great perfection for the time. It excels for a fair gravel walk betwixt two yew hedges, with rounds and ſpires of the ſame, all under ſmooth tonſure. At the far end of this garden are two myrtle hedges that croſs the garden; they are about three feet high, and covered in winter with painted board caſes. The other gardens are full of flowers and falletting, and the walls well clad. The green-houſe is well built, well ſet, and well furniſhed.

12. *Sir Thomas Cooke's Garden* at Hackney is very large, and not ſo fine at preſent, becauſe of his intending to be at three thouſand pounds charge with it this next ſummer, as his gardener ſaid. There are two green-houſes in it, but the greens are not extraordinary; for one of the roofs being made a receptacle for water, overcharged with weight, fell down laſt year upon the greens, and made a great deſtruction among the trees and pots. In one part of it is a warren, containing

* This now belongs to his Majeſty.

† Now the property of Robert Stevenſon, eſq.

about

about two acres, and very full of coneys, though there was but a couple put in a few years ſince. There is a pond or a mote round about them, and on the outſide of that a brick wall four feet high, both which I think will not keep them within their compaſs. There is a large fiſh-pond lying on the ſouth to a brick wall, which is finely clad with philaria. Water brought from far in pipes furniſhes his ſeveral ponds as they want it.

13. *Sir Joſiah Child's Plantations* of walnut and other trees at Wanſted, are much more worth ſeeing than his gardens, which are but indifferent. Beſides the great number of fruit trees he has planted in his encloſures with great regularity, he has vaſt number of elms, aſhes, limes, &c. planted in rows on Epping Foreſt. Before his outgate, which is above twelve ſcore feet diſtance from his houſe, are two large fiſh-ponds on the foreſt, in the way from his houſe, with trees on either ſide lying betwixt them; in the middle of either pond is an iſland betwixt twenty and thirty yards over, and in the middle of each a houſe, the one like the other. They are ſaid to be well ſtocked with fiſh, and ſo they had need to be, if they coſt him 5000l. as it is ſaid they did; as alſo that his plantations coſt twice as much.

14. *Sir Robert Clayton* has a great plantation at Marden in Surrey, in a ſoil not very benign to plants; but with great charge he forces Nature to obey him. His gardens are big enough, but ſtrangely irregular, his chief walk not being level, but riſing in the middle, and falling much more at one end than the other; neither is the wall carried by a line either on the top or ſides, but runs like an ordinary park wall, built as the ground goes. He built a good green-houſe; but ſet it ſo, that the hills in winter keep the ſun from it; ſo that they place their greens in a houſe on higher ground not built for that purpoſe. His dwelling-houſe ſtands very low, ſurrounded with great hills; and yet they have no water, but what is forced from a deep well into a water-houſe, whence they are furniſhed by pipes at pleaſure.

15. *The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Garden* at Lambeth has little in it but walks, the late archbiſhop* not delighting in one; but they are now making them better; and they have already made a green-houſe, one of the fineſt and coſtlieſt about the town. It is of three rooms; the middle having a ſtove under it; the foreſides of the rooms are almoſt all glaſs, the roof covered with lead the whole part (to adorn the building) riſing gravel-wiſe higher than the reſt; but it is placed ſo near Lambeth church, that the ſun ſhines moſt on it in winter after eleven o'clock; a fault owned by the gardener, but not thought on by the contrivers. Moſt of the greens are oranges and lemons, which have very large ripe fruits on them.

16. *Dr. Uvedale, of Enfield*, is a great lover of plants, and, having an extraordinary art in managing them, is become maſter of the greateſt and choiceſt collection of exotic greens that is perhaps any where in this land. His greens take up ſix or ſeven houſes or roomſteads. His orange trees and largeſt myrtles fill up his biggeſt houſe, and another houſe is filled with myrtles of a leſs

* Sancroft.

ſize;

ſize; and thoſe more nice and curious plants that need cloſer keeping are in warmer rooms, and ſome of them ſtoved when he thinks fit. His flowers are choice, his ſtock numerous, and his culture of them very methodical and curious; but, to ſpeak of the garden in the whole, it does not lie fine to pleaſe the eye; his delight and care lying more in the ordering particular plants, than in the pleaſing view and form of his garden.

17. *Dr. Tillotſon's Garden* near Enfield* is a pleaſurable place for walks, and ſome good walls there are too; but the tall aſpin trees, and the many ponds in the heart of it, are not ſo agreeable. He has two houſes for greens, but had few in them, all the reſt being removed to Lambeth. The houſe moated about.

18. *Mr. Evelyn* has a pleaſant villa at Deptford, a fine garden for walks and hedges (eſpecially his holly one, which he writes of in his Sylva), and a pretty little green-houſe with an indifferent ſtock in it. In his garden he has four large, round philareas, ſmooth clipped, raiſed on a ſingle ſtalk from the ground, a faſhion now much uſed. Part of his garden is very woody and ſhady for walking; but his garden not being walled has little of the beſt fruits.

19. *Mr. Watts's Houſe and Garden* made near Enfield are new; but the garden for the time is very fine, and large, and regularly laid out, with a fair fiſh-pond in the middle. He built a green-houſe this ſummer with three rooms (ſomewhat like the archbiſhop of Canterbury's), the middle with a ſtove under it and a ſkylight above, and both of them of glaſs on the foreſide, with ſhutters within, and the roof finely covered with Iriſh ſlate. But this fine houſe is under the ſame great fault with three before (Numbers 8, 14, 15): they built it in ſummer, and thought not of winter; the dwelling-houſe on the ſouth ſide interpoſing betwixt the ſun and it, now when its beams ſhould refreſh plants.

20. *Brompton Park Garden*†, belonging to Mr. London and Mr. Wiſe, has a large long green-houſe, the front all glaſs and board, the North ſide brick. Here the king's greens, which were in ſummer at Kenſington, are placed; but they take but little room in compariſon of their own. Their garden is chiefly a nurſery for all ſorts of plants, of which they are very full.

21. *Mr. Raynton's Garden* at Enfield is obſervable for nothing but his green-houſe, which he has had for many years. His orange, lemon, and myrtle trees are as full and furniſhed as any in caſes. He has a myrtle cut in ſhape of a chaiſe, that is at leaſt ſix feet high from the caſe, but the lower part is thin of leaves. The reſt of the garden is very ordinary, and on the

* Dr. Tillotſon's houſe and gardens were at Edmonton, whither he occaſionally reſorted after he became archbiſhop of Canterbury. Theſe premiſes are now in the poſſeſſion of Captain Dorien.

† At Brompton Park was a very celebrated nurſery, firſt eſtabliſhed about the latter end of the laſt century, by George London and Henry Wiſe, eſqrs. gardeners to king William and to queen Anne. Bowack, who wrote an account of Kenſington in 1708, ſpeaks of the ſtock as almoſt incredible, and ſays it was affirmed, that if the plants were valued at but 1d. apiece, they would amount to 40,000l. This ground belongs at preſent to Meſſrs. Grey and Wear. *Environs of London*, Vol. III. p. 171.

outſide

outſide of his garden he has a warren, which makes the ground about his ſeat lie rudely, and ſometimes the coneys work under the wall into the garden.

22. *Mr. Richardſon* at Eaſt Barnet has a pretty garden, with fine walks and good flowers; but the garden not being walled about they have leſs ſummer fruit, yet are, therefore, the more induſtrious in managing the peach and apricot dwarf ſtandards, which, they ſay, ſupply them plentifully with very good fruit. There is a good fiſh-pond in the middle of it, from which a broad gravel walk leads to the highway, where a fair pair of broad gates, with a narrower on either ſide, open at the top to look through ſmall bars, well wrought and well painted, are a great ornament to the garden. They have orange and lemon trees; but the wife and ſon being the managers of the garden (the huſband being gouty and not minding it), they cannot prevail for a houſe for them, other than a barn end.

23. *Captain Foſter's Garden* at Lambeth has many curioſities in it. His green-houſe is full of freſh and flouriſhing plants, and before it is the fineſt ſtriped holly-hedge that, perhaps, is in England. He has many myrtles, not the greateſt but of the moſt fanciful ſhapes that are any where elſe. He has a framed walk of timber covered with vines, which with others, running on moſt of his walls without prejudice to his lower trees, yield him a deal of wine. Of flowers he has a good choice, and his Virginia and other birds in a great variety, with his glaſs hive, add much to the pleaſure of his garden.

24. *Monſieur Anthony Veſprit* has a little garden of very choice things. His green-houſe has no very great number of plants, but what he has are of the beſt ſort, and very well ordered. His oranges and lemons (fruit and tree) are extraordinary fair, and for lentiſcuſes and Roman bayes he has choice above others.

25. *Ricketts* at Hoxton has a large ground, and abundantly ſtocked with all manner of flowers, fruit-trees, and other garden plants, with lime trees, which are now much planted; and, for a ſale garden, he has a very good green-houſe, and well filled with freſh greens; beſides which he has another room very full of greens in pots. He has a greater ſtock of Aſſyrian thyme than any body elſe; for, beſides many pots of it, he has beds abroad with plenty of roots, which they cover with mats and ſtraw in winter. He ſells his things with the deareſt, and not taking due care to have his plants prove well, he is ſuppoſed to have loſt much of his cuſtom.

26. *Pearſon* has not near ſo large a ground as Ricketts (on whom he almoſt joins), and therefore he has not ſo many trees; but of flowers he has great choice, and of anemonies he avers he has the beſt about London, and ſells them only to gentlemen. He has no green-houſe, yet has abundance of myrtle and ſtriped philaréas, with oranges and other greens, which he keeps ſafe enough under ſheds ſunk a foot within ground, and covered with ſtraw. He has abundance of cypreſſes, which, at three feet high, he ſells for four pence apiece to thoſe that take any number. He is moderate in his prices, and accounted very honeſt in his dealing, which gets him much chapmanry.

27. *Darby*,

27. *Darby*, at Hoxton, has but a little garden, but is maſter of ſeveral curious greens that other ſale gardeners want, and which he ſaves from cold and winter weather in greenhouſes of his own making. His fritalaria craſſa (a green) had a flower on it of the breadth of half a crown, like an embroidered ſtar of ſeveral colours; I ſaw not the like any where, no not at Dr. Uvedale's, though he has the ſame plant. He raiſes many ſtriped hollies by inoculation, though Captain Foſter grafts them as we do apple-trees. He is very curious in propagating greens, but is dear with them. He has a folio paper book, in which he has paſted the leaves and flowers of almoſt all manner of plants, which make a pretty ſhow, and are more inſtructive than any cuts in Herbals.

28. *Clements*, at Mile End, has no bigger a garden than Darby, but has more greens, yet not of ſuch curious ſorts. He keeps them in a greenhouſe made with a light charge. He has vines in many places about old trees, which they wind about. He made wine this year of his white Muſcadine, and white Frontinac, better, I thought, than any French white wine. He keeps a ſhop of ſeeds in plants in pots next the ſtreet.

Jan. 26, 1691. J. Gibson.

Regulations of Barking Abbey.

[*From the Environs of* London. Vol. IV. *By the Rev.* D. Lyſons.]

THE nuns of Barking were of the Benedictine order. The abbeſs was appointed by the king till about the year 1200; when by the interference of the Pope, the election was veſted in the convent, and confirmed by royal authority. The abbeſs of Barking was one of the four who were baroneſſes in right of their ſtation; for being poſſeſſed of thirteen knights fees and a half, ſhe held her lands of the king by barony; and though her ſex prevented her from having a ſeat in parliament, or attending the king in the wars, yet ſhe always furniſhed her quota of men, and had precedency over other abbeſſes. In her convent ſhe always lived in great ſtate, her houſehold conſiſted of "chaplains, an eſquire, gentlemen and gentlewomen, yeomen, grooms, a clerk, and yeomen clerk, a groom cook, a pudding wife, &c."

The ſecond ſtation in the convent was that of the prioreſs, under whom were two ſub-prioreſſes: there were alſo a chantreſs; a high cellareſs; an under cellareſs; a chamberlain; a kitchener; two freytoreſſes; a penſionereſs; a parlareſs, and a ſacriſt. The prioreſs's office was for life, and during the abſence of the abbeſs, ſhe had the ſole management of the convent. The other offices were annual. The prioreſs had a double portion of proviſions, and the cellareſſes and the kitchener during their year of office. There were certain lands alſo annexed to moſt of theſe offices. The office of cellareſs was a place of conſiderable power and profit, nearly correſponding to that of burſar of a college. She was to receive certain ſums from the farmers and rent gatherers of all the eſtates belonging to the convent, to buy the proviſions, and to diſtribute portions or 'lyve-'ries' to the ſeveral nuns. Among the Cottonian MSS. in the Britiſh muſeum is one entitled "The charge "longynge to the office of cellareſs "of Barking," in which is ſtated fully

fully the ſums ſhe was to collect, with the nature and quantity of the proviſions ſhe was to lay in, and the manner and proportion in which they were to be diſtributed: among other things, ſhe was to provide "ruſ-" ſeaul in Lenton, and to bake with " elys on Schere-Thurſday; a pece " of whete and three gallons of milk " for frimete on St. Alburgh's day; " three gallons of gude ale for beſons; " marybones to make white wortys; " cripſis and crum-kales at Shroſ-" tyde; conies for the convent at " Shroftyde; twelve ſtubbe-eles and " nine ſchaft-eles to bake on Shere-" Thurſday; one potel tyre for the " abbeſs the ſame day, and two gal-" lons of red wyne for the convent; " half a gooſe for each of the nuns " on the feaſt of the aſſumption, and " the ſame on St. Alburgh's day; for " every lady a lyvery of ſowſe at " Martinmas, a whole hog's ſowſe " to ſerve three ladies. She was to " pay to every lady in the convent " 9d. a year for niſchew ſilver; 2d. " for her cripſis and crumkakes at " Shrovetide; 1½ a week for eye " ſilver, from Michaelmas to Allhal-" lowes day; from that day till " Eaſter 1¾ a week, and from Eaſter " to Michaelmas 1½."

The firſt of April, or the ancient Feaſt of the Vernal Equinox, equally obſerved in India *and* Britain.

[*From Indian Antiquities, &c. &c.* Vol. VI. *By the Reverend* T. Maurice.]

THE *firſt of April* was anciently obſerved in Britain as a high and general feſtival, in which an unbounded hilarity reigned through every order of its inhabitants; for the ſun at that period of the year entering into the ſign Aries, the new year, and with it the ſeaſon of rural ſports and vernal delight, was then ſuppoſed to have commenced. The proof of the antiquity of the obſervance of this annual feſtival, as well as the probability of its original eſtabliſhment in an Aſiatic region, ariſes from the evidence of facts afforded us by aſtronomy. Although the reformation of the year by the Julian and Gregorian calendars, and the adaptation of the period of its commencement to a different and far nobler ſyſtem of theology, have occaſioned the feſtival ſports, anciently celebrated in this country on the firſt of April, to have long ſince ceaſed; and although the changes occaſioned, during a long lapſe of years, by the ſhifting of the equinoctial points, have in Aſia itſelf been productive of important aſtronomical alterations, as to the exact æra of the commencement of the year; yet on both continents ſome very remarkable traits of the jocundity, which then reigned, remain even to theſe diſtant times. Of thoſe preſerved in Britain, none of the leaſt remarkable or ludicrous is that relic of its priſtine pleaſantry, the general practice of making *April fools*, as it is called, on the firſt day of that month; but this colonel Pearce, in a paper publiſhed in the ſecond volume of the Aſiatic Reſearches, has proved to be an immemorial cuſtom among the Hindoos, at a celebrated feſtival holden about the ſame period in India, which is called the Huli feſtival. I ſhall inſert the account in the colonel's own words: "During the Huli, " when mirth and feſtivity reign " among the Hindoos of every claſs, " one ſubject of diverſion is, to ſend

" people

" people on errands and expeditions " that are to end in disappointment, " and raise a laugh at the expence " of the person sent. The Huli is " always in March, and the *last day* " is the general holiday. I have " never yet heard any account of the " origin of this English custom; but " it is unquestionably very ancient, " and is still kept up even in great " towns, though less in them than " in the country. With us it is " chiefly confined to the lower class " of people, but in India high and " low join in it; and the late Surajah " Dowlah, I am told, was very fond of " making Huli fools, though he was " a Mussulman of the highest rank. " They carry the joke here so far, as " to send letters making appoint- " ments in the name of the person, " who, it is known, must be absent " from their house at the time fixed " upon; and the laugh is always in " proportion to the trouble given."

The least inquiry into the ancient customs of Persia, or the minutest acquaintance with the general astronomical mythology of Asia, would have taught colonel Pearce, that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports prevalent on the first of April in England, and during the Huli festival in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating with festival rites the period of the vernal equinox, or the day when the new year of Persia anciently began. I have added, below, the order of the Indian months, as they are enumerated by sir William Jones himself, in the Asiatic Researches, and have added the English names of our corresponding months, and translations of the Sanscreet appellations of the asterisms:

Aswin,	April; - - -	Mesh,	Ram.
Carti,	May; - - - -	Vrish,	Bull.
Agrah'ayan,	June; - - - -	Mit'hun,	Twins,
Paush,	July; - - - -	Carcat,	Crab.
Magh,	August; - - -	Sinh,	Lion.
Phalgun,	September; - -	Canya,	Virgin.
Chaitr,	October; - - -	Tùla,	Balance.
Vasac'h,	November; - -	Vrischic,	Scorpion.
Jaisht'h,	December; - -	Dhan,	Bow.
Ashar,	January; - - -	Macar,	Capric.
Sravan,	February; - -	Cumbh,	Aquar.
Bhadr,	March; - - -	Min,	Fish.

The Indians, now, indeed, begin their year on the 11th of April, and the Persians have adopted in their civil concerns, the Mahommedan mode of computation; but both nations, probably, in the remote ages to which we allude, began their year when the sun entered the sign Aries; and the ancient Persian coins stamped with the head of the ram, which, according to D'Ancarville, were offered to Gemshed, the founder of Persepolis, are an additional demonstration of the high antiquity of this festival. It is still observed in that country under the title of Nauras, a word which means the first day of the year.

Letters

Letters written by Ben Jonſon.

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

A letter to the earle of Newcaſtle.

(1.) My lord,

THE faith of a faſt friend, with the duties of an humble ſervant and the hearty prayers of a religious beadſman, all kindled upon this altar, to your honour, my honourable lady, the hopefull iſſue, and your right noble brother, bee ever my ſacrifice.

It is the lewd printer's fault that I can ſend your lordſhip no more of my books done. I ſent you one piece before the fayr by Mr. Withrington, and now I ſend you the other morcell, the fine gentleman that walkes in town, the fiend; but before hee will perfect the reſt I feare hee will come himſelfe to bee a part, under the title of the abſolute knave, which he hath playd with mee. My printer and I ſhall afford ſubject enough for a tragi-comedy, for with his delayes and vexation I am almoſt become blind; and if Heaven be ſo juſt in the metamorphoſis to turne him into that creature he moſt aſſimulates, a dog, with a bell to lead mee between Whitehall and my lodgings, I may bid the world good night.

And ſo I doo,

BEN JONSON.

(2.) My nobleſt lord and beſt patron,

I ſend no borrowing epiſtle to provoke your lordſhip, for I have neither fortune to repay, or ſecuritie to engaige that will be taken; but I make a moſt humble petition to your lordſhip's bounty to ſuccour my preſent neceſſities this good time of Eaſter, and it ſhall conclude all begging requeſt hereafter, on the behalf of your trueſt beadſman, and moſt thankefull ſervant;

B. J.

(3.) My nobleſt lord and my beſt patron,

I have done your buſinis as your lordſhip truſted mee with, and the morning after I received, by my beloved friend Mr. Payne, your lordſhip's timely gratuity: I ſtile it ſuch, for it fell like the dew of heaven on my neceſſity, it came ſo oportunely and in ſeaſon. I pray to God my workes have deſerv'd it. I meant it ſhould in the workeing it, and I have hope the performance will conclude it. In the mean time I tell your lordſhip what I ſeriouſly thinke. God ſends you thoſe chargeable and magnificent honors of making feaſts to mixe with your charitable ſuccors, dropt upon mee your ſervant, who have nothing to claime by of meritt, but a cheerfull undertaking whatſoever your lordſhip's judgment thinkes mee able to performe. I am in the number of your humbleſt ſervants, my lord, and the moſt willing; and doe joy in the friendſhipe and fellowſhip of my right learned friend Mr. Payne, then whom your lordſhip could not haue employed a more diligent and judicious man, or that hath treated mee with more humanitie, which makes mee cheerfully to inveſt myſelfe into your lordſhip's commands, and ſo ſure a clientele.

Wholly and onely your lordſhip's,

B. JONSON.

(4.) My noble and moſt honord lord,

I myſelf being no ſubſtance, am faine to trouble you with ſhaddowes, or what is leſs, an apologue, or fable, in a dream. I being ſtricken with the palſy in the year 1628, had, by ſir Thomas Badger, ſome few months ſynce, a foxe ſent mee for a preſent,

which creature, by handling, I endeavoured to make tame, as well for the abating of my diſeaſe as the delight I took in ſpeculation of his nature. It happened this preſent year 1631, and this verie weeke being the weeke uſhering Chriſtmas, and this Tueſday morning in a dreame (and morning dreames are trueſt) to have one of my ſervants come to my bedſide, and tell mee, Maſter, maſter, the fox ſpeakes! Whereat mee thought I ſtarted, and troubled, went down into the yard to witneſs the wonder. There I found my reynard in his tenement, the tubb, I had hir'd for him, cynically expreſſing his owne lott, to be condemned to the houſe of a poett, where nothing was to be ſeen but the bare walls, and not any thing heard but the noiſe of a ſawe dividing billates all the weeke long, more to keepe the family in exerciſe than to comfort any perſon there with fire, ſave the paralytick maſter, and went on in this way, as the fox ſeemed the better fabler of the two. I, his maſter, began to give him good words, and ſtroake him; but reynard, barking, told mee this would not doe, I muſt give him meate. I angry call'd him ſtinking vermine. Hee reply'd, looke into your cellar, which is your larder too, youle find a worſe vermin there. When preſently calling for a light, mee thought I went down, and found all the floor turn'd up, as if a colony of moles had been there, or an army of ſalt-petre vermin. Whereupon I ſent preſently into Tuttle-ſtreet for the king's moſt excellent mole catcher, to releaſe mee and hunt them: but hee, when he came and viewed the place, and had well marked the earth turned up, tooke a handfull, ſmelt to it, and ſaid, Maſter, it is not in my power to deſtroy this vermin, the K. or ſome good man of a noble nature muſt helpe you: this kind of mole is called a want*, which will deſtroy you, and your family, if you prevent not the worſting of it in tyme. And therefore God keepe you, and ſend you health.

The interpretation both of the fable and dream is, that I, waking, doe find *want* the worſt and moſt working vermin in a houſe; and therefore my noble lord, and next the king my beſt patron, I am neceſſitated to tell it you. I am not ſo impudent to borrow any ſum of your lordſhip, for I have no faculty to pay; but my needs are ſuch, and ſo urging, as I do beg what your bounty can give mee, in the name of good letters and the bond of an euer-gratefull and acknowledging ſeruant to your honour. B. Jonson.

Weſtminſter,
20 *Dec.* 1631.

Yeſterday the barbarous court of aldermen have withdrawn their chandler-ly penſion for verjuice and muſtard 33l. 6*s.* 8*d.*

Letter from King Charles II. *to the Duke of* Ormond, *upon his taking the Seals from Chancellor* Clarendon.—*Copied from the Original in the King's own hand; and indorſed in the Duke of* Ormond's.

The King's
15 } Sept.
Rec. 24 }
at Kilkenny.
Anſwered, 2 Oct. 67.

Whitehall, 15 *Sept.*

I SHOULD have thanked you

* A want is a provincial name for the mole. S.A.

fooner

ſooner for your melancholly letter of the 26th Auguſt, and the good counſell you gave me in it, as my purpoſe was alſo to ſay ſomething to you concerning my taking the ſeals from the chancellor, of which you muſt needs have heard all the paſſages, as he would not ſuffer it to be done ſo privately as I intended it. The truth is, his behaviour and humour was growne ſo inſupportable to myſelf, and to all the world elſe, that I could not longer endure it; and it was impoſſible for me to live with it, and doe thoſe things with the parliament which muſt be done, or the government will be loſt. When I have a better opportunity for it, you ſhall know many particulars that have inclined me to this reſolution, which already ſeems to be well liked in the world, and to have given a real and viſible amendment to my affairs. This is an argument too big for a letter; ſo I add but this word to it, to aſſure you, that your former friendſhip to the chancellor ſhall not doe you any prejudice with me, and that I have not in the leaſt degree diminiſhed that value and kindneſs I ever had for you; which I thought fit to ſay to you upon this occaſion, becauſe it is very poſſible malicious people may ſuggeſt the contrary to you.

Challenge ſent in 1592, *to the Duke of* Guiſe, *by Sir* Henry Umpton, *the* Engliſh *ambaſſador.*

[*From the Gentleman's Magazine.*]

FORASMUCH as lately in the lodging of the lord Du Magne, and in publick elſewhere, impudently, indeſcreetly, and overboldly, you ſpoke badly of my ſovereign, whoſe ſacred perſon here in this country I repreſent, to maintain, both by word and weapon, her honour (which never was called in queſtion among people of honeſty and virtue); I ſay you have wickedly lied in ſpeaking ſo baſely of my ſovereign; and you ſhall do nothing elſe but lie whenſoever you ſhall dare to tax her honour. Moreover, that her ſacred perſon (being one of the moſt complete and virtuous princeſſes that lives in the world) ought not to be evil ſpoken of by the tongue of ſuch a perfidious traytor to her law and country as you are. And hereupon I do defy you, and challenge your perſon to mine, with ſuch manner of arms as you ſhall like or chuſe, be it either on horſeback or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of perſon between us, I being iſſued of as great a race and noble houſe every way as yourſelf. So aſſigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words, and the lie which I gave you, and which you ſhould not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you conſent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cauſe you to be generally held, for the arranteſt coward, and moſt ſlanderous ſlave, that lives in all France. I expect your anſwer.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Hiſtorical account of SCULPTURE.

[*From Chronological Tables; beginning with the reign of* Solomon, *and ending with the death of* Alexander the Great; *with a prefatory Diſcourſe. By the late* Thomas Falconer, *of* Cheſter, *eſquire.*]

ALL the ancient writers have agreed in dividing it into two periods; the latter of which begins with the age of Phidias. Strabo aſcertains theſe ages very exactly, though rather foreign to his ſubject; for, in deſcribing the temples of Epheſus, there are ſome which he calls antient, and in theſe were ἀρχαῖα ξόανα, antique wooden figures*. In the other temples, built, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον, *in after times*, he tranſgreſſes from his uſual form, and deſcribes three ſtatues in particular, which were probably of the age of Phidias and Scopas. Pliny and Pauſanias abound in examples of this diviſion of the periods. The former, when diſcourſing of Myron ſays, "capillum non emendatius feciſſe quam *rudis antiquitas*, inſtituiſſet†." This "rudis antiquitas" means what is termed the age of Dædalus and his ſcholars, who improved but little on the models brought from Egypt‡. However, as we have ſome dates in Pliny, which fix the progreſſion of this art with tolerable accuracy, we ſhall briefly touch on the hiſtory of this period from the earlieſt times; though the vague, and nearly fabulous relations of Dædalus form ſome embarraſſment in fixing the commencement of this æra. Diodorus Siculus and Pauſanias agree in ſuppoſing there was an artiſt of that name who worked for Minos, in Crete, and built a labyrinth at Gnoſſus, of which no veſtige was left in the time of Auguſtus§. Homer, in his 18th

* Strabo, l. xiv. p. 640, ed. Paris.

† Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 8. p. 651. ed. Harduin. alt. The whole paſſage is beautiful, and marks a very refined taſte.

‡ Strabo allows that the carved figures on the walls of the temples in Egypt reſembled the Tyrrhenian and the antient Greek ſculptures, l. xvii. p. 806, ed. Paris.

§ What is now ſhewn for the labyrinth is a winding paſſage in a mountain near Gortyna, diſtant from Gnoſſus. Cedrenus ſeems to have been the firſt blunderer upon record

18th Iliad, does mention a Δαίδαλος, who formed a dance for Ariadne; but, as he uſes the ſame word, a few lines after, adjectively, to ſignify *artificially made**, he might mean by the former no more than what the word imports, an *ingenious artiſt*. Euſtathius interprets Homer as meaning that Dædalus only invented the dance itſelf, and not that he worked it in either wood, ſtone, or metal†.

The ſtatues of Dædalus, mentioned by Pauſanias, were all of wood, and reſembled, as we may ſuppoſe, the Egyptian; for Philoſtratus ſays, that the ſtatue of Memnon was formed with the feet joined together, and the arms reſting on the ſeat, after the manner of cutting figures in the age of Dædalus‡. Such was probably the figure of Minerva in Troy, mentioned in the 6th Iliad, which ſeems to have been in a ſitting poſture. We have no remains of theſe rude ages; but the forms of the Juno of Samos, carved by Smillis of Ægina, ſaid to be contemporary with Dædalus, and that of the Diana of Epheſus, by the hand of Endæus, or Endyus, a pupil of Dædalus, are preſerved on the medals of their reſpective cities§. Theſe repreſentations give a very unfavourable idea of the Dædalean age; yet we have no reaſon to doubt their authenticity, for the artiſts of poliſhed times would never have diſgraced their coinage with ſuch uncouth figures, had they not been exact reſemblances of objects made venerable by ſuperſtition. Some more of theſe wooden ſtatues are deſcribed as exiſting at Thebes, Lebadea, Delos, and Crete, to the reign of Hadrian. They were nearly deſtroyed by age; and yet Pauſanias, fired by religious and antiquarian enthuſiaſm, could find in them‖ *ſomething divine*; but what it was he does not explain. Some other of theſe ſtatues were plated with gold, and their faces painted red, viz. two of Bacchus, in the forum of Corinth, which gives us but an indifferent idea of the taſte of that period. The Venus of Delos had only a head and arms, with a quadrangular baſis inſtead of feet; which ſhews that theſe ſculptors had improved but little on the rude ages of Greece, when unhewn ſtones, or at beſt cut into a quadrangular form, were the only emblems of their divinities. Yet even theſe figures, I think, were not introduced into European Greece till after the days of

cord who miſtook this for the old labyrinth. See his Compend. Hiſt. p. 100, ad imum, ed. Baſil. 1566.

* Iliad. xviii. l. 592, and after, l. 611.

† There was one great work of Dædalus, or at leaſt aſcribed to him, the ſepulchre of Æpytus, mentioned by Pauſanias, which may give us an idea of that period. It was a heap of earth, of a moderate ſize, ſurrounded by a ſtone wall. Arcad. l. viii. p. 482, ed. Xyland.

‡ Philoſtratus de Vita Apollonii, l. vi. c. 4.

§ The Diana of Epheſus is too well known to be deſcribed. The Juno of Samos may be found on many medals. See particularly one of Maximinus in Vaillantii Select. Numiſma ex Muſeo Abbatis de Camps. For many of theſe anecdotes the reader is referred to Athenagoræ Legatio, p. 66. ed. Ox. 1682.

‖ One quotation may ſerve for many. Καὶ πλησίον ξόανον γύμνον Ἡρακλέους. Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι τέχνην. Δαίδαλος δὲ ὁπόσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μέν ἠστιν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὅμως τὶ καὶ ΕΝΘΕΟΝ τούτοις. Pauſan. l. ii. p. 92, ed. Xyland.

Homer. The name of Dædalus was, we know, given to artiſts long after the Athenian Dædalus is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed. Pauſanias himſelf mentions one of Sicyon of that name, which he ſeems to confound with the Dædalus mentioned by Homer Dipœnus and Scyllis, according to Pliny, were the founders of the ſchool of ſculpture in Sicyon, and were the firſt who were celebrated for carving in marble. They flouriſhed, ſays the ſame author, in the 50th Olympiad, which is very probable: for, at that period, the ſtates of Greece were beginning to cultivate their talents, and to ſettle a form of government. Pauſanias, by a ſtrange anachroniſm of above 400 years, ſays, that Dipœnus and Scyllis were the ſons of that very Dædalus who lived ſo long in Crete*. Pliny indeed ſays, they were Cretans by birth, but that they ſettled at Sicyon†. Is it not then more likely that they were inſtructed long after by Dædalus *Sicyonius*, and that the identity of names was the ſource of the error?

However celebrated theſe artiſts were for marble ſculpture, yet the moſt noted performances from their hands were cut in ebenus, a ſort of lignum vitæ, with pieces of ivory interſperſed; a practice much improved afterwards‡. Tectæus and Angelion were the ſcholars of Dipœnus; they carved the Apollo at Delos, and Calion, their pupil, the ſtatue of Minerva Silenias, in the citadel of Athens, about the 63d Olympiad. The other memorable pupils of this ſchool were Thoecles and Doriclydas, both Lacedemonians, whoſe works were to be ſeen, as Pauſanias informs us, in his time, at Elis §.

The ſchool of Chios, formed by Malas about the ſame time with that of Sicyon, or probably before, was ſtill more noted. Bupalus and Anthermus‖ carved well in the 60th Olympiad; ſome of whoſe works had a place in the palace of Auguſtus Cæſar. Yet even in this period we are uncertain whether the Greeks knew the art of caſting ſtatues in metal. The oldeſt braſs ſtatue known in Greece was one of Jupiter, in the Chalciœcos of Laconia¶, in which the limbs had been ſeparately formed, and then nailed together; yet this imperfect eſſay was aſcribed to Learchus, a ſcholar of Dipœnus, who muſt have lived about the 53d or 54th Olympiad. So little was this art known in the ſchool of Sicyon, when it was celebrated for marble-ſculpture. About the 63d Olympiad, we find the names of Rhœcus and Theodorus, both of Samos, the ſame who built the temple of Juno in the reign of Polycrates, and practiſed the art of caſting ſtatues with ſucceſs.

Hence, I think, the ſchools of Sicyon and Chios divide this period into two parts. The Dædalean, or barbarous age, ceaſes in the 50th Olympiad; the middle age, which gave better forms to the human figure, but not the laſt poliſh, nor an exact repreſentation of the minuter parts, may be extended to the 83d Olympiad; when the great genius of Phidias broke out at once in full luſtre in the Jupiter at Olympia and the Minerva at Athens. Pau-

* Pauſan. l. ii. p. 111.
‡ Pauſan. l. ii. p. 125.
‖ Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 5, p. 724.
† Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 4, p. 724.
§ Pauſan. l. v. p. 319.
¶ Ibid. l. iii. p. 194.

ſanias

ſanias has deſcribed the former of theſe with great accuracy; and Livy the hiſtorian, with a ſublimity of expreſſion almoſt equal to the ideas of the artiſt, points out, in a few words, its effect on the beholder. "Paulus Æmilius, ſays that invaluable writer, travelling through "Greece, entered the temple to "ſurvey the colloſſal ſtatue; when, "Jovem velut præſentem, intuens, "motus animo eſt*." It is generally known that this figure was compoſed of ivory, and ornamented with gold, a practice of great antiquity in the Eaſt; but few conſider the difficulty of executing a grand idea with ſo minute materials†. If any other graces were ſtill wanting in ſculpture, the ſkill of Praxiteles and Lyſippus gave thoſe finiſhed touches which produced ſublimity in ſmall figures without diminiſhing their elegance. Such was ſculpture in the days of Alexander. Some ſpecimens of this æra are moſt probably even now to be ſeen at Rome and Florence, viz. the Medicean Venus, the Hercules Farneſe, and the Belviderian Apollo. The great genius of Michael Angelo was unequal to the imitation of theſe figures; and ſhould we conceive them to be the production of a later age, as that of Auguſtus, or even later, as that of the Antonines, it will only raiſe our ideas of the age of Alexander, to find that the beſt artiſt of modern times was inferior to thoſe ſculptors who, by the general conſent of antiquity, were themſelves below the merits of a Phidias or Praxiteles.

Compariſon of Arioſto *and* Taſſo, *from a Letter of* Metaſtaſio.

[*From Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate* Metaſtaſio. *By* Charles Burney, *Muſ. D. F. R. S.*]

YOUR ſecond requeſt, that I would pronounce between the merit of Arioſto and Taſſo, is too difficult a taſk

* Liv. l. xlv. c. 28.

† The reader may receive a ſlight hint on this ſubject from Pauſanias, in his deſcription of a Jupiter at Megara. The head was of ivory and gold; the body of ſome kind of parget, φηλοῦ τε καὶ γύψου. This deficiency was occaſioned by the poverty of the Megarenſians, having been greatly diſtreſſed by their wars at Athens; for the inhabitants, in order to prove their intention of making the whole figure of the ſame rich materials with the head, ſhewed Pauſanias, in the apartment behind the temple, the half-worked timbers, ξύλα ἡμίεργα, which Theocoſmus, a native, was to have covered with ivory and gold. Hence we may conclude the model was of wood, and the ivory little more than ſineering. From the natural elaſticity of ivory, theſe figures were affected by the variation of the weather; and ſome precautions were therefore always employed to preſerve them. The Jupiter at Olympia was ſprinkled with oil; the Minerva at Athens with water; and the Æſculapius at Epidaurus had a well under the throne, to keep up a proper degree of moiſture. Pauſan. l. v. p. 308.

The Pelleneans preſerved a fine figure of Minerva, carved by Phidias, by a rill of water underneath, to give a conſtant ſupply of moiſt air; for, ſays our author, νότιον τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐπιτήδειον. The difficulty of execution, with the attention neceſſary to the preſervation of ivory figures, put a ſtop to the progreſs of this art. I ſhall only cite one farther inſtance of the Phidian ſkill, mentioned by Tzetzes in his Chiliads; but I wiſh I had an older authority. It is this. In a conteſt with Alcamenes, his pupil, to form an image of Minerva, which was to be placed far above the eye, he contrived, by the knowledge of optics, to make it appear beautiful when in its place, though extremely deformed

a taſk for the limits of my faculties. You know, Sir, with what tumults the Parnaſſus of Italy was agitated, when Godfrey firſt attempted to diſpute the primacy with Orlando, of which he had juſtly been ſo long in poſſeſſion. You know alſo how the preſs groaned with the uſeleſs labours of your Pellegrinis, Roſſis, Salviatis, and a hundred other champions on both ſides. You likewiſe know that the pacific Orazio Arioſto, the deſcendant of Lodovico, vainly endeavoured to reconcile the combatants, telling them that the poems of theſe two divine bards were of a ſpecies ſo different, that they admitted of no parallel; that Torquato had determined never to lay down the trumpet, and had in a marvellous manner, adhered to his reſolution; that Lodovico's deſign was to delight his readers with a variety of ſtyle, mixing in a pleaſant manner, with the heroic, the jocoſe, and the feſtive, and had wonderfully ſucceeded. That the firſt had demonſtrated the magic power of art, the other the felicity of unreſtrained nature; that both had juſtly acquired the applauſe and admiration of the public; and that both had arrived at the ſummit of poetical glory, but by different roads, and without intentional rivalry. You cannot, in ſhort, be ignorant of the more brilliant than ſolid diſtinction: that Taſſo is the beſt poet, but Arioſto the greateſt. Now, knowing all this, how can you imagine, that I ſhould venture to arrogate to myſelf ſufficient authority to reſolve this queſtion, which, after ſo many obſtinate literary conflicts, ſtill remains undecided? However, if it is not allowed me in ſuch ſtrifes to ſit *pro tribunali*, I may, at leaſt, be permitted to relate, hiſtorically, the effects which I myſelf have experienced in reading theſe great poets. When I firſt began the ſtudy of literature, I found the world divided into parties. That illuſtrious Lycæum, into which I had the good fortune to be received, followed that of the Homer of Ferrara, and with that exceſs of fervor which uſually accompanies ſuch conteſts. In order to ſecond my poetical inclination, my maſter recommended to me the peruſal and imitation of Arioſto; judging his free and natural ſtile to be more likely to feed and fertilize genius than the ſervile regularity (as they called it) of his rival. I was perſuaded by authority; and the infinite merit of the writer occupied me afterwards to ſuch a degree, that not ſatisfied with ſeveral peruſals, I was induced to learn a great part of Orlando by heart; and woe to the bold man who dared aſſert, that Arioſto could have a rival, or that he was not wholly immaculate! I met with friends, however, who, in order to ſeduce me, recited from time to time ſome of the fineſt paſſages of the Jeruſalem Delivered; and I found myſelf extremely affected and delighted by them; but faithful to my ſect, I deteſted this complacence, and regarded it as one of thoſe ſinful inclinations to which corrupt human nature is prone, and which it is our duty to correct; and in this opinion, I paſſed all thoſe years in which our judgment

when on the ſame level with the eye. This example, if true, ſhews Phidias to have been ſuperior to his contemporaries, or any who followed him. Thoſe who have not Tzetzes, may conſult Junius de Pict. Vet. p. 147, 148.

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is the mere imitation of others. At length, arrived at that period in which we begin to combine our own ideas, and weighing them in the ſcales of juſtice, yet more from ſatiety and a deſire of change, than hopes of pleaſure and profit, I read *Jeruſalem Delivered*. It is now impoſſible for me to deſcribe the extraordinary revolution which this peruſal occaſioned in my mind. The ſpectacle, which I ſaw as in a picture, preſenting at one view a great and ſingle action, clearly propoſed, conducted in a maſterly manner, and perfectly completed; the variety of events which produced and enriched it, without confuſion; the magic of a ſtyle, that is always clear, ſublime, and ſonorous; always ennobling the moſt common and humble objects; the vigour of the colouring with which the author compares and deſcribes; the reducing evidence with which he narrates, and perſuades; the truth and conſiſtence of the characters, the connexion of ideas, the learning, judgment, and above all things, the wonderful force of genius, which inſtead of being exhauſted, as generally happens in labours of long continuance, is marvellouſly encreaſed to the laſt verſe of the poem; all theſe circumſtances filled me with a new delight, a reſpectful admiration, a lively remorſe for my obſtinate injuſtice, and an implacable anger againſt thoſe who imagined Arioſto to be injured, merely by comparing him with Taſſo. Not but that I ſtill ſee in him ſome ſlight marks of human imperfection. But who can be ſaid to be exempt from them? Can his great predeceſſor? If Taſſo ſometimes diſpleaſes by too much labour and ſtudy, Arioſto as frequently offends by too little. If you would expunge from the one a few mean conceits, below the dignity of his own mind, you would as readily part with incidents in the other that are too profligate and indecent for the public eye; and if we ſhould wiſh for leſs rhetoric in Godfrey, the amorous tenderneſs of Orlando, would give us much more pleaſure if it were more natural. Verum opere in longo fas eſt obrepere ſomnum: and it would be a malignant and pedantic vanity to point out with ſeverity the little ſpots in two ſuch bright luminaries, quos aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura. All this, you will ſay, does not anſwer your queſtion. You wiſh to know exactly, and clearly, to which of the two you ſhould aſſign the preeminence; I have already, my dear ſir, reſpectfully declared my utter repugnance to ſuch a daring deciſion; and in mere obedience, have diſcloſed to you, with the utmoſt ſincerity, in my own way, the emotions which each of theſe divine poets has occaſioned in my mind. If all this does not ſuffice, take the following reſult of a late examination of myſelf upon the ſubject. If our good father Apollo, in oſtentation of his power, were ever capriciouſly to reſolve on making me a great poet, and commanded me openly to confeſs, which of the two bards I moſt wiſhed to reſemble, I ſhould certainly heſitate in the choice; yet perhaps my native love of order, exactitude, and ſyſtem, would at length incline me to Taſſo.

On Reading.

[*From Miſcellanies, or Literary Recreations. By* J. D'Iſraeli.]

THE numerous readers of taſte, who only prefer a book to the odd trick at whiſt, have, therefore, no reaſon to murmur, if that which is only taken up as an amuſement, ſhould terminate like all amuſements, in temporary pleaſure. To be wiſer and better, is rarely the intention of the gay and the frivolous; the complaints of the gay and the frivolous, are nothing but a new manner of diſplaying gaiety and frivolity; they are lamentations full of mirth.

There are ſecrets in the art of reading, which tend to facilitate its purpoſes, by aſſiſting the memory and augmenting intellectual opulence. Some our own ingenuity muſt form, and perhaps every ſtudent has an artificial manner of recollection, and a peculiar arrangement; as, in ſhort hand, almoſt every writer has a ſyſtem of his own. There are, however, ſome regulations which appear of general utility, and the few my own obſervations have produced, I ſhall venture to communicate.

It is an obſervation of the elder Pliny, [who, having been a voluminous compiler, muſt have had great experience in the art of reading] that there was no book ſo bad, but which contained ſomething good. It is neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that juſt and obvious as this reading axiom may appear, it requires a commentary to be underſtood. To read every book would be fatal to the intereſt of moſt readers; they who only ſeek in ſtudy for mere pleaſure, would be continually diſappointed; for the obſervation is only adapted to that phlegmatic perſeverance, which ſeems to find pleaſure in mere ſtudy. He who only ſeeks for information, muſt be contented to pick it up in obſcure paths, to mount rugged rocks for a few flowers, and to paſs many days bewildered in dark foreſts, and wild deſerts. The reader of erudition may therefore read every book. But he who only deſires to gratify a more delicate ſenſation, who would only fill his heart with delicious ſentiment, and his fancy with bright imagery, in a word, the reader of taſte muſt be contented to range in more contracted limits, and to reſtrict himſelf to the paths of cultured pleaſure grounds. Without this diſtinction in reading, ſtudy becomes a labour painful and interminable; and hence readers of taſte complain that there is no term to reading, and readers of erudition that books contain nothing but phraſes. When the former confine themſelves to works of taſte, their complaints ceaſe: and, when the latter keep to books of facts, they fix on the proper aliment for their inſatiable curioſity.

Nor is it always neceſſary, in purſuit of learning, to read every book entire. Perhaps this taſk has now become an impoſſibility, notwithſtanding thoſe oſtentatious erudits, who by their infinite and exact quotations, appear to have read and digeſted every thing; readers, artleſs and honeſt, have conceived from ſuch writers, an illuſive idea of the power and extenſiveneſs of the human faculites. Of many books it is ſufficient to ſeize the plan, and to examine ſome of its portions. The quackery

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of the learned has been often expoſed; and the art of quoting fifty books in a morning, is a taſk neither difficult nor tedious. There is a little ſupplement placed at the cloſe of every volume, of which few readers conceive the utility; but ſome of the moſt eminent writers in Europe, have been great adepts in the art of index reading. An index reader is, indeed, more let into the ſecrets of an author, than the other who attends him with all the tedious forms of ceremony, as thoſe courtiers, who pay their public devoirs at court, are leſs familiar with the miniſter, than the few who merely enter the chamber of audience, and who generally ſteal up the back ſtairs, and hold their ſecret communications with the miniſter himſelf. I, for my part, venerate the inventor of indexes; and I know not to whom to yield the preference, either to Hippocrates, who was the firſt great anatomiſer of the human body, or to that unknown labourer in literature who firſt laid open the nerves and arteries of a book.

It may be unneceſſary alſo to read all the works of an author, but only to attach ourſelves to thoſe which have received the approbation of poſterity. By this ſcheme we become acquainted with the fineſt compoſitions, in half the time thoſe employ, who, attempting to read every thing, are often little acquainted with, and even ignorant of the moſt intereſting performances. Thus of Machiavel, it may be ſufficient to read his Prince, and his hiſtory of Florence; of Milton, nearly all his poetry, little of his proſe, and nothing of his hiſtory; of Fielding's twelve volumes, ſix may be ſufficient, and of Voltaire's ninety, perhaps thirty may ſatisfy. Of Lord Cheſterfield's Letters, the third volume is the eſſential one, and concentrates the whole ſyſtem. A reader is too often a priſoner attached to the triumphal car of an author of great celebrity, and when he ventures not to judge for himſelf, conceives, while he is reading the indifferent works of great authors, that the languor which he experiences, ariſes from his own defective taſte. But the beſt writers, when they are voluminous, have a great deal of mediocrity; for whenever an author attains to a facility in compoſition, the ſucceſs of his preceding labours not only ſtimulates him to new performances, but prejudices the public in their favour; and it is often no ſhort period before the public, or the author, are ſenſible of the mediocrity of the performances.

On the other ſide, readers muſt not imagine that all the pleaſures of compoſition depend on the author, for there is ſomething which a reader himſelf muſt bring to the book, that the book may pleaſe. There is a literary appetite which the author can no more impart, than the moſt ſkilful cook can give an appetency to the gueſts. When Cardinal Richelieu ſaid to Godeau, that he did not underſtand his verſes, the honeſt poet replied, that it was not his fault. It would indeed be very unreaſonable, when a painter exhibits his pictures in public, to expect that he ſhould provide ſpectacles for the uſe of the ſhort-ſighted. Every man muſt come prepared as well as he can. Simonides confeſſed himſelf incapable of deceiving ſtupid perſons; and Balzac remarked of the girls of his village, that they were too

filly to be deceived by a man of wit. Dulneſs is impenetrable, and there are hours when the livelieſt taſte loſes its ſenſibility. The temporary tone of the mind may be unfavourable to taſte a work properly, and we have had many erroneous criticiſms from great men, which may often be attributed to this circumſtance. The mind communicates its infirm diſpoſitions to the book, and an author has not only his own defects to account for, but alſo thoſe of his reader. There is ſomething in compoſition, like the game of ſhuttlecock, where, if the reader does not quickly rebound the feathered cork, to the author, the game is deſtroyed, and the whole ſpirit of the work falls extinct.

On the Progreſs of Trade, and on the manners of Traders in Manchester.

[*From a Deſcription of the Country from thirty to forty miles round* Manchester. *By* J. Aikin, *M.D.*]

THE trade of Manchester may be divided into four periods. The firſt is that, when the manufacturers worked hard merely for a livelihood, without having accumulated any capital. The ſecond is that when they had begun to acquire little fortunes, but worked as hard, and lived in as plain a manner as before, increaſing their fortunes as well by economy as by moderate gains. The third is that when luxury began to appear, and trade was puſhed by ſending out riders for orders to every market-town in the kingdom. The fourth is the period in which expenſe and luxury had made a great progreſs, and was ſupported by a trade extended by means of riders and factors through every part of Europe.

It is not eaſy to aſcertain when the ſecond of theſe periods commenced; but it is probable that few or no capitals of £. 3000 or 4000. acquired by trade, exiſted here before 1690. However, towards the latter end of the laſt century and the beginning of the preſent, the traders had certainly got money beforehand, and began to build modern brick houſes, in place of thoſe of brick and plaſter. For the firſt thirty years of the preſent century, the old eſtabliſhed houſes confined their trade to the wholeſale dealers in London, Briſtol, Norwich, Newcaſtle, and thoſe who frequented Cheſter fair. The profits were thus divided between the manufacturer, the wholeſale and the retail dealer. Thoſe of the manufacturer were probably (though this is contrary to the received opinion) leſs per cent. upon the buſineſs they did, than in the preſent times. The improvement of their fortunes was chiefly owing to their economy in living, the expenſe of which was much below the intereſt of the capital employed. Apprentices at that time were now and then taken from families who could pay a moderate fee. By an indenture dated 1695 the fee paid appears to have been ſixty pounds, the young man ſerving ſeven years. But all apprentices were obliged to undergo a vaſt deal of laborious work, ſuch as turning warping-mills, carrying goods on their ſhoulders through the ſtreet, and the like. An eminent manufacturer in that age uſed to be in his ware-

warehouſe before ſix in the morning, accompanied by his children and apprentices. At ſeven they all came in to breakfaſt, which conſiſted of one large diſh of water-pottage, made of oatmeal, water, and a little ſalt, boiled thick, and poured into a diſh. At the ſide was a pan or baſon of milk, and the maſter and apprentices, each with a wooden ſpoon in his hand, without loſs of time, dipped into the ſame diſh, and thence into the milk-pan; and as ſoon as it was finiſhed they all returned to their work. In George the Firſt's reign, many country gentlemen began to ſend their ſons apprentices to the Mancheſter manufacturers; but though the little country gentry did not then live in the luxurious manner they have done ſince, the young men found it ſo different from home, that they could not brook this treatment, and either got away before their time, or, if they ſtaid till the expiration of their indentures, they then for the moſt part, entered into the army, or went to ſea. The little attention paid to rendering the evenings of apprentices agreeable at home, where they were conſidered rather as ſervants than pupils, drove many of them to taverns, where they acquired habits of drinking that frequently proved injurious in after life. To this in part is to be attributed the bad cuſtom of gilling, or drinking white wine as a whet before dinner, to which at one period a number of young men fell a ſacrifice.

When the Mancheſter trade began to extend, the chapmen uſed to keep gangs of pack-horſes, and accompany them to the principal towns with goods in packs, which they opened and ſold to ſhop-keepers, lodging what was unſold in ſmall ſtores at the inns. The pack-horſes brought back ſheep's wool, which was bought on the journey, and ſold to the maſters of worſted yarn at Mancheſter, or to the clothiers of Rochdale, Saddleworth, and the weſt riding of Yorkſhire. On the improvement of turnpike roads, waggons were ſet up, and the pack-horſes diſcontinued; and the chapmen only rode out for orders, carrying with them patterns in their bags. It was during the forty years from 1730 to 1770 that trade was greatly puſhed by the practice of ſending thoſe riders all over the kingdom, to thoſe towns which before had been ſupplied from the wholeſale dealers in the capital places before-mentioned. As this was attended not only with more trouble, but with much more riſk, ſome of the old traders withdrew from buſineſs, or confined themſelves to as much as they could on the old footing, which, by the competition of young adventurers, diminiſhed yearly. In this period ſtrangers flocked in from various quarters, which introduced a greater proportion of *young* men of ſome fortune, into the town, with a conſequent increaſe of luxury and gaiety. The fees of apprentices becoming an object of profit, a different manner of treating them began to prevail. Somewhat before 1760, a conſiderable manufacturer allotted a back parlour with a fire for the uſe of his apprentices, and gave them tea twice a day. His fees in conſequence roſe higher than had before been known, from 250l. to 300l.; and he had three or four apprentices at a time. The higheſt fee known as late as 1769, was 500l.

500*l.* Within the laſt twenty or thirty years, the vaſt increaſe of foreign trade has cauſed many of the Mancheſter manufacturers to travel abroad, and agents or partners to be fixed for a conſiderable time on the Continent, as well as foreigners to reſide at Mancheſter. And the town has now in every reſpect aſſumed the ſtyle and manners of one of the commercial capitals of Europe.

Some other anecdotes of the manners of the place in the laſt age may prove amuſing from compariſon, however trivial in their own nature. About the year 1690 there was a great quarrel between the maſter and ſcholars of the grammar ſchool. The boys locked themſelves in the ſchool, and were ſupplied by the town's people with victuals and beds, which were put in at the windows. They even got fire-arms and ammunition, which they employed in firing at the legs of perſons who attempted to get in. This petty rebellion continued a fortnight, ſomewhat to the diſgrace of thoſe who ought to have exerted a better diſcipline.

In 1693, a manufacturer being in London, learned that one of his cuſtomers, a mercer in Mancheſter, was bound in a large ſum for a Londoner, who was expected to break: he thereupon prudently wrote to his wife to go and dun the mercer, adding, "If thou canſt not get money, "take goods—thou mayeſt buy thy-"ſelf a ſilk manteau and petticoat." For a ſenſible and frugal man, who ſet out with very little capital, to ſend ſuch an order to his wife, proves that thoſe articles of finery were not at that time very uncommon.

In a manufacturer's private expenſe book, under the date 1700, are different ſums paid for two of his daughters who were at London in the houſe of a perſon who managed a warehouſe for him. Among the reſt is paid for a ſpinnet, 5*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* In the ſame book, in 1701, is paid 26*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* for a journey to Scarborough, and hire of a coach 13*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* This was the ſea-bathing place of the time, for the journey was on account of a child five years old who died there; and at her funeral, though ſo young, there was paid for gloves 2*l.* 5*s.* When this reputable perſon went to London, his conſtant annually luxuries were Brunſwick mum, beer and tobacco. In the expenſes for 1702, there is a charge, for the firſt time, of ten ſhillings for coffee and tea. His houſe rent was forty pounds per annum, perhaps including his warehouſe. For ſeveral years, ten ſhillings a quarter is put down for *chapel wages*, or his ſubſcription to the diſſenting meeting-houſe. In 1704 is five pounds for an aſs; an enormous price for the time; from which it is probable that few were then bred near Mancheſter. For the ſame year is two pounds for ſhillings for a perriwig, but this was preparatory to a wedding, and double the price of thoſe charged before. This was an expenſive piece of finery for thoſe frugal times.

A proof of the early hours then kept, appears in the following fact: In 1705 a manufacturer married a phyſician's daughter who had been genteely educated, and kept a good deal of company. The hour of afternoon viſiting was then two o'clock, ſo that for ſome years after her marriage, ſhe had always finiſhed her viſit ſoon enough to go to the old church prayers at four. They then dined at twelve; and there being no ſuch thing as a hair dreſſer, it was eaſy to be ready for viſiting at two.

Deſcription of the Battle of Worceſter.

[*From the Hiſtory and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of* Worceſter. *By* Valentine Green.]

AFTER a reſpite of five years only from the horrors of civil commotion, during which interval the death, or rather as they ſaw it, the murder of Charles the firſt had taken place, the city of Worceſter, for the third time within the ſpace of nine years, was again the ſcene of ſlaughter of kindred ſubjects, in a cauſe now arrived at its laſt criſis, and to which its citizens, who had been ſubdued, but not conquered, attached a Roman firmneſs of ſupport.

On Friday morning, 22d of Auguſt, 1651, king Charles the ſecond, with his army from Stirling, in Scotland, commanded under him by the dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the earls of Lauderdale and Middleton, David Leſley, Montgomery, Wilmot, Wentworth, and other leading men of both nations, arrived at, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Worceſter, after a ſlight oppoſition from the parliament forces who were in poſſeſſion of it. The common council of the city had directed the gates, which the ſoldiery had ſhut, to be thrown open to the king on his approach, or to burn them down. The order was obeyed.

At the entrance of the king into Worceſter, Thomas Lyſons, eſq. the then mayor, carried the ſword before his majeſty; and on Saturday the twenty-third he was proclaimed with great ſolemnity king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by the mayor, the ſherliff, and the whole magiſtracy of the city. On the ſame day the king publiſhed his manifeſto or declaration, thereby inferring his wrongs, and withal exhorting the people to aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing him in his rights to the throne of his anceſtors. At the rendezvous held in conſequence of this general ſummons, on the 26th, in Pitcheroft, there appeared Francis lord Talbot (afterwards earl of Shrewſbury) ſir John Patrington, ſir Walter Blount, ſir Ralph Clare, ſir Rowland Berkeley, ſir John Winford, and ſome others, with a reinforcement of about two thouſand men, which, added to the king's army, amounted to about 12,000, and thoſe not the moſt completely equipped for a field of battle. The earl of Derby, with one thouſand five hundred men, had been intercepted and defeated at Wigan, in Lancaſhire, in his way to join the king, and himſelf wounded in the mouth. He, however, effected his eſcape to Worceſter, where he tendered his perſonal ſervice to the king, which was accepted.

Cromwell, who had ſuſpected the king of a deſign of getting into England on the firſt favorable occaſion, ſoon prepared to follow him. He accordingly began his march from St. Johnſtone's, to which he had laid ſiege on the third of Auguſt, and on the twenty-eighth appeared with an army of 17,000 men on Red-hill, a mile to the eaſt of Worceſter, a route of more than 300 miles, and fixed his head-quarters at Spetchley, at the houſe of judge Berkeley. This force, added to thoſe already arrived under the generals Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harriſon, augmented by the Suffolk and Eſſex forces that joined them on the 31ſt, under ſir Thomas Honiwood and colonel Cooke, formed an army of upwards of thirty thouſand men, chiefly cavalry.

The

The day of the lord-general's arrival was marked by the commencement of hoſtilities. The quarters of the royal army then lay very large on the weſtern ſide of the Severn, reaching nearly as far as Malvern hills, and on the river as low as Upton, the bridge of which was broken, and major-general Maſſey, with a detachment of five hundred horſe, and a few dragoons, was poſted there to defend the paſs of the Severn. On the morning of that day, major-general Lambert, with a regiment of horſe and three troops of dragoons from Eveſham, joined by ſome horſe from the main army, about ten o'clock, arrived at the paſs, not ſo much with a view of attacking as of reconnoitering it. Perceiving, however, a ſlender guard upon duty, he ordered a few dragoons to get poſſeſſion of the church, the ſituation of which commanded the paſs; a ſervice they performed with little annoyance. The time occupied before Maſſey's troops could aſſemble to oppoſe them, allowed a ſtrong party of Lambert's horſe to croſs the river about piſtol ſhot below the bridge, in ſupport of the detachment who had now taken poſſeſſion of the church; but not before Maſſey's troops had begun to attack them, by ineffectually firing their piſtols, and thruſting their ſwords in at the windows; whilſt the party within, more ſecure and deliberate in their defence, returned their fire, and killing three or four of the beſiegers, with eight or nine of their horſes, threw them into diſorder, which now became augmented by the approach of the troops that had made good their landing in aid of the beſieged. The confuſion they were thrown into was not to be overcome; it terminated in a complete route of the whole detachment, which retreated into Worceſter. In this attack, major-general Maſſey was dangerouſly wounded: his enemies, however, have done juſtice to his perſonal bravery, in their report of the diſlodgement of his troops, by ſaying, "indeed Maſſey brought up their "rear, when they turned about, "very ſtoutly; at leaſt forty car- "bines were ſhot at him within half "piſtol ſhot, and he was for certain "ſhot through the hand and through "the thigh." His horſe was killed under him.

This important atchievement gave infinite advantage to the Oliverian troops: the bridge was repaired, and a force of upwards of ten thouſand men immediately poſted there to preſerve the paſs. The royal army, upon this defeat, thought it neceſſary to contract their quarters on that ſide of the Severn to within two miles of the city, which was now fiercely bombarded by the lord-general. The fort royal had been repaired, and, in turn, fired on the enemy, "as if" according to their remark "they feared never to want "powder or bullets."

The king in council determined on the following night to have an abrupt interview with his foe. To that end a ſelect party of horſe and foot was choſen to the number of one thouſand five hundred men, part of whom were directed to attack a poſt about two miles out of the city, guarded by about two hundred muſqueteers; and the other to make an attack on the enemy's camp; but the ſcheme was fruſtrated by treachery. The parliament's army, being apprized of their deſign, defeated them at the out-poſt, killing eleven of their men, who were found in the morning dead upon the highway.

Of the other party, who gallantly made a full charge upon colonel Fairfax's regiment, three of the privates were killed. One, who had been ſuppoſed by the enemy to have been a lieutenant-colonel by his dreſs, "coming very boldly up, and "leaping over a hedge, ruſhed upon "a ſtand of pikes, and ſo" as his victors termed it, "loſt his life in a "vapour." This officer proved to be major Knox.

Between five and ſix in the morning of the third of September, lieutenant-general Fleetwood had orders to advance with his brigade, together with the troops under major-general Deane, and the colonels Ingoldſby, Goff, and Gibbons, from Upton to Powyck; a bridge was thrown over the Teme, and another over the Severn was forming near the conflux of theſe rivers, to open a communication for the army on the eaſt of the city with the forces now entering upon ſervice on the weſt of the Severn. This eventful ſcene had been anxiously beheld in its progreſs from the top of the cathedral tower, by a council of war convened there by the king; and the firing which had begun between Fleetwood's detachment and thoſe of the king's party that lined the hedges between Upton and Powick, was clearly diſcerned. It was on this diſcovery that the king in perſon ſet forward to give orders to major-general Robert Montgomery, who, with colonel George Keyth, had the command of a royal brigade of horſe and foot at Powyck bridge, to maintain that paſs with the utmoſt of their power, and to detach a party to oppoſe the finiſhing of the bridge of boats over the Severn; and, after giving thoſe directions, his majeſty returned to the city, where his whole force, who had been ordered to arms, were now in readineſs for action. But the king's inſtructions were rendered ineffectual by the enemy; the bridge over the Severn was completed; the detachment from Upton cleared its way by ſcouring the hedges and defiles that obſtructed them. The right wing of the brigade under general Fleetwood, having croſſed the Teme, and the left arrived at Powyck bridge, they drove in the foot of the royaliſts "to their main "body of horſe and foot which was "drawn up at Wikefield, near Po-"wick bridge, being the ſame field "wherein the late king firſt engaged "the forces of the parliament in the "ſame month of September 1642. "The republican horſe and foot "marched up with great reſolution "to their enemy's body, and came "to puſh of pike with them; and, "after a conteſt of nearly two hours, "drove them back, and wholly "routed them, killing many upon "the place, and purſuing the reſt to "the drawbridge and gates of the "city." In this action colonel Keyth was left a priſoner, and Montgomery was ſeverely wounded. Cromwell himſelf was the firſt that landed on the weſt ſide of the Severn, over the bridge of boats, and acted on foot againſt the enemy, who lined the hedges in his way to the ſcene of action; and from whence, having witneſſed the complete ſucceſs of the enterprize, he returned to his main army, to prepare them for the approaching battle.

The principal part of his force was ſettled in an advantageous poſition at Perry wood, at the ſouth end of which a ſtrong breaſt-work was raiſed; and a battery of great guns was alſo opened againſt the fort royal.

It was drawing towards the evening when the king, with the dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, lord Grandiſon, ſir Alexander Forbes, and many others of the Engliſh nobility, marched the main body of the royal army, horſe and foot, out at Sidbury gate, to make the grand attack on that part of the Cromwellian forces that remained on that ſide of the town, under the perſuaſion that moſt of their troops had been drawn over to the other ſide of the Severn, and, that by being thus divided, they were conſequently weakened. The principal part of them, however, were at their poſt, awaiting the approach of their adverſary, with Cromwell at their head.

No ſooner had the royal army taken their ground and formed, than by the command and encouragement of the king, a general charge was given. The conteſt was eager, fierce, and reſolute; and proſecuted with equal bravery on both ſides, for three or four hours. The ſcale of victory turned firſt in favour of the royaliſts, before whom their enemy retreated in diſorder, and left them in the actual poſſeſſion of their great guns. At this juncture, however, new ſupplies arriving from the other ſide of the Severn in conſiderable numbers, joining and ſupporting the parliament army, and the main body of the Scottiſh horſe not coming timely up to the king's aid, after ſuſtaining a very unequal conflict for a conſiderable time, fighting with the butt end of their muſkets; after ſpending all their ammunition, and giving every proof of undaunted valour, the royaliſts were at length overpowered; and the king, with his worn out troops, forced to retreat, in great order, back again, through Sidbury gate, into the city.

He now perceived many of the Scottiſh foot to throw down their arms, and to decline the battle. This, indeed, was no more than what Leſley had before intimated to him, by ſaying, that, as well as they appeared they would not fight. He now experienced it fully. Nor was he ſo ill a judge of probabilities, as to imagine they were able to oppoſe a veteran army, flushed with ſucceſs, and maſters of the treaſures of the nation. Notwithſtanding which he uſed every argument to perſuade them; riding up and down with his hat in his hand; exhorting them to ſtand to their arms, and fight like men; urging and alleging the juſtneſs of the cauſe they fought in. But, finding all his intreaties in vain, he exclaimed, "I had rather you "would ſhoot me, than keep me "alive to ſee the ſad conſequences "of this day."

During this engagement, Lambert's party on the other ſide of the river poſſeſſed themſelves of St. John's; the brigade of his majeſty's foot, commanded there by major-general Daliel, after a ſlight reſiſtance, ſurrendered.

The earl of Rothes, ſir William Hamilton and colonel Drummond, with a party of Scots, defended the caſtle hill with great bravery and integrity, till terms of capitulation were agreed upon.

The enemy having carried the fort royal by ſtorm, put all the troops found in it to the ſword, becauſe they had refuſed to ſurrender on the firſt ſummons. Its guns were now pointed at and fired into the town; and the diſmay and conſternation, which was now become general, was heightened by the entrance of the victors, who having borne down every obſtacle, poured into the city

city on all ſides, with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. The king, not unmindful of his unhappy condition, ſought means of ſafety, by making his eſcape with lord Wilmot, by the back way of the houſe where he quartered, narrowly avoiding the cloſe purſuit of colonel Cobbett, who entered the foreway of the houſe, at the ſame time, in queſt of him.

The earl of Cleveland, ſir James Hamilton, the colonels Wogan, Carlis, and Slaughter; the captains Hornyhold, Giffard, Aſtley, and Kemble; Mr. Peter Blount, and others, rallied what forces they could, and again charged the enemy in Sidbury and the high ſtreet, which, though unſucceſsful with reſpect to victory, was yet of ſingular ſervice to the unfortunate king, by diverting the attention of the Oliverians, whilſt he made his eſcape through St. Martin's gate, who, otherwiſe, had been taken priſoner in the city.

At the town hall the royaliſts made their laſt ſtand, no leſs unſucceſsful than any of their former. In this diſpute Mr. Conningſby Colles, and ſeveral others were ſlain, ſir James Hamilton and captain Kemble deſperately wounded, and many were taken priſoners.

The parliament army, now maſters of the city, gave way to the moſt atrocious acts of outrage that the meanneſs of rapacity could ſtimulate in the dark mind of a ſanguinary puritan: and although oſtenſible authority for a general pillage was not abſolutely given by Cromwell, it is as certain that not the leaſt reſtraint was put upon the brutal violence of his ruffian troops, who fell to ravaging and plundering without mercy; few or none of the devoted citizens eſcaping their cruelty.

The chief perſons ſlain in the courſe of this battle were, the Duke of Hamilton, whoſe horſe was alſo killed under him, captain William Erwyne, major Knox, ſir John Douglas and Mr. Conningſby Colles; about three thouſand private men were alſo killed. The chief priſoners were the earls of Derby and Lauderdale, taken in purſuit by colonel Lilburn; the earls of Cleveland and Shrewſbury, lord Wentworth and others, alſo taken in flight, as were major-general Maſſey, lieutenant-general David Leſley, and lieutenant-general Middleton. Sir Alexander Forbes, commander of the fort-royal, was ſhot through both the calves of his legs, lay in Perry wood all night, and was next day brought priſoner to Worceſter. Robert, earl of Carnwaith, Alexander, earl of Kelly, John, lord St. Clair, lord Grandiſon, ſir John Pakington, the major-generals Montgomery and Piſcotty, colonel Keyth, Mr. Richard Fanſhaw, the king's ſecretary, the general of the ordnance, adjutant-general of foot, marſhal general, ſix colonels of horſe, eight of foot, ſix majors of horſe, thirteen of foot, thirty-ſeven captains of horſe, ſeventy-two of foot, with a great number of inferior officers, were alſo taken priſoners; one hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's ſtandard, his collar of S.S. his coach and horſes, and other things of great value, fell into the hands of the victors.

This memorable battle was the deciſion of the controverſy ſo long ſubſiſting between the king and parliament, during that horrid din of deſpotiſm and uſurpation, and the laſt of any conſequence fought on that account: the fortune of which gave to the latter the entire government of the three kingdoms.

The king, having eſcaped the dangers of the field, and the ſnares of treachery, was conducted from Worceſter to Boſcobel, where he was hoſpitably entertained, and carefully concealed from thoſe keen hunters of royal blood, by Mr. Richard Pendrill, and from thence ſafely conveyed on his way to France.

Account of Sion Houſe.

[*From the Hiſtory of the principal Rivers of* Great Britain, Vol. II.]

SION Houſe was originally a convent, founded by Henry the fifth in the year 1414, for ſixty nuns of the order of St. Bridget of Zion, thirteen prieſts, four deacons, and eight lay brethren. It was endowed, on its foundation, with a revenue of one thouſand marks, which was afterwards increaſed to one thouſand, ſeven hundred and thirty-one pounds per annum. An abbeſs and nuns were reſident there in the time of Philip and Mary, but were ſent away in the firſt year of queen Elizabeth. At the diſſolution, the revenues of this houſe amounted to one thouſand, nine hundred and forty-four pounds, eleven ſhillings, and eight-pence per annum, after which period the abbots, nuns, lay ſiſters, &c. to the amount of ſeventy-three, received penſions during their lives. The laſt abbeſs was interred at Denham Church, near Uxbridge; and a great part of the inſcription upon the grave ſtone is ſtill legible. This monaſtery was granted by Edward the ſixth, in the firſt year of his reign, to the protector, Edward, duke of Somerſet, who built a ſuperb palace out of its ruins, the ſhell of which ſtill remains in its primitive ſtate. After the fall of that potent nobleman it reverted to the crown. In the ſeventh year of Edward the ſixth it was granted to John, duke of Northumberland; and on his attainder, James the firſt gave it to Harry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland. In the year 1646, the dukes of York and Glouceſter and the princeſs Elizabeth were ſent hither by order of Parliament, and were treated with ſuch kind attention by the earl and counteſs of Northumberland, that their unfortunate father, when he viſited them in the following year, received no ſmall conſolation, on finding his children under ſuch friendly care and protection. From this period it continued to be the reſidence of the earls of Northumberland. In the year 1682, Charles duke of Somerſet, married the lady Elizabeth Percy, only daughter and heireſs of Joceline, earl of Northumberland, by which alliance, Sion became the property of that nobleman, who lent it to the princeſs of Denmark during the time that a coldneſs ſubſiſted between her royal highneſs and her ſiſter queen Mary. On the death of Charles, duke of Somerſet, in 1748, Algernon, earl of Hertford, his only ſurviving ſon, ſucceeded to the title and immenſe property of his father, and ſoon after gave Sion to his daughter and ſon-in-law, the late duke and ducheſs of Northumberland, to whoſe magnificent taſte it owes its preſent grandeur and beauty. The houſe occupies the ſite of the monaſtic church, and is a large and majeſtic ſtructure. It is a ſquare edifice of ſtone, built round a quadrangle; every front is embattled and ornamented with em-

battled

battled turrets: the eaſtern elevation, which faces the Thames is ſupported by arches that form a grand piazza. The original gardens were made by the protector, Somerſet, in a ſtyle of great magnificence; and, according to the faſhion of the age, encloſed within high walls and elevated by terraces; but theſe were deſtroyed and levelled by the late noble poſſeſſor; and the lower apartments of the houſe now look upon the beautiful ſcene, which was excluded by the faſtidious pride of former times. The weſtern lawn, enriched with ſtately trees, is interſected by a ſerpentine water, and divided by flouriſhing plantations from the eaſtern part of the grounds which ſlope towards the river. The flower garden contains a large collection of curious trees and exotic plants; and a lofty doric column riſes in it and dignifies the ſpot. A part of the walls, that encloſe the kitchen garden, forms the only remains of the ancient monaſtery. The interior part of this noble edifice is ſaid to have received conſiderable alterations from the ſkill of Inigo Jones, in the early part of the laſt century; but it was the ſumptuous taſte of the late duke of Northumberland which completed and furniſhed it, in its preſent ſtate of unrivalled ſplendor. Among its ſpacious apartments, where the antique ſtyle of decorations has been employed with peculiar felicity, is a ſpacious anti-chamber of unique magnificence. The floor is of Scaglioli and the walls in fine relief, with gilded trophies; but its diſtinguiſhing ornaments are twelve large columns and ſixteen pilaſters of verde antique, containing a greater quantity of this ſcarce and precious marble, than is now, perhaps, to be found in any building in the world. The great gallery, which ſerves for the library and muſeum, is one hundred and thirty feet in length. The book-caſes are formed in receſſes in the wall, and receive the books in ſuch a manner, as to make them a part of the general finiſhing of the room. The whole is finiſhed with the utmoſt lightneſs and elegance, in the moſt beautiful ſtyle of the antique, and afforded the firſt example of ſtucco work finiſhed in England, after the fine remains of antiquity. The ceiling is richly adorned with paintings and other ornaments, that harmonize with the beautiful decorations that pervade the other parts of this ſuperb apartment. Beneath the ceiling runs a ſeries of large medallion paintings, exhibiting the portraits of all the earls of Northumberland in ſucceſſion, with other diſtinguiſhed perſonages of the noble houſes of Percy and Seymour, moſt of which are copied from original pictures. At the weſt end is a pair of folding doors, that open into the garden, which the general uniformity of the library required to repreſent a book-caſe; and here, by a very happy thought, are exhibited the titles of Greek and Roman authors, which not only form a very pleaſing deception, but at the ſame time afford a curious catalogue of the authores deperditi. The other apartments are anſwerable in taſte and magnificence to thoſe of which we have given a curſory deſcription.

Account of Penſhurſt.

[*From the Same.*]

PENSHURST, which poſſeſſes ſomewhat of hiſtorical character,

and never fails, from the incidental circumſtances attached to it, to inſpire a ſentimental intereſt, derives its name from the Britiſh word pen, ſignifying ſummit, and hurſt, a wood. In ſeveral ancient records it is called Penceſtre, probably from ſome fortreſs which may have been erected on the ſpot. It is a village which derives all its diſtinction from the ancient, ſtately and dignified manſion, called Penſhurſt Place. In the reign of the conqueror, it was the reſidence of a family who took its name, and in the time of Edward the firſt we find that it belonged to ſir Stephen de Peneſhurſte or Peneceſtre, who was knighted and made conſtable of Dover caſtle, and warden of the cinque ports by Henry the third. It was afterwards, in the reign of Edward the ſecond, conveyed to John de Pulteney, who, under Edward the third, was four times mayor of London, and is mentioned by Stow, as pre-eminent for his piety, wiſdom, great wealth, and magnificent hoſpitality. After being poſſeſſed by many noble and diſtinguiſhed perſons, it was at length forfeited to the crown, in the reign of Edward the ſixth, by the attainder of ſir Ralph Fane, and was granted by that king to ſir William Sidney, knight, and his heirs, a very diſtinguiſhed perſon, and who had acquired great military reputation in the preceding reign. On his death, the Eſtate devolved to his ſon, ſir Henry Sidney who had been bred up with Edward the ſixth from his infancy; by whom as well as by queen Elizabeth, he was very much cheriſhed and advanced. On his death Penſhurſt Place devolved to his eldeſt ſon, ſir PhilipSidney, the moſt gallant and accompliſhed gentleman of his age, and whoſe extraordinary qualities were not only the univerſal admiration of his own times, but will command an enthuſiaſtic homage, as long as great talents, ſuperior learning, undaunted courage, and unblemiſhed virtue, are venerated by mankind. The houſe is a large irregular pile, ornamented with towers and embattled parapets. Its principal entrance is through a large portal, with a tower over it, and above the gate an inſcription records that the manor of Penſhurſt, &c. was given by Edward the ſixth to ſir William Sidney, Knight Bannaret, chamberlain of his houſhold; and that the tower was built in the year 1585, by ſir Henry Sidney, knight of the garter, as a grateful memorial of his Sovereign's bounty. The principal buildings form a ſpacious, irregular and gloomy quadrangle. The great hall, though apparently neglected, is one of the moſt curious parts of this edifice, and has a remarkable roof raiſed on the ſhoulders of ſome large images, in a manner equally ſingular and groteſque. From the hall there is an aſcent to a ſpacious vaulted gallery, having at the upper end a Gothic arch with three ſteps, each formed of a ſingle piece of timber much worn; from whence a flight of ſtairs leads on either hand to the principal apartments, which is now cloſed. Many of the rooms were fitted up by the late Mr. Perry, who poſſeſſed this eſtate by marriage with the honourable Elizabeth Sidney, niece to the late earl of Leiceſter. In one wing of the houſe is a large picture gallery, in which is ſeen the portrait of lady Dorothy Sidney, the Sachariſſa of Waller; but it does not diſplay thoſe charms,

which

which may be ſuppoſed to have awakened the lyre of that tender and elegant poet. The environs of this ancient manſion, though ſomewhat diminiſhed, ſtill appear in a fine park of ſix miles in circumference, which is waſhed by the Medway, and riſes behind the houſe in ſylvan grandeur. Among its native ornaments is ſtill ſeen the oak, which tradition repreſents as having been planted at the birth of ſir Philip Sidney, and which Ben Johnſon repreſents as

That taller tree, of which a nut was ſet,
At his great birth, where all the Muſes met.

But its ſtate and condition ſeem to eſtabliſh it of an earlier age. This venerable tree is a grand and picturesque object: at three feet from the ground, it meaſures twenty feet, eleven inches, in the general circumference: and its longeſt branch projects thirty-ſix feet from the trunk. Though it has been ſo far excavated by time as to poſſeſs a ſeat in its hollow which will hold three or four perſons, it is, with the exception of a few branches, well covered with foliage. In this park (a mark of great antiquity, as well as of pious reſpect to the place, in the long ſucceſſion of its poſſeſſors) there ſtill exiſts an heronry, and perhaps the only one in the kingdom. In popiſh times the breed of herons was very much encouraged, and a colony of them, was generally an appendage to the ſeats of perſons of wealth and diſtinction; as this bird, which feeds only on fiſh, is allowed as canonical food, on the days of abſtinence from fleſh, in the Roman catholic church. In a deep hole in the Medway, called Jupner's hole, near the lower end of Penſhurſt park, there riſes a ſpring, which produces a viſible and ſtrong ebullition on the ſurface of the river. The ſon of Mr. Shelly, of Horſham, in Suſſex, by the ſurviving daughter of Mr. Perry, and who has taken the name of Sidney, is the preſent poſſeſſor of this fine place and ancient property.

Domiphobia, or the Dread of Home.

[*From the Monthly Magazine.*]

Sir,

I VERY much approve of your allotting a particular part of your Magazine to the valuable purpoſes of medical improvement; and what has been already done, will, I hope, lay the foundation of a ſeries of communications, from which phyſicians may derive great advantage. From entertaining ſo high an opinion of this part of your Magazine, I am induced to offer my mite, by contributing a few remarks on a diſeaſe, not yet touched upon by your medical correſpondents, but which, by the time this communication will appear, muſt be pretty well known in moſt families. It is very prevalent in the months of June and July, is at the height in Auguſt, begins to decline in September, and about the end of October generally diſappears, though much will depend upon the weather.

I am ſomewhat at a loſs to deſcribe this diſorder, becauſe being of very recent appearance in this country, it has eſcaped the attention of Sauvages, Vogel, Cullen, and all our late noſologiſts. It has ſome ſymptoms peculiar to the claſs o fevers, and ſome to that of inflam mations, but it is a diſeaſe, if

may uſe the phraſe, ſo original, ſo much *per ſe*, that we muſt be content to let it be the root of a peculiar claſs, which may hereafter be divided into ſpecies, when the faculty ſhall have made it more their ſtudy.

I call it, merely for diſtinction's ſake, the Domiphobia, or Dread of Home, which is the principal ſymptom; it begins as I ſaid before, about the month of June, or earlier, for I have at this moment a family under my care, who are dreadfully afflicted with it. The mother, a remarkably healthy looking, and indeed very handſome woman, complains of a waſting of the fleſh, want of appetite, liſtleſsneſs, and dejection. The two daughters, though poſſeſſed of the fineſt bloom of complexion, are inclined to conſumption, have alſo loſt their appetites, and are, to uſe their mother's expreſſion, in a very alarming ſituation. The ſons have various pulmonic ſymptoms, ſhortneſs of breath, cough, and complain that the ſmoke of London, entirely diſorders them. The huſband is the only perſon who has eſcaped the diſorder, although he ſeems ſo much diſtreſſed at the ſight of his family, that I ſhould not wonder if he caught it from them. Every medicine I have preſcribed, has failed in its operation. Indeed, I muſt confeſs, that this is one of thoſe diſorders, in which we are not to expect a cure from chemicals or Galenicals. On the contrary, if we leave nature to perform her work, a cure is immediately found, for nature ſuggeſts to the patients, from the very firſt attack of the diſeaſe, that it can be relieved only by a jaunt to a watering place. And hence a very expert practitioner in my neighbourhood, chooſes to call it the Hydromania; but I apprehend he is miſtaken, for I never knew a patient more attached to water when abroad, than when at home. There certainly, however, are ſymptoms, which indicate a mania of ſome kind or other; but ſo imperfect is our knowledge of maniacal caſes, that I can derive no information from books. Arnold does not mention it in his laſt edition, although probably he may in the next, for which I am told he is preparing materials. Beſides, I confeſs, that I am not very partial to increaſing our catalogues of manias. So many things might be brought under this title, that a general hiſtory of madneſs would, I am afraid, be as comprehenſive as the Annual Regiſter, or any other work which profeſſed to record the actions of man; but this is a digreſſion.

It is peculiar to the diſorder I am now ſpeaking of, that the ſymptoms of it never appear, when the patients are by themſelves: the preſence, however, of a ſtranger, or a party of ſtrangers, never fails to bring on the cough, dyſpnœa, and other concomitants. But above all other occaſions, they are moſt exaſperated in the preſence of the head of the family, whether a father, an uncle, or a guardian. Now, as this is as much a diſeaſe of the mind as of the body, it ſtrikes me, that the paſſion of envy, or jealouſy, is ſtrongly excited by the ſight of perſons who are not afflicted with the diſorder, which is generally the caſe with fathers, uncles, and guardians; and that the patient, from a deſire of communicating the diſeaſe, is impelled to throw out thoſe miaſmata, or contagious particles, which will affect all preſent. That this is often done

done without producing the effect, I well know, but I muſt ſay, that, in general, where the diſorder is of long continuance (a month or ſix weeks for example) it ſeldom fails to impart ſuch a degree of its virulence, as to affect the father, and then, I obſerve, the cure is as good as performed.

From the few remarks I have thrown out, you will perceive, Sir, that although we cannot refer this diſorder to any claſs hitherto mentioned by noſologiſts, yet we may rank it among *endemics*, or thoſe diſorders which affect the inhabitants of a certain diſtrict. *This* is moſt prevalent in the city of London, and extends a little way into the ſuburbs. I have met with a few caſes of the kind, in the borough of Southwark; but the ſmall villages near town are, I think, generally pretty free from it. As to the Borough, it is rather ſingular, that ſome of the patients, after returning from Margate or Brighton, apparently perfectly cured, take lodgings nevertheleſs in a large building in St. George's fields: whether this confirms the cure, I know not, but I apprehend it may prevent a relapſe, and I am doubtful whether any thing will ſo effectually anſwer this purpoſe. The tendency of the diſorder to return, is one of the worſt circumſtances belonging to it, and ſufficiently convinces me, that there is a radical error in the mode of treatment. I am not aſhamed to confeſs, that I have often failed. If we phyſicians are not as free in acknowledging our errors, as proud in announcing our cures, the medical art, as to practical uſefulneſs, muſt ſtand ſtill.

With reſpect to the cauſes of the DOMIPHOBIA, they may be divided, as in the caſe of other diſorders, into *remote*, *proximate*, and *occaſional*. On theſe I ſhall not be prolix. It is a great miſtake, however, to aſcribe this diſorder to low living, or a poor diet. If that were the caſe, the poor would be afflicted by it, particularly this ſeaſon. But the fact is, it attacks perſons who live well, freely, upon a generous diet. *Exceſſive indulgence* never fails to bring it on, and it is remarkable, that thoſe who have ONCE *indulged*, are ſure to have a relapſe the following year. I ſcarce know an inſtance to the contrary. The mental affections are to be taken into account, and I have known caſes where it was brought on merely by *talking about it*; a wonderful proof of the intimate connection betwixt the mind and the body. That there is an affection of the head, cannot well be doubted, from its being almoſt always attended with giddineſs, wanderings, vain fears, and ſometimes downright raving; the patient perpetually talking of *balls*, *dances*, *breakfaſts*, *raffles*, *ſubſcriptions*, and other things, which very ſeldom much occupy the attention of perſons of ſound minds and robuſt health.

I have now, ſir, communicated the reſult of pretty accurate obſervation, and ſome practice in this diſorder. I am aware, that, in the curative part, I have failed to impart much information. The fact is, and I honeſtly confeſs it, I have ſucceeded in very few caſes, and thoſe were chiefly where the diſorder was ſlight. Taken at the beginning, much may be done, but the patients are very apt to conceal it, probably from motives of delicacy, until it acquires ſtrength which common remedies will not oppoſe. The indications

dications are likewiſe ſometimes ſo complicated, that one does not know how to obviate one ſymptom without increaſing the violence of another. What can be done where there is an *inflammatory* tendency, accompanied by *lowneſs* and *weakneſs*, a very common form of the diſeaſe? I muſt, therefore, cloſe the ſubject for the preſent, with obſerving, that an eminent phyſician of my acquaintance, *Dr. Abraham Newland*, has a very elegant form of preſcriptions, which I never knew any patient refuſe to *take*; but it is liable to the ſame objections I have already mentioned, namely, that it will not prevent a relapſe.

I am, ſir,

Your very humble ſervant,

Warwick-lane. C.

On the Importance of Topographical Hiſtories.

[*From the ſame.*]

Sir,

I HAVE juſt peruſed a letter in your magazine for July, ſigned G. D. on topographical hiſtory. It contains ſome good remarks, ſuch as I ſhould naturally expect from G. D. whoſe ſignature I have obſerved on many other occaſions; but, I cannot altogether embrace his opinions on the "cauſe of the prejudices againſt "topographical hiſtory." He ſpeaks of the "uninviting aſpect that it too "often aſſumes, and the aukward "arrangement in which it is diſ-"poſed;" that "we are detained "by minute deſcriptions of things, "which, in themſelves, are of no "conſequence, or which can only "amuſe a particular claſs of readers; "by dry narratives, frequently er-"roneous, conveyed with taſteleſs "formality, from one compiler to "another; with inſipidities of pri-"vate families, and tedious details "of local antiquities, muſty in-"ſcriptions, and mouldy reliques," &c. &c.

What I have tranſcribed, is ſufficient for my purpoſe, and muſt ſatisfy every genuine *amateur* of topographical hiſtory, that G. D. has wholly miſtaken the nature of that branch of ſcience, and, as the readers of this letter will perceive, has confounded the imagination of the painter, with the ancient lore of the antiquary; a fatal error! an error, which would ſtrike at the root of thoſe vaſt labours and profound reſearches, in which our topographers have been ſo long and ſo uſefully employed. What would become of inſcriptions, ſo defaced as to be unintelligible, and of letters upon monuments, ſo ſcattered as not to amount to words, if we were to turn our eyes to the picturesque ſcenery of a village? Where would be the ingenuity of conjecture, and the manufacture of probabilities? Where that promptitude of gueſs-work, which makes ſomething out of nothing? Where would curioſity explore for gratification? and where would indagation rove in queſt of food?

Before I ſaw G. D.'s letter, I had thoughts of offering my ſervices to your magazine, as an inveſtigator of topographical curioſities; but I am diſheartened to ſee the contempt that is poured on my induſtrious reſearches into the hiſtory of death and decay, in men and things. I tremble to think, that my vaſt collection of epitaphs, initials on head-ſtones, portraits of remarkable yew-trees, bon mots of eminent ſextons, and repartees of facetious grave-

diggers,

diggers, muſt be denied a place among the works of the learned, if G. D.'s doctrines prevail; and that the name of *Patrick Pry* muſt deſcend to poſterity without the preface of *Dr.* or the poſtſcript of F. R. S. A. S. S. But I hope better things—I hope that I ſhall be able, though not perhaps in one letter, to convince you, that topographical hiſtory, *as it always has been written*, is a noble ſtudy, and of vaſt utility to mankind in general.

G. D. talks of its *awkward arrangement*. The arrangement, as far as I have obſerved of topographical antiquities, is *alphabetical*. Now, where is the awkwardneſs of that? G. D. may as well ſay, that the alphabet itſelf is awkward, becauſe, according to its preſent arrangement, it cannot make a word; or, he may inſiſt upon it, that pariſhes were not built alphabetically, or, that men do not die in alphabetical order. But, ſir, that an alphabet is neceſſary, in order to find them out after they are dead, you may be convinced of, if you will only look into that grand *depot* of *hereſy* and *ſchiſm*, Bunhill-fields burial-ground. There the walls have *degrees* marked upon them, like a map; and if you wiſh to ſet ſail for your anceſtor, you muſt find out his parallel of latitude in a cemeterical grammar, kept on purpoſe. So much for arrangement.

His more important objection ſeems to be "inſipidities of private "families, and tedious details of "local antiquities." Now, ſir, let me only aſk you, how, and in what manner, we can make a *folio* volume, without the hiſtories of private families, and details of local antiquities? And unleſs we make a folio volume, how can we pretend to rank with illuſtrious topographers? He calls them *inſipidities*. Alas! ſir, what is inſipid to one man, is marvellouſly ſavory to another. *De guſtibus non diſputandum*. Why does the poet ſing ſo pathetically,

"Full many a flow'r is born to bluſh un-
"ſeen," &c.

and yet, when we topographers endeavour to raiſe this flower into notice, we are, forſooth, to be called inſipid and tedious? No, ſir; how can we render the hiſtory of a pariſh complete, without tracing it as far back as hiſtory will enable us? and hiſtory, with the aid of conjecture, will do much. If both fail, we frequently have tradition on our ſide, and a more fertile ſource I know not. When we have finiſhed its ancient hiſtory, we come to the modern; and here we give an account of all the large manſions in the pariſh, ſtate where the roads are now, and where they were formerly, and enter into a detail of agricultural curioſities. Is it nothing, ſir, to know, who firſt planted potatoes, and who firſt made a cucumber-bed? and having found this, ſhall we neglect to make honourable mention of ſuch benefactors? Suppoſe we diſcover, that the firſt perſon who drank tea in this pariſh, was John Tomlinſon, farmer; William Sparks, ſon to the pariſh clerk; Humphrey Sparks, a pariſh clerk himſelf; and Dorothy Rogers, widow; and that tradition informs us, that this memorable event took place *anno domini* 1703.

Now, ſir, conſider what G. D. would call being *tedious* in this caſe. Why, ſir, what he calls tedious, is nothing more than the anxious and indefatigable attention which we pay to

to the real ſtate of a fact. I ſhall give you this very circumſtance as a fact, which I find in my manuſcript hiſtory of the pariſh of Bromley, near Bow, co. Middleſex, which I am about to publiſh in two volumes folio. It occurs p. 2493, vol. ii.

"Of a fact thus deciſively related, "it would become me to ſpeak with "reſpect, had I not too frequently "found, that the vanity of a villager "is prolific in circumſtances of cele- "brity, and that the avidity of rela- "tion is ſeldom curious after the "origin of tradition. That John "Tomlinſon might drink tea, as an "abſtract fact, may be allowed; but "the concomitant circumſtances are "either involved in obſcurity, or "may be eclipſed by ſuſpicion. If "he was a farmer, as here ſtated, "how many acres of ground did he "cultivate? what rent did he pay? "and what produce did they afford? "In the reign of queen Anu, we "know that the villages in the vi- "cinity of London were obſcure, "and that the Eaſt India company "was young. That tea was expen- "ſive, will not be doubted: for it "was conſidered, for many years, "as a ſuitable preſent for men of "opulence, who muſt be compli- "mented by exceſs, and for men of "power, who muſt be courted by "what is ſcarce. It affords an ar- "gument that ſuch a man as John "Tomlinſon exiſted. Of his exiſt- "ence, I have diſſipated all ſuſpicion, "by proving" (vol. ii. p. 1978) "at "conſiderable length, that I. T. on "a head-ſtone, near the north-weſt "corner of the church, belongs to "him; that Jane Burroughs, ſpin- "ſter, was his firſt wife, by whom "he had ſix ſons and two daughters;" [here follows a biographical notice of theſe, particularly of Richard the ſecond ſon, who roſe from a barber's boy to be twice churchwarden, and once was candidate for the office of common councilman of the ward of Portſoken.] "Theſe difficulties, "therefore, being obviated, we muſt "ſtill doubt the general fact.

"It would, however, ill become "an hiſtorian to leave his readers "in the dark, as to a matter of ſo "conſiderable importance. Fidelity "ought unqueſtionably to be the "firſt object, but information is of "as high importance. My re- "ſearches on this ſubject have been "unremitting, and I hope not un- "ſucceſsful. At moſt, indeed, what "I have obtained, amounts but to "conjecture; but it is ſuch conjec- "ture as future hiſtorians may im- "prove into certainty. It appears "to me, therefore, that the difficulty "may be ſolved in two ways. Firſt, "I ſuſpect, from looking more and "more attentively into the book, "where this fact is recorded, which "is a ſmall paper book, ſuch as are "now commonly ſold for two-pence "(by the bye, a great ſum of money "in thoſe days), and covered with "blue paper (for I do not think "marbled paper was then made)— "I ſay, upon looking into this book, "I ſuſpect there is an error in the "date, and that for 1703, we ſhould "read 1763, the top of the figure 6 "being eraſed, perhaps on purpoſe, "or more probably never put on, "for at that time writing was but "in its infancy with farmers, or even "pariſh clerks. This, my readers "will be convinced, ſolves the whole "difficulty, renders tea cheap, and "tradition reſpectable. But, ſe- "condly, a very eminent antiquary, "who has written the Hiſtory of "Shacklewell, in three vols. folio, "has hinted to me, that he thinks

"the

" the date of the manuſcript correct,
" and yet finds no difficulty ariſing
" either from the circumſtances of
" the farmer, the Eaſt India com-
" pany, or the China trade. 'You
" obſerve,' ſays he, in a letter, dated
" July 16, 'that it is ſimply men-
" tioned, that they drank tea.'
" Now, it is not ſaid, nor does it
" appear, that this was the thea of
" botaniſts, which, by the bye (and
" I think you ought to take notice
" of it), belongs to the order of
" trigynia and not monogynia,
" where Linnæus, by a great miſ-
" take, places it. The bohea as it is
" called, has flowers with ſix petals,
" and the green with nine. No
" mention is made here of the
" petals, which, I take it, proceeded
" from the writer having ſeen only
" the dried leaf, a very common
" caſe with tea drinkers in England.
" My opinion, therefore, is, that
" the tea which they drank, (for I
" am convinced of the drinking)
" was not the Chineſe plant now ſo
" common, and ſo uſeful in the
" diſcuſſion of the news of the day,
" and in adjuſting family diſputes,
" articles of marriage, crim. con.
" and other common occurrences;
" but the Meliſſa Hortenſis, the
" Baulm, Baum, or Balm, which
" was at that time well known for
" its virtues, when uſed in infuſion,
" and might be procured for nothing,
" by perſons of the deſcription you
" mention. Phyſicians, in particu-
" lar, ſay, that 'a decoction of the
" leaves corroborates lax gums,' a
" diſorder to which the labouring
" people of this country were very
" ſubject, when they were able to
" earn a livelihood, and we may ſup-
" poſe that this was the caſe in
" 1703, becauſe taxes were not
" quite ſo numerous as they are
" now, and the national debt was
" a trifle leſs. If I have been the
" humble inſtrument of throwing
" any light upon this ſubject, it
" will afford me the moſt heartfelt
" conſolation, being, dear ſir, with
" great reſpect," &c. &c.

So much, Mr. Editor, for a ſpecimen of what G. D. chooſes to call being tedious. He is, I think, a writer of too much candour, not to retract where he is internally convinced; and, if what I have advanced, be not enough to induce him to change his opinion, I know very few pariſh hiſtories to which I can refer him with more hopes of ſucceſs.

I am, ſir,
Your very humble ſervant,
July 28, 1796. PATRICK PRY.

Letters.

[*From Miſcellaneous Works of* Edward Gibbon, *Eſq. with Memoirs of his Life and Writings. Compoſed by Himſelf.*]

MR. GIBBON TO HIS FATHER:

Dear Sir,

AN addreſs in writing from a perſon who has the pleaſure of being with you every day, may appear ſingular. However, I have preferred this method, as upon paper I can ſpeak without a bluſh, and be heard without interruption. If my letter diſpleaſe you, impute it, dear ſir, only to yourſelf. You have treated me not like a ſon, but like a friend. Can you be ſurprized that I ſhould communicate to a friend all my thoughts and all my deſires! Unleſs the friend approve them, let the father never know them;

them; or at leaſt, let him know at the ſame time that however reaſonable, however eligible my ſcheme may appear to me, I would rather forget it for ever than cauſe him the ſlighteſt uneaſineſs.

When I firſt returned to England, attentive to my future intereſt, you were ſo good as to give me hopes of a ſeat in parliament. This ſeat, it was ſuppoſed, would be an expence of fifteen hundred pounds. This deſign flattered my vanity, as it might enable me to ſhine in ſo auguſt an aſſembly. It flattered a nobler paſſion: I promiſed myſelf, that by the means of this ſeat I might be one day the inſtrument of ſome good to my country. But I ſoon perceived how little a mere virtuous inclination, unaſſiſted by talents, could contribute towards that great end; and a very ſhort examination diſcovered to me, that thoſe talents had not fallen to my lot. Do not, dear ſir, impute this declaration to a falſe modeſty, the meaneſt ſpecies of pride. Whatever elſe I may be ignorant of, I think I know myſelf, and ſhall always endeavour to mention my good qualities without vanity, and my defects without repugnance. I ſhall ſay nothing of the moſt intimate acquaintance with his country and language, ſo abſolutely neceſſary to any ſenator. Since they may be acquired, to alledge my deficiency in them, would ſeem only the plea of lazineſs. But I ſhall ſay with great truth, that I never poſſeſſed that gift of ſpeech, the firſt requiſite of an orator, which uſe and labour may improve, but which nature alone can beſtow. That my temper, quiet, retired, ſomewhat reſerved, could neither acquire popularity, bear up againſt oppoſition, nor mix with eaſe in the crowds of public life. That even my genius (if you will allow me any) is better qualified for the deliberate compoſitions of the cloſet, than for the extemporary diſcourſes of the parliament. An unexpected objection would diſconcert me; and as I am incapable of explaining to others what I do not thoroughly underſtand myſelf, I ſhould be meditating while I ought to be anſwering. I even want neceſſary prejudices of party, and of nation. In popular aſſemblies, it is often neceſſary to inſpire them; and never orator inſpired well a paſſion which he did not feel himſelf. Suppoſe me even miſtaken in my own character; to ſet out with the repugnance ſuch an opinion muſt produce, offers but an indifferent proſpect. But I hear you ſay, it is not neceſſary that every man ſhould enter into parliament with ſuch exalted hopes. It is to acquire a title the moſt glorious of any in a free country, and to employ the weight and conſideration it gives in the ſervice of one's friends. Such motives, though not glorious, yet are not diſhonourable; and if we had a borough in our command, if you could bring me in without any great expence, or if our fortune enabled us to deſpiſe that expence, then indeed I ſhould think them of the greateſt ſtrength; but with our private fortune, is it worth while to purchaſe at ſo high a rate a title, honourable in itſelf, but which I muſt ſhare with every fellow that can lay out fifteen hundred pounds? Beſides, dear ſir, a merchandize is of little value to the owner when he is reſolved not to ſell it.

I ſhould affront your penetration, did I not ſuppoſe you now ſee the

drift of this letter. It is to appropriate to another uſe the ſum which you deſtined to bring me into parliament; to employ it, not in making me great, but in rendering me happy. I have often heard you ſay yourſelf, that the allowance you had been ſo indulgent as to grant me, though very liberal in regard to your eſtate, was yet but ſmall, when compared with the almoſt neceſſary extravagancies of the age. I have indeed found it ſo, notwithſtanding a good deal of economy, and exemption from many of the common expences of youth. This, dear ſir, would be a way of ſupplying thoſe deficiencies, without any additional expence to you. But I forbear. If you think my propoſals reaſonable, you want no entreaties to engage you to comply with them; if otherwiſe, all will be without effect.

All that I am afraid of, dear ſir, is, that I ſhould ſeem not ſo much aſking a favour, as this really is, as exacting a debt. After all I can ſay, you will ſtill remain the beſt judge of my good, and your own circumſtances. Perhaps, like moſt landed gentlemen, an addition to my annuity would ſuit you better than a ſum of money given at once; perhaps the ſum itſelf may be too conſiderable. Whatever you ſhall think proper to beſtow upon me, or in whatever manner, will be received with equal gratitude.

I intended to ſtop here, but as I abhor the leaſt appearance of art, I think it will be better to lay open my whole ſcheme at once. The unhappy war which now deſolates Europe will oblige me to defer ſeeing France till a peace. But that reaſon can have no influence upon Italy, a country which any ſcholar muſt long to ſee: ſhould you grant my requeſt, and not diſapprove of my manner of employing your bounty, I would leave England this autumn, and paſs the winter at Lauſanne with M. de Voltaire and my old friends. The armies no longer obſtruct my paſſage, and it muſt be indifferent to you whether I am at Lauſanne or at London during the winter, ſince I ſhall not be at Beriton. In the ſpring I would croſs the Alps; and, after ſome ſtay in Italy, as the war muſt then be terminated, return home through France, to live happily with you and my dear mother. I am now two-and-twenty; a tour muſt take up a conſiderable time; and though I believe you have no thoughts of ſettling me ſoon (and I am ſure I have not), yet ſo many things may intervene, that the man who does not travel early, runs a great riſk of not travelling at all. But this part of my ſcheme, as well as the whole, I ſubmit entirely to you.

Permit me, dear ſir, to add, that I do not know whether the complete compliance with my wiſhes could increaſe my love and gratitude; but that I am very ſure, no refuſal could diminiſh thoſe ſentiments with which I ſhall always remain, dear ſir,

Your moſt dutiful and obedient
ſon and ſervant,

1760. E. GIBBON, Jun.

Mr. Gibbon *to Dr.* Robertſon.

Sir, Paris, 1777.

WHEN I ventured to aſſume the character of hiſtorian, the firſt, the moſt natural, but at the ſame time the moſt ambitious wiſh, which I enter-

entertained, was to obtain the approbation of Dr. Robertſon and of Mr. Hume; two names which friendſhip united, and which poſterity will never ſeparate. I ſhall not therefore attempt to diſſemble, though I cannot eaſily expreſs, the pleaſure which I received from your obliging letter, as well as from the intelligence of your moſt valuable preſent. The ſatisfaction which I ſhould otherwiſe have enjoyed, in common with the public, will now be heightened by a ſentiment of a more perſonal and flattering nature; and I ſhall frequently whiſper to myſelf, that I have in ſome meaſure deſerved the eſteem of the writer whom I admire.

A ſhort excurſion which I have made to this place, during the ſummer months, has occaſioned ſome delay in my receiving your letter, and will prevent my poſſeſſing, till my return, the copy of your hiſtory, which you ſo politely deſired Mr. Strahan to ſend me. But I have already gratified the eagerneſs of my impatience; and although I was obliged to return the book much ſooner than I could have wiſhed, I have ſeen enough to convince me, that the preſent publication will ſupport, and if poſſible, will extend the fame of the author; that the materials are collected with diligence, and arranged with ſkill; that the firſt book contains a learned and ſatisfactory account of the progreſs of diſcovery; that the achievements, the dangers, and the crimes, of the Spaniſh adventurers are related with a temperate ſpirit; and that the moſt original, perhaps the moſt curious, portion of the hiſtory of human manners is at length reſcued from the hands of ſophiſts and declaimers. Lord Stormont, and the few in this capital, who have had an opportunity of peruſing the Hiſtory of America, unanimouſly concur in the ſame ſentiments. Your work is already become a favourite topic of public converſation; and Mr. Suard is repeatedly preſſed, in my hearing, to fix the time when his tranſlation will appear.

I flatter myſelf you will not abandon your deſign of viſiting London next winter; as I already anticipate, in my own mind, the advantages which I ſhall derive from ſo pleaſing and ſo honourable a connection. In the mean while, I ſhould eſteem myſelf happy, if you could think of any literary commiſſion, in the execution of which I might be uſeful to you at Paris, where I propoſe to ſtay till very near the meeting of Parliament. Let me, for inſtance, ſuggeſt an enquiry, which cannot be indifferent to you, and which might, perhaps, be within my reach. A few days ago I dined with Benyouſki, the famous adventurer, who eſcaped from his exile at Kamſchatſka, and returned into Europe by Japan and China. His narrative was amuſing, though I know not how far his veracity, in point of circumſtances, may ſafely be truſted. It was his original deſign to penetrate through the North Eaſt Paſſage; and he actually followed the coaſt of Aſia as high as the latitude of 67° 35′, till his progreſs was ſtopped by the ice, in a Streight between the two Continents, which was only ſeven leagues broad. Thence he deſcended along the coaſt of America, as low as Cape Mendocin; but was repulſed by contrary winds, in his attempts to reach the port of Acapulco. The

Journal

journal of his voyage, with his original charts, is now at Verſailles, in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangeres*; and if you conceived that it would be of any uſe to you for a ſecond edition, I would try what might be obtained: though I am not ignorant of that mean jealouſy which you yourſelf have experienced, and ſo deſervedly ſtigmatiſed. I am, &c.

Dr. Robertſon *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir,

I HAD the honour of your obliging letter, and I ſhould be a very proud man indeed, if I were not vain of the approbation which you are pleaſed to beſtow upon me. As you will now have had an opportunity to peruſe the book, which you had only ſeen when you wrote to me, I indulge myſelf in the hopes that the favourable opinion you had formed of it, is not diminiſhed. I am much pleaſed with your mentioning my friendſhip with Mr. Hume; I have always conſidered that as one of the moſt fortunate and honourable circumſtances of my life. It is a felicity of the age and country in which we live, that men of letters can enter the ſame walk of ſcience, and go on ſucceſsfully, without feeling one ſentiment of envy or rivalſhip. In the intercourſe between Mr. Hume and me, we always found *ſomething to blame*, as well as *ſomething to commend*. I have received frequently very valuable criticiſms on my performances from him; and I have ſometimes ventured to offer him my ſtrictures on his works. Permit me to hope for the ſame indulgence from you. If, in reading the Hiſtory of America, any thing, either in the matter or ſtyle, has occurred to you as reprehenſible, I will deem it a moſt obliging favour if you will communicate it freely to me. I am certain of profiting by ſuch a communication.

I return you thanks for your frank offer of executing any literary commiſſion for me. I accept of it without ceremony, and am flattered with the idea of receiving ſuch aid from your hands. I know nothing of Benyouſki's Adventures, but what was publiſhed in ſome newſpaper. If one can rely on his veracity, what he relates muſt be very intereſting to me. If you had been writing the Hiſtory of America, the queſtion concerning the mode of peopling it, might not perhaps have occupied your attention very much. But it was proper for me to conſider it more fully. Benyouſki (if he may be credited) has ſeen what it may be uſeful for me to know. I can ſee no reaſon why the court of France ſhould be ſhy about communicating his journal, and the charts which illuſtrate it; poſſibly my name may operate ſomewhat towards obtaining a copy of both; your interpoſition, I am confident, will do a great deal. It will be very illiberal indeed, if ſuch a communication were refuſed. My lord Stormont (by whoſe attention I have been much honoured) would not decline to give his aid, were that neceſſary. But if your court reſembles that of Spain, I am afraid every propoſal from an ambaſſador is received with ſome degree of jealouſy. Your own private application will, I apprehend, be more effectual. As it is probable that a ſecond edition may go to preſs early in the winter, it will add to the favour, if you can ſoon inform me concerning the ſucceſs of your negotiation. As this is ſomething

in the ſtyle of the *corps diplomatique*, allow me to recommend one of its members to you. Mr. Fullarton, the new ſecretary of the embaſſy, is a particular friend of mine. He is a young man of ſuch qualities both of head and heart, that I am ſure you will eſteem and love him. Pleaſe remember me to him. I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

Your obliged humble ſervant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Sir William Jones *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Lamb's-buildings, June 30, 1781.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE more than once ſought, without having been ſo fortunate as to obtain, a proper opportunity of thanking you very ſincerely for the elegant compliment which you pay me, in a work abounding in elegance of all kinds.

My *Seven Arabian Poets* will ſee the light before next winter, and be proud to wait upon you in their Engliſh dreſs. Their wild productions will, I flatter myſelf, be thought intereſting, and not venerable merely on account of their antiquity.

In the mean while, let me requeſt you to honour me with accepting a copy of a Law Tract, which is not yet publiſhed: the ſubject is ſo generally important, that I make no apology for ſending you a profeſſional work.

You muſt pardon my inveterate hatred of C. Octavianus, baſely ſurnamed Auguſtus. I feel myſelf unable to forgive the death of Cicero, which, if he did not promote, he might have prevented. Beſides, even Mecænas knew the cruelty of his diſpoſition, and ventured to reproach him with it. In ſhort I have not *chriſtian* charity for him.

With regard to Aſiatic letters, a neceſſary attention to my profeſſion will compel me wholly and eternally to abandon them, *unleſs* Lord North (to whom I am already under no ſmall obligation) ſhould think me worthy to concur in the *improved* adminiſtration of juſtice in Bengal, and ſhould appoint me to ſupply the vacancy on the India bench. Were that appointment to take place this year, I ſhould probably travel, for ſpeed, through part of Egypt and Arabia, and ſhould be able, in my way, to procure many Eaſtern tracts of literature and juriſprudence. I might become a good *Mahomedan* lawyer before I reached Calcutta, and, in my vacations, ſhould find leiſure to explain, in my native language, whatever the Arabs, Perſians, and Turks, have written on ſcience, hiſtory, and the fine arts.

My happineſs by no means depends on obtaining this appointment, as I am in eaſy circumſtances without my profeſſion, and have flattering proſpects in it; but if the preſent ſummer and the enſuing autumn elapſe without my receiving any anſwer, favourable or unfavourable, I ſhall be forced to conſider that ſilence as a polite refuſal, and having given ſincere thanks for paſt favours, ſhall entirely drop all thoughts of *Aſia*, and, "deep as ever "plummet ſounded, ſhall drown my "*Perſian* books." If my politics have given offence, it would be manly in miniſters to tell me ſo. I ſhall never be *perſonally* hoſtile to them, nor enliſt under party banners of any colour; but I will never reſign my opinions for *intereſt*, though I would cheerfully abandon them on *conviction*. My reaſon, ſuch as it is, can only

only be controlled by better reaſon, to which I am ever open. As to my freedom of thought, ſpeech, and action, I ſhall ever ſay what Charles XII. wrote under the map of Riga, "*Dieu me l'a donnée; le diable ne me l'otera pas.*" But the fair anſwer to this objection is, that my ſyſtem is purely ſpeculative, and has no relation to my ſeat on the bench in India, where I ſhould hardly think of inſtructing the Gentoos in the maxims of the Athenians. I believe I ſhould not have troubled you with this letter, if I did not fear that your attendance in parliament might deprive me of the pleaſure of meeting you at the club next Tueſday; and I ſhall go to Oxford a few days after. At all times, and in all places, I ſhall ever be, with undiſſembled regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful ſervant.

W. JONES.

Mr. Gibbon *to Lord* * * * * * *

*Rolle**, *February* 23, 1793.

My Lord,

I DO not merely congratulate your lordſhip's promotion to an office which your abilities have long deſerved. My ſatisfaction does not ariſe from an aſſurance of the wiſdom and vigour which adminiſtration will derive from the ſupport of ſo reſpectable an ally. But as a friend to government in general, I moſt ſincerely rejoice that you are now armed in the common cauſe againſt the moſt dangerous fanatics that have ever invaded the peace of Europe; againſt the new barbarians, who labour to confound the order and happineſs of ſociety; and who, in the opinion of thinking men, are not leſs the enemies of ſubjects than of kings. The hopes of the wiſe and good are now fixed on the ſucceſs of England; and I am perſuaded, that my perſonal attachment to your lordſhip will be amply gratified by the important ſhare which your counſels will aſſume in that ſucceſs. I could wiſh that ſome of your former aſſociates poſſeſſed ſufficient ſtrength of mind to extricate themſelves from the toils of prejudice and party; but I grieve that a man, whom it is impoſſible for me not to love and admire, ſhould refuſe to obey the voice of his country; and I begin to fear, that the powerful genius of Mr. * * *, inſtead of being uſeful, will be adverſe to the public ſervice. At this momentous criſis we ſhould enliſt our whole force of virtue, ability, and ſpirit; and without any view to his private advantage, I could wiſh that * * * * * * might be properly ſtationed in ſome part of the line.

Mr. Neckar, in whoſe houſe I am now reſiding on a viſit of ſome days, wiſhes me to expreſs the ſentiments of eſteem and conſideration which he entertains for your lordſhip's character. As a friend to the intereſt of mankind, he is warmly attached to the welfare of Great Britain, which he has long revered as the firſt, and perhaps as the laſt aſylum of general liberty. His late eloquent work, *Du Pouvoir Executif*, which your lordſhip has aſſuredly read, is a valuable teſtimony of his eſteem for our conſtitution; and the teſtimony of a ſagacious and impartial ſtranger may have taught ſome of our countrymen to value the political bleſſings which they have been tempted to deſpiſe.

* A town between Lauſanne and Geneva, where Mr. Neckar then reſided.

I cheriſh a lively hope of being in England, and of paying my reſpects to your lordſhip before the end of the ſummer; but the events of the year are ſo uncertain, and the ſea and land are encompaſſed with ſo many difficulties and dangers, that I am doubtful whether it will be practicable for me to execute my purpoſe. I am, my lord, moſt reſpectfully, and your lordſhip will permit me to add, moſt affectionately, your moſt faithful humble ſervant.

To John D——, *Eſquire.*

From the London *Chronicle.*

Sir,

WHEN we view with admiration the growing excellence of a public character, it is difficult to confine our praiſe within the narrow bounds of a private circle. We naturally wiſh to communicate the lively impreſſions of our own minds in a more extenſive manner, and we are ſolicitous that the object of our applauſe ſhould himſelf be conſcious how juſtly we appreciate his merits.

Such, ſir, are the reaſons which induce me to trouble you with this addreſs; and I am ſtill farther incited to it by the hope of being able to offer ſome hints, of which you may not diſdain to avail yourſelf in future.

Your ſteady ſupport of that uſeful branch of commerce, the ſlave trade, firſt attracted my eſteem; your having been the author of the dog tax, confirms and heightens my reverence for your talents and virtues. What can be more reaſonable than that the ſcum and droſs of the human ſpecies ſhould be made in every poſſible way uſeful to their ſuperiors? and what can be more neceſſary than that the lower order of dogs ſhould be utterly extirpated, as a ſet of noxious and execrable vermin?

I will not run the riſk of being ſuſpected of flattery, by enlarging on the torrent of eloquence you let looſe upon the Senate in your philippic againſt that odious race; but will only obſerve by the way, that ſome of the entertaining hiſtories you detailed on the ſubject of dogs may ſuggeſt an improvement on our criminal proceſſes with regard to other offenders. Hanging a dog by the heels, previous to performing the ſame operation on his other extremity, was a moſt happy expedient, and I think might be practiſed with great ſucceſs on culprits, who might be ſuſpected of having committed depredations on apple-ſtalls, cherry-orchards, or ſtrawberry-gardens. The evidence thus collected, has the peculiar advantage of being abſolutely infallible; and this mode of obtaining it is vaſtly more cheap and eaſy than having recourſe to warm water, camomile, or ipecacuanha.

But to return to the dogs. I have no obſervations to make on thoſe privileged orders, the fox-hound, harrier, pointer, ſpaniel, and lady's lap-dog; or by whatever other titles they may be diſtinguiſhed, who contribute to the pleaſures of the great. Theſe of courſe will be paid for, and conſequently eſcape our Sicilian veſpers. But I cannot ſufficiently praiſe the noble firmneſs that dictates the ſacrifice of all the reſt. Some ſtateſmen would perhaps have had the weakneſs to have permitted every poor family to have retained a ſingle dog, under the ridiculous

pretence

pretence that he was *the guard of his cottage, the only friend a poor man can uſually boaſt, a humble but grateful dependant, whoſe attachment is unceaſing, not to be ſhaken even by unkindneſs itſelf.*

It would be mere waſte of time, ſir, to attempt to combat ſuch idle notions. Would not a leveret now and then be picked up by theſe unqualified ſtragglers? Would not our horſes ſtill be annoyed by the yelpings of theſe deteſtable curs? If a gentleman happens to have a habit of ſitting a little looſely on his ſaddle, ſhould we not ſtill be expoſed to the moſt unpleaſant cataſtrophes? I ſay nothing of the proviſions which will be ſaved by this Septembriſing ſyſtem, as I fear we have, in fact, not much to hope for on that ſcore. The luxuries of ſheep's heads and plucks belong to beings of a higher claſs. The peeling of a potatoe, or the rind of a morſel of bacon, are the moſt exquiſite dainties, which falls to the ſhare of theſe ſcavengers of nature. But the inconveniences before mentioned are ſo vexatious and ſo intolerable, that I ſhall view the day when theſe victims are all ſwinging before their doors with the glee of a Jefferies or a Kirke.

In one inſtance only, ſir, allow me to ſay, has the milkineſs of your nature miſled you from the ſtraight path of propriety. Why ſhould the blind man's dog be exempted from the general reform? If this ſalutary regulation takes place, with regard to him alſo, ſome lucky river or fiſhpond would probably give the beggar himſelf a comfortable quietus, and thus two grievances would be got rid of at the ſame time. This would certainly be a conſiderable ſaving to ſome pariſhes, but would do little in a general point of view towards leſſening the waſte of proviſions; much however might be done, if government could be ſpurred on to a due degree of ſpirit or activity.

If there be an animal more troubleſome than the dogs of the rabble, it is the two-legged brute who calls himſelf his maſter. There may be good reaſons for not including the whole tribe in the ſame proſcription with their dogs; but ſurely good policy muſt teach us to prevent the breed from becoming alarmingly numerous. From the very egg ſhell they are a peſt to civilized ſociety. To mention one example only. The barking of the mongrel does not diſconcert the ſteady progreſs of your ride more diſagreeably, than the knot of ragged-tailed imps you meet with rolling in the roads before every hut you paſs, eſpecially if the young ſavages take it into their heads to be reſpectful, in which caſe they uſually throw an awkward bow full at the head of your horſe. Many a grave citizen has meaſured his length in the duſt from this cauſe. The lives, ſir, of his Majeſty's decently dreſſed ſubjects are not to be ſported with, or their clothes ſpoiled in this manner.

The opinions of a celebrated political writer of the laſt age, who publiſhed what he aptly called "A moſt Propoſal to the Public," are pretty generally known. He therein propoſes, that the brats of the poor in our ſiſter kingdom ſhould be provided for, by introducing a new diſh to all faſhionable tables, recommending yearling infants as very excellent ſubjects for roaſts, ſtews, ragouts, and fricaſees. There is great merit in this ſcheme; but as I never heard it has been practiſed to any great extent, either in Ireland,

or even in France, where cookery has been ſuppoſed to have reached the acmé of perfection, I conceive that upon trial this kind of proviſion was not found to be ſuperior to lamb, kid, ſucking pigs, or the other uſual reſources of the culinary art. The original project muſt be abandoned.

Dog-kennels are nevertheleſs ſtill open to us. I have been informed from good authority, that horſe-fleſh uſed for their food, eſpecially when it acquires too high a degree of the fumet, is not favourable to their exertions in ſnuffing up the ſcent.

A worthy young Nabob, famous in the annals of gallantry, was ſo ſtrongly convinced of this, that he drew on himſelf the clamour of the frugal houſewives of a neighbouring town, by occaſionally buying up all the veal in the market, to ſatisfy the ſtomachs of his fox-hounds, without diſparaging their noſes.

How obvious therefore, ſir, is the idea of obliging every pariſh to furniſh a certain quota of children, ſufficient for the conſumption of every kennel in the nation, the owners of which ſhould be compelled to take out an annual licence at an office kept in each county-town; after receiving which, and painting on the front of the building, "*Licenſed to eat children*," they might be ſupplied at an adjoining repoſitory with any quantity of this innocent ſubſtitute for ſkeleton poſt-horſes and murrained cattle; and as the ſize of the former is much more manageable, they might be uſed freſh and freſh without the ſmalleſt inconvenience. I have not the leaſt doubt but this ſcheme will be eagerly adopted, and thereby the revenue will be increaſed, proviſions become more plentiful, the poor's rate lowered, nuiſances removed, and the noble ſcience of planting improved to a degree hitherto unknown.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MISOCUR.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR.

By H. J. Pye, *esq. poet laureat.*

I.

WHERE is immortal Virtue's meed,
Th' unfading wreath of true renown,
Beſt recompence by Heaven decreed
For all the cares that wait a crown;
If Induſtry, with anxious zeal,
Still watchful o'er the Public Weal;
If equal Juſtice' awful arm,
Temper'd by Mercy's ſeraph charm,
Are ineffectual to aſſuage
Remorſeleſs Faction's harpy rage?
But the fell Dæmons, urg'd by Hell's beheſt,
Threaten, with frantic arm, the royal Patriot's breaſt!

II.

Yet, not, Imperial George, at thee,
Was the rude bolt of Malice ſped,
E'en fiends that Crown with rev'rence ſee
Where Virtue conſecrates th' anointed head—
No—at thy boſom's fondeſt claim,
Thy Britain's peace, their ſhafts they aim.
Pale Envy, while o'er half the world
War's bloody banners are unfurl'd,
Beheld our coaſts from ravage free,
Protected by the guardian ſea,
Where Commerce ſpreads her golden ſtores,
Where fleets waft triumph to our ſhores:
She ſaw, and ſick'ning at the ſight,
Wiſh'd the fair proſpect of our hopes to blight;
Sought out the object of our deareſt care,
Found where we moſt could feel, and try'd to wound us there.

III.

The broken ſhaft that coward Malice rear'd
Shall to thy fame eternal luſtre give,
Inſcribe on Hiſt'ry's page thy name rever'd,
And bid it there with endleſs blazon live.
For there our ſons' remoteſt race,
In deathleſs characters, ſhall trace
How Britain's baffled foes proclaim'd their hate,
And deem'd her Monarch's life the bulwark of the ſtate.

IV.

Now ſtrike a livelier chord—This happy day,
Selected from the circling year
To celebrate a name to Britain dear,
From Britain's ſons demands a feſtive lay.
Mild Sov'reign of our Monarch's ſoul,
Whoſe eye's meek radiance can controul
The pow'rs of Care and grace a throne
With each calm joy to life domeſtic known,
Propitious Heav'n has o'er thy head
Bloſſoms of richer fragrance ſhed
Than all th' aſſiduous Muſe can bring,
Cull'd from the honey'd ſtores of Spring:
For ſee, amid wild Winter's hours
A Bud its ſilken folds diſplay,
Sweeter than all the chalic'd flow'rs
That crown thine own ambroſial May.
O may thy ſmiles, bleſt infant, prove
Omens of concord, and of love!
Bid the loud ſtrains of martial triumph ceaſe,
And tune to ſofter mood the warbling reed of Peace.

ODE *on his* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY. *By* Henry James Pye, *eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

WHERE are the vows the Muſes breath'd,
That Diſcord's fatal reign might ceaſe?
Where all the blooming flow'rs they wreath'd,
To bind the placid brow of Peace;
Whoſe angel-form, with radiant beam,
Pictur'd in Fancy's fairy-dream,
Seem'd o'er Europa's ravag'd land,
Prompt to extend her influence bland,
Calm the rude clangors of the martial lay,
And hail with gentler note our monarch's natal day?

II. For,

II.

For, lo! on yon devoted ſhore,
Still through the bleeding ranks of war,
His burning axles ſteep'd in gore,
Ambition drives his iron car.
Still his eyes, in fury roll'd,
Glare on fields by arms o'errun;
Still his hands rapacious hold
Spoils injurious inroad won;
And, ſpurning with indignant frown
The ſober olive's proffer'd crown,
Bids the brazen trumpet's breath
Swell the terrific blaſt of deſtiny and death.

III.

Shrinks Britain at the ſound? Though, while her eye
O'er Europe's deſolated plains ſhe throws,
Slow to avenge, and mild in victory,
She mourns the dreadful ſcene of war and woes;
Yet, if the foe, misjudging, read
Diſmay in Pity's gentleſt deed,
And, conſtruing mercy into fear,
The blood-ſtain'd arm of battle rear,
By inſult rouſ'd in juſt reſentment warm,
She frowns defiance on the threat'ning ſtorm;
And, far as Ocean's billows roar,
By ev'ry wave-encircled ſhore,
From where o'er icy ſeas the gaunt wolf roves,
To coaſts perfumed by aromatic groves;
As proudly to the ambient ſky
In ſilken folds her mingled croſſes fly;
The ſoothing voice of Peace is drown'd
Awhile in war's tumultuous ſound,
And ſtrains, from Glory's awful clarion blown,
Float in triumphant peal around Britannia's throne.

To a beautiful Spring in a Village. *From Poems by* S. T. Coleridge.

ONCE more, ſweet ſtream, with ſlow foot wand'ring near,
I bleſs thy milky waters, cold and clear
Eſcap'd the flaſhing of the noontide hours,
With one freſh garland of Pierian flowers
(Ere from thy Zephyr-haunted brink I turn),
My languid hand ſhall wreath thy moſſy urn;
For, not through pathleſs grove with murmur rude,
Thou ſoothеſt the ſad wood-nymph Solitude:

Nor

Nor thine, unſeen in cavern-depths to dwell,
The Hermit-fountain of ſome dripping cell!—
Pride of the vale, thy uſeful ſtreams ſupply
The ſcatter'd cots and peaceful hamlet nigh.
The Elfin tribe around thy friendly banks,
With infant uproar and ſoul ſoothing pranks,
Releas'd from ſchool, their little hearts at reſt,
Launch paper navies on thy waveleſs breaſt.
The Ruſtic here at eve, with penſive look
Whiſtling lorn ditties, leans upon his crook,
Or, ſtarting pauſes with hope-mingled dread,
To liſt the much-lov'd maid's accuſtom'd tread:
She vainly mindful of her dame's command,
Loiters—the long-fill'd pitcher in her hand.
Unboaſtful ſtream, thy fount with pebbled falls
The faded form of paſt delight recalls,
What time the morning ſun of Hope aroſe,
And all was joy, ſave when another's woes
A tranſient gloom upon my ſoul impreſt—
Like paſſing clouds impictur'd on thy breaſt?
Life's current then ran ſparkling to the noon,
Or, ſilv'ry ſtole beneath the penſive moon.
Ah, now it works rude brakes and thorns among—
Or, o'er the rough rock burſts, and foams along!

The SIGH. *From the ſame.*

WHEN youth his fairy reign began,
Ere Sorrow had proclaim'd me man;
While peace the preſent hour beguil'd,
And all the lovely proſpect ſmil'd
Then MARY, mid my lightſome glee,
I heav'd the painleſs SIGH for thee.

And when along the waves of woe
My haraſs'd heart was doom'd to know
The frantic burſt of outrage keen,
And the ſlow pang that gnaws unſeen;
Then ſhipwreck'd on life's ſtormy ſea
I heav'd an anguiſh'd SIGH for thee.

But ſoon Reflection's power impreſt
A ſtiller ſadneſs on my breaſt,
And ſickly HOPE, with waning eye,
Was well content to droop and die,
I yielded to the ſtern decree,
Yet heav'd a languid SIGH for thee.

And,

And, tho' in diſtant climes to roam,
A wanderer from my native home;
I fain would ſoothe the ſenſe of care,
And lull to ſleep the joys that were,
Thy image may not baniſh'd be,
Still MARY, ſtill I SIGH for thee.

The KISS. *From the ſame.*

ONE kiſs, dear maid! I ſaid and ſigh'd—
Your ſcorn the little boon deny'd.
Ah why refuſe the blameleſs bliſs;
Can danger lurk within a kiſs?

Yon viewleſs wanderer of the vale,
The ſpirit of the weſtern gale,
At Morning's break, at Evening's cloſe,
Inhales the ſweetneſs of the Roſe,
And hovers o'er the uninjur'd bloom,
Sighing back the ſoft perfume.
Vigor to the Zephyr's wing
Her Nectar-breathing kiſſes fling;
And He the glitter of the Dew
Scatters on the Roſe's hue.
Baſhful, lo! ſhe lifts her head,
And darts a bluſh of deeper red.

Too well thoſe lovely lips diſcloſe
The triumphs of the opening Roſe;
O fair! O graceful! bid them prove
As paſſive to the breath of Love.
In tender accents, faint and low,
Well pleas'd I hear the whiſper'd "No!"
The whiſper'd "No!"—how little meant!
Sweet falſhehood that endears conſent!
For on thoſe lovely lips the while
Dawns the ſoft relenting ſmile,
And tempts with feign'd diſſuaſion coy
The gentle violence of Joy.

LENORA. *A Ballad from* Bürger. *From the Monthly Magazine.*

AT break of day, with frightful dreams
Lenora ſtruggled ſore:
My William, art thou ſlaine, ſay'd ſhe,
Or doſt thou love no more?

He went abroade with Richard's hoſt,
The Paynim foes to quell;
But he no word to her had writt,
An he were ſick or well.

With ſowne of trump and beat of drum,
His fellow ſoldyers come;
Their helmes bydeckt with oaken boughs,
They ſeeke their long'd-for home.

And ev'ry roade, and ev'ry lane,
Was full of old and young,
To gaze at the rejoicing band,
To hail with gladſome toung.

"Thank God!" their wives and children ſaide,
"Welcome!" the brides did ſaye:
But greete or kiſs Lenora gave
To none upon that daye.

She aſkte of all the paſſing traine,
For him ſhe wiſht to ſee:
But none of all the paſſing traine
Could tell if lived hee.

And when the ſoldyers all were bye,
She tore her raven haire,
And caſt herſelf upon the growne
In furious deſpaire.

Her mother ran and lyfte her up,
And claſped in her arme,
"My child, my child, what doſt thou ail?
"God ſhield thy life from harm!"

"O mother, mother! William's gone!
"What's all beſyde to me?
"There is no mercye, ſure, above!
"All, all were ſpar'd but hee!"

"Kneel downe, thy paternoſter ſaye,
"'Twill calm thy troubled ſpright;
"The Lord is wyſe, the Lord is good;
"What hee hath done is right."

"O mother,

" O mother, mother! ſay not ſo;
" Moſt cruel is my fate:
" I prayde, and prayde; but watte avayl'd?
" 'Tis now, alas! too late."

" Our Heavenly Father, if we praye,
" Will help a ſuff'ring childe:
" Go take the holy ſacrament;
" So ſhall thy grief grow milde."

" O mother, what I feel within,
" No ſacrament can ſtaye;
" No ſacrament can teache the dead
" To bear the ſight of daye."

" May be, among the heathen folk
" Thy William falſe doth prove,
" And puts away his faith and troth,
" And takes another love.

" Then wherefore ſorrow for his loſs?
" Thy moans are all in vain:
" And when his ſoul and body parte,
" His falſehode brings him paine."

" O mother, mother! gone is gone;
" My hope is all forlorne;
" The grave mie onlye ſafeguard is—
" O, had I ne'er been borne!

" Go out, go out, my lampe of life;
" In griſlie darkneſs die:
" There is no mercye, ſure, above!
" For ever let me lie."

" Almighty God! O do not judge
" My poor unhappy childe;
" She knows not what her lips pronounce,
" Her anguiſh makes her wilde.

" My girl, forget thine earthly woe,
" And think on God and bliſs;
" For ſo, at leaſt, ſhall not thy ſoule
" Its heavenly bridegroom miſs."

" O mother, mother! what is bliſſe,
" And what the fiendis' celle?
" With him, 'tis heaven any where,
" Without my William, helle.

" Go

" Go out, go out, my lamp of life;
" In endleſs darkneſs die:
" Without him I muſt loathe the earth,
" Without him ſcorne the ſkye."

And ſo deſpaire did rave and rage
Athwarte her boiling veins;
Againſt the Providence of God
She hurlde her impious ſtrains.

She bet her breaſte, and wrung her hands,
And rollde her tearleſſe eye,
From riſe of morne, till the pale ſtars
Again did freeke the ſkye.

When harke! abroade ſhe hearde the trampe
Of nimble-hoofed ſteed;
She hearde a knighte with clanke alighte,
And climb the ſtaire in ſpeede.

And ſoon ſhe herde a tinkling hande,
That twirled at the pin;
And thro' her door, that open'd not,
Theſe words were breathed in.

" What! what ho! thy dore undoe;
" Art watching or aſleepe?
" My love, doſt yet remember mee,
" And doſt thou laugh or weep?"

" Ah! William here ſo late at night!
" Oh! I have watchte and wak'd:
" Whence doſt thou come? For thy return
" My herte has ſorely ak'd."

" At midnight only we may ride;
" I come o'er land and ſea:
" I mounted late, but ſoone I go;
" Aryſe, and come with me."

" O William, enter firſt my bowre,
" And give me one embrace:
" The blaſts athwarte the hawthorne hiſs;
" Awayte a little ſpace."

" Tho' blaſts athwarte the hawthorne hiſs,
" I may not harboure here;
" My ſpurre is ſharpe, my courſer pawes,
" My houre of flighte is nere.

" All

" All as thou lyeſt upon thy couch,
" Aryſe, and mount behinde;
" To-night we'le ride a thouſand miles,
" The bridal bed to finde."

" How, ride to-night a thouſand miles?
" Thy love thou doſt bemocke:
" Eleven is the ſtroke that ſtill
" Rings on within the clocke."

" Looke up; the moone is bright, and we
" Outſtride the earthlie men:
" I'll take thee to the bridal bed,
" And night ſhall end but then."

" And where is, then, thy houſe and home;
" And where thy bridal bed?"
" 'Tis narrow, ſilent, chilly, dark;
" Far hence I reſt my head."

" And is there any room for mee,
" Wherein that I may creepe?"
" There's room enough for thee and mee,
" Wherein that we may ſleepe.

" All as thou ly'ſt upon thy couch,
" Aryſe, no longer ſtop;
" The wedding gueſts thy coming waite,
" The chamber dore is ope."

All in her ſarke, as there ſhe lay,
Upon his horſe ſhe ſprung;
And with her lilly hands ſo pale
About her William clung.

And hurry-ſkurry forth they goe,
Unheeding wet or drye;
And horſe and rider ſnort and blowe,
And ſparkling pebbles flye.

How ſwift the flood, the mead, the wood,
Aright, aleft, are gone!
The bridges thunder as they paſs,
But earthlie ſowne is none.

Tramp, tramp, acroſs the land they ſpeed;
Splaſh, ſplaſh, acroſs the ſee:
" Hurrah! the dead can ride apace;
" Doſt feare to ride with mee?

" The

" The moone is bryghte, and blue the nyghte;
" Doſt quake the blaſt to ſtem?
" Doſt ſhudder, mayde, to ſeeke the dead?"
" No, no, but what of them?

" How glumlie ſownes yon dirgye ſong!
" Night-ravens flappe the wing.
" What knell doth ſlowlie toll ding dong?
" The pſalmes of death who ſing?

" It creeps, the ſwarthie funeral traine,
" The corſe is onn the beere;
" Like croke of todes from lonely moores;
" The chaunt doth meet the eere."

" Go, bear her corſe when midnight's paſt,
" With ſong, and tear, and wayle;
" I've gott my wife, I take her home,
" My howre of wedlocke hayl.

" Lead forth, O clarke, the chaunting quire,
" To ſwell our nuptial ſong:
" Come, preaſte, and reade the bleſſing ſoone;
" For bed, for bed we long."

They heede his calle, and huſht the ſowne;
The biere was ſeene no more;
And followde him ore feeld and flood
Yet faſter than before.

Halloo! halloo! away they goe,
Unheeding wet or dryé;
And horſe and rider ſnorte and blowe,
And ſparkling pebbles flye.

How ſwifte the hill, how ſwifte the dale,
Aright, aleft, are gone!
By hedge and tree, by thorpe and towne,
They gallop, gallop on.

Tramp, tramp, acroſs the land they ſpeede;
Splaſh, ſplaſh, acroſſe the ſee:
" Hurrah! the dead can ride apace;
" Doſt fear to ride with me?

" Look up, look up, an airy crewe
" In roundel daunces reele:
" The moon is bryghte, and blue the nyghte,
" Mayſt dimlie ſee them wheele.

" Come

" Come to, come to, ye goſtlie crew
" Come to, and follow mee,
" And daunce for us the wedding daunce,
" When we in bed ſhall be."

And bruſh, bruſh, bruſh, the goſtlie crew
Come wheeling ore their heads,
All ruſtling like the wither'd leaves
That wyde the wirlwind ſpreads.

Halloo! halloo! away they goe,
Unheeding wet or drye;
And horſe and rider ſnort and blowe,
And ſparkling pebbles flye.

And all that in the moonſhyne lay,
Behynde them fled afar;
And backward ſcudded overhead
The ſkye and every ſtar.

Tramp, tramp, acroſs the land they ſpeede;
Splaſh, ſplaſh, acroſs the ſee:
" Hurrah! the dead can ride apace;
" Doſt fear to ride with me?

" I weene the cock prepares to crowe;
" The ſand will ſoon be runne:
" I ſnuff the earlye morning aire;
" Downe, downe! our work is done.

" The dead, the dead can ryde apace;
" Oure wed-bed here is fit:
" Our race is ridde, oure journey ore,
" Our endleſs union knit."

And lo! an yren-grated gate
Soon biggens to their viewe:
He crackte his whyppe; the clangynge boltes,
The doores aſunder flewe.

They paſs, and 'twas on graves they trode;
" 'Tis hither we are bounde:"
And many a tombſtone goſtlie white
Lay inn the moonſhyne round.

And when hee from his ſteede alytte,
His armour, black as cinder,
Did moulder, moulder all awaye,
As were it made of tinder.

His head became a naked ſkull;
Nor hair nor eyne had hee;
His body grew a ſkeleton,
Whilome ſo blythe of blee.

And att his dry and boney heele
No ſpur was left to be;
And inn his witherde hand you might
The ſcythe and hour-glaſſe ſee.

And lo! his ſteede did thin to ſmoke,
And charnel fires outbreathe;
And pal'd, and bleach'd, then vaniſh'd quite
The mayde from underneathe.

And hollow howlings hung in aire,
And ſhrekes from vaults aroſe.
Then knew the mayde ſhe mighte no more
Her living eyes uncloſe.

But onwarde to the judgment ſeat,
Thro' myſte and moonlight dreare,
The goſtlie crewe, their flyghte perſewe,
And hollowe inn her eare:—

"Be patient, tho' thyne herte ſhould breke,
"Arrayne not Heven's decree;
"Thou nowe art of thie bodie reſte,
"Thie ſoule forgiven bee!"

SONNET. *From* POEMS *on the Death of* Priſcilla Farmer. *By her Grandſon*, Charles Lloyd.

MY pleaſant home! where erſt, when ſad and faint
I ſought maternal friendſhip's ſheltering arms,
My pleaſant home! where is the reverenced ſaint,
Whoſe preſence gave thee thy peculiar charms?
Ah me! when ſlow th' accuſtom'd doors unfold,
No more her looks, affectionate and mild,
Beam on my burthened heart! O! ſtill and cold
The cheriſhed ſpot, where welcome ſat and ſmiled!
My ſpirit pines not nurſing fancied ill;
'Tis not the feveriſh and romantic tie
Which now I weep diſſevered; not a form
That woke brief paſſion's deſultory thrill:
I mourn the cheriſher of infancy,
The dear protectreſs from life's morning ſtorm!

FLOWERS. *From* POEMS *on various ſubjects.*
By the Reverend Samuel Biſhop.

I.

UNEQUAL to my theme, with deſperate feet,
I ſought the Muſe's grateful bower,
Anxious to ſee, tho' all aſham'd to meet,
Some bland inſpiring power.
When fleet along the riſing gale,
The queen, fair Fancy paſs'd,
And thro' her rainbow-tinged veil
A glance benignant caſt.
Then pointing to a ſecret glade,
"Come ſee," ſhe cry'd, "the train,
"Who own beneath this myſtic ſhade
"My viſionary reign."

II.

Proud to obey the glad command,
I took with ſilent awe my ſtand;
Meanwhile in many a varying veſt,
Of rich expreſſion aptly dreſt,
Ideal myriads ſeem'd to rove
Promiſcuous thro' the cultur'd grove:
And each as inbred impulſe led,
From ev'ry flower-embroider'd bed,
Some certain plant, whoſe bloſſoms roſe
Significantly pleaſing, choſe.

III.

With frank, firm look, and light, though ſteady tread,
Came COURAGE firſt, and cropt a dew-charg'd ROSE;
For in the tender roſe might beſt be read
Her very eſſence—bloom, which gently glows,
Impell'd by gentle breath, prone to diſpenſe
To all—all ſweetneſs; yet alert to ſhew,
If raſh invaſion ruder deeds commence,
That warm reſentment points a thorn below.

IV.

Retiring from the public eye,
The maiden meek HUMILITY,
Was ſeen to turn with mildeſt grace,
To heaven her thoughts, to earth her face:
And all unconſcious what fair fame
Merit like her's might well aſſume,
Preferr'd to every other claim
The lowly DAISY's ſimple bloom.

V.

Some bauble each moment arranging,
Admiring, exploding, or changing,
The coquette AFFECTATION ſkimm'd wantonly by;
In her breaſt a NARCISSUS ſhe bore,
As if, with Narciſſus of yore,
For a form like her own ſhe could languiſh and die.

VI.

Heedleſs of the ſcorner's joke,
Smiling at the ruffian's ſtroke,
Perſevering PATIENCE ſtood,
Conquering evil ſtill with good;
Binding for her brows the while,
Artleſs wreaths of CAMOMILE,
Hardy plant! whoſe vigorous ſhoot
Springs beneath th' oppreſſor's foot.

VII.

Pure CONSTANT LOVE, (whoſe hallow'd fires,
Time dignifies, and truth inſpires,
In ſpite of abſence, grief, and pain),
Approved the faithful MARIGOLD:
Whoſe leaves their ſaffron blaze unfold,
When firſt the ſun aſſerts his reign,
Hail his glad progreſs through the day,
Cloſe gradual with his parting ray,
Nor open till he ſhines again.

VIII.

SUPERSTITION came telling her ſteps and her beads,
Like Jack in a box hung all over with green;
AGNUS CASTUS by wholeſale ſhe cull'd from the meads,
And ſtuck with due care HOLY-THISTLE between:
A chaplet of MONK'S-HOOD ſhe pluck'd for her head,
And ROSEMARY ſprigs from the graves of the dead.

IX.

Tiptoe o'er the level plain,
Ardent HOPE all panting flew,
Prompt her eager eyes to ſtrain,
Far beyond the preſent view.
Quick from hint to hint to ſtray,
She the PRIMROSE held moſt dear,
Firſt-born of returning May,
Promiſe of the future year.

ILL-NATURE

X.

ILL-NATURE to a corner ſtole,
And taught her blood-ſhot eyes to roll,
As if ſhe long'd to blight
Each flower of happier ſcent, and hue;
For none ſhe choſe of all that grew,
Save poiſonous ACONITE.

XI.

Hand in hand, for they never aſunder are ſeen,
All cheerful their features, all eaſy their mien,
CONTENTMENT and INNOCENCE tript it along:
By the ſoft-virgin SNOW-DROP was innocence known,
Contentment took HEART'S-EASE and call'd it her own;
Nor envy'd the great, nor the gay in the throng.

XII.

The throng!—juſt hint to wild conceit like mine!—
Why, what a wreath had I begun to twine!
—Indulgent as ſhe was, methinks I hear
Even Fancy's ſelf now whiſper in my ear,
" Quit, ere 'tis tedious, quit the flowery road,
" Nor what was meant a noſegay make a load."

To Mrs. Biſhop, *with a preſent of a* KNIFE. *From the ſame.*

" A KNIFE," dear Girl, "cuts love," they ſay!
Mere modiſh love perhaps it may—
—For any tool, of any kind,
Can ſeparate what was never join'd.
The knife that cuts our love in two,
Will have much tougher work to do;
Muſt cut your ſoftneſs, truth, and ſpirit,
Down to the vulgar ſize of merit;
To level yours with modern taſte,
Muſt cut a world of ſenſe to waſte;
And from your ſingle beauty's ſtore
Clip what would dizen out a ſcore.
That ſelf ſame blade from me muſt ſever
Senſation, judgment, ſight, for ever:
All memory of endearments paſt,
All hope of comforts long to laſt;—
All that makes fourteen years with you
A ſummer;—and a *ſhort* one too;
All, that affection feels and fears,
When hours without you ſeem like years.

Till that be done, (and I'd as ſoon
Believe this knife will chip the moon),
Accept my preſent undeterr'd,
And leave their proverbs to the herd.
If in a kiſs—delicious treat!—
Your lips acknowledge the receipt,
Love, fond of ſuch ſubſtantial fare,
And proud to play the glutton there,
All thoughts of cutting will diſdain,
Save only—" cut and come again!"

To Mrs. Biſhop, *with a* RING, *on the Anniverſary of her Wedding Day, which was alſo her Birth Day. From the ſame.*

"THEE, Mary, with this ring I wed"—
So, fourteen years ago I ſaid.—
Behold another ring!—" for what?—
" To wed thee o'er again?" why not?
With that firſt ring I married youth,
Grace, beauty, innocence, and truth;
Taſte long-admired, ſenſe long-rever'd,
And all my MOLLY then appear'd.
If ſhe, by merit ſince diſclos'd,
Prove twice the woman I ſuppos'd,
I plead that double merit now,
To juſtify a double vow.
Here then to day (with faith as ſure,
With ardour as intenſe, as pure,
As when, amidſt the rites divine,
I took thy troth, and plighted mine,)
To thee, ſweet girl, my ſecond ring
A token and a pledge I bring:
With this I wed, till death us part,
Thy riper virtues to my heart;
Thoſe virtues, which before untry'd,
The wife has added to the bride:
Thoſe virtues, whoſe progreſſive claim,
Endearing wedlock's very name,
My ſoul enjoys, my ſong approves,
For conſcience' ſake, as well as love's.
And why? they ſhew me ev'ry hour,
Honour's high thought, affection's power,
Diſcretion's deed, ſound judgment's ſentence,—
—And teach me all things—but repentance.

SONNET. *From* RAMBLES FARTHER. *By* Charlotte Smith.

HE may be envied, who, with tranquil breaſt,
Can wander in the wild and woodland ſcene,
Where ſhadowy foreſts, and the coppice green,
By ſummer's glowing hands are newly dreſt:
Who, unpurſued by care, can paſs his hours,
Where briony and woodbine fringe the trees,
On thymy banks repoſing; while the bees
Murmur their "fairy tunes, in praiſe of flowers;"
Or, on the rock, with ivy clad, and fern,
That overhangs the oſier-whiſpering bed
Of ſome clear ſtream, can bid his wiſhes turn
From this vain world, and, by calm reaſon led,
Learns, in retired ſecluſion, to poſſeſs,
With friendſhip ſweetened—rural happineſs.

EYAM.*—*From* LLANGOLLEN VALE, *with other Poems.* *By* Anne Seward.

FOR one ſhort week I leave with anxious heart,
Source of my filial cares, the FULL OF DAYS;
Lur'd by the promiſe of harmonic Art
To breathe her Handel's ſoul-exulting lays.
Penſive I trace the Derwent's amber wave†,
Foaming thro' ſylvan banks, or view it lave
The ſoft romantic valleys, high o'er-peer'd
By hills, and rocks, in ſavage grandeur rear'd.

Not two ſhort miles from thee,—can I refrain
Thy haunts my native *Eyam*, long unſeen?
Thou, and thy lov'd inhabitants again
Shall meet my tranſient gaze—Thy rocky ſkreen,
Thy airy cliffs I mount; and ſeek thy ſhade,
Thy roofs, that brow the ſteep, romantic glade;
But, while on me the eyes of friendſhip glow,
Swell my pain'd ſighs, my tears ſpontaneous flow.

* This poem was written Auguſt 1783, on a journey through Derbyſhire, to a muſic meeting at Sheffield. The Author's father was rector of Eyam, an extenſive village, that runs along a mountainous terrace, in one of the higheſt parts of the Peak. She was born there, and there paſſed the firſt ſeven years of her life; viſiting the place often with her father at ſubſequent periods. The middle part of this village is built on the edge of a deep dell, which has very pictureſque and beautiful features.

† From the peculiar nature of the clay on the mountains, from which it deſcends, the river Derwent has a yellow tint, that well becomes the dark foliage on its banks, and the perpetual foam produced by a narrow and rocky channel.

In ſcenes paternal, not beheld thro' years,
Nor view'd till now, but by a father's ſide,
Well might the tender tributary tears,
From keen regrets of duteous fondneſs glide.
Its paſtor, to this human flock no more
Shall the long flight of future days reſtore;
Diſtant he droops—and that once-gladdening eye
Now languid gleams, even when his friends are nigh.

Thro' this known walk, where weedy gravel lies,
Rough and unſightly;—by the long coarſe graſs
Of the once ſmooth, and vivid green, with ſighs
To the deſerted rectory I paſs;—
Stray thro' the darken'd chambers' naked bound,
Where childhood's earlieſt, livelieſt bliſs I found.
How chang'd, ſince erſt, the lightſome walls beneath,
The ſocial joys did their warm comforts breathe.

Ere yet I go, who may return no more,
That ſacred pile, mid yonder ſhadowy trees,
Let me reviſit! ancient, maſſy door,
Thou grateſt hoarſe! my vital ſpirits freeze
Paſſing the vacant pulpit to the ſpace
Where humble rails the decent altar grace;
And where my infant ſiſter's aſhes ſleep,
Whoſe loſs I left the childiſh ſport to weep.

*Now the low beams, with paper garlands hung,
In memory of ſome village youth, or maid,
Draw the ſoft tear, from thrill'd remembrance ſprung;
How oft my childhood mark'd that tribute paid.
The gloves ſuſpended by the garland's ſide,
White as its ſnowy flowers, with ribbands tied:
Dear village! long theſe wreaths funereal ſpread,
Simple memorials of thy early dead!

But, O! thou blank, and ſilent pulpit!—thou
That with a father's precepts, juſt, and bland,
Didſt win my ear, as reaſon's ſtrength'ning glow
Show'd their full value—now thou ſeem'ſt to ſtand
Before my ſad, ſuffus'd and trembling gaze,
The drearieſt relic of departed days;
Of eloquence paternal, nervous, clear,
Dim APPARITION thou,—and bitter is my tear.

* The ancient cuſtom of hanging a garland of white roſes, made of writing paper, and a pair of white gloves, over the pew of the unmarried villagers, who die in the flower of their age, is obſerved to this day in the village of EYAM, and in moſt other villages and little towns in the Peak.

To

To Time Past; *written December* 1772. *From the ſame.*

RETURN, bleſt years!—when not the jocund Spring,
Luxuriant Summer, nor the amber hours
Calm Autumn gives, my heart invok'd to bring
Joys, whoſe rich balm o'er all the boſom pours;
When ne'er I wiſh'd might grace the cloſing day
One tint purpureal, or one golden ray;
When the loud ſtorms, that deſolate the bowers,
Found dearer welcome than Favonian gales,
And Winter's bare, bleak fields, than ſummer's flowery vales!

Yet, not to deck pale hours with vain parade
Beneath the blaze of wide-illumin'd dome;
Not for the bounding dance; not to pervade,
And charm the ſenſe with muſic;—not, as roam
The mimic paſſions o'er theatric ſcene,
To laugh, or weep;—O not for theſe, I ween,
But for delights that made the *heart* their home,
Was the grey night-froſt on the ſounding plain
More than the ſun invok'd, that gilds the graſſy lane.

Yes, for the joys that trivial joys excel,
My lov'd Honora,* did we hail the gloom
Of dim November's eve;—and as it fell,
And the bright fires ſhone cheerful round the room,
Dropt the warm curtains with no tardy hand;
And felt our ſpirits, and our hearts expand,
Liſtening their ſteps, who ſtill, where'er they come,
Make the keen ſtars, that glaze the ſettled ſnows,
More than the ſun invok'd when firſt he tints the roſe.

Affection,—friendſhip,—ſympathy,—your throne
Is winter's glowing hearth;—and ye were ours,
Thy ſmile, Honora, made them all our own.—
Where are they now? alas! their choiceſt powers
Faded at thy retreat; for thou art gone,
And many a dark long eve I ſigh alone,
In thrill'd remembrance of the vaniſh'd hours,
When ſtorms were dearer than the balmy gales,
And winter's bare, bleak fields, than green luxuriant vales.

* Miſs Honora Sneyd, to whom the gallant and unfortunate Major Andre, was ſo unalienably attached.

SONNET. *From* SORROWS, *ſacred to the Memory of* Penelope. *By Sir* Brook Boothby, *Bart.*

THOUGH ſince my date of woe long years have roll'd,
Darkneſs ne'er draws the curtains round my head,
Nor orient morning opes her eyes of gold,
But grief purſues my walks, or haunts my bed.
Viſions, in ſleep, their triſtful ſhapes unfold;
Show Miſery living, Hope and Pleaſure dead,
Pale ſhrouded beauty, kiſſes faint and cold;
Or murmur words the parting angel ſaid.
Thoughts when awake, their wonted trains renew;
With all their ſtings my tortured breaſt aſſail;
Her faded form now glides before my view;
Her plaintive voice now floats upon the gale.
The hope how vain, that time ſhould bring relief!
Time does but deeper root a real grief.

SONNET. *From the ſame.*

DEATH! thy cold hand the brighteſt flower has chill'd,
That e'er ſuffuſed Love's cheek with roſy dies;
Quenched the ſoft radiance of the loveliеſt eyes,
And accents, tuned to ſweeteſt muſic, ſtilled;
The ſpringing buds of hope and pleaſure killed;
Joys cheerful meaſures changed to doleful ſighs;
Of faireſt form and faireſt mind, the ties
For ever rent in twain.—So heaven has will'd!
Though in the bloom of health thy arrow fled,
Sudden as ſure; long had prophetic dread
Hung o'er my heart, and all my thoughts depreſſed.
Oft when in flow'ry wreaths I ſaw her dreſſed,
A beauteous victim ſeemed to meet my eyes,
To early fate a deſtined ſacrifice.

SONNET. *From the ſame.*

DEAR Manſergh! of the few this breaſt who ſhare,
And ſhare in pitying ſympathy its woe,
You beſt my vaſt exceſs of paſſion know,
And all the ſorrow I am doom'd to bear;
While thoughts can preſent with the paſt compare,
Shall memory e'er that ſummer day forego,
When thy fair mate did every care beſtow,

And vermeil fruits and fragrant wreaths prepare,
In honours of my child to dreſs the bower!
  And when the ſweet epitome of grace
Tripp'd o'er the walks and honied every flower,
  You marked the opening beauties of her face;
Mark'd how my captur'd ſoul was loſt in love,
And trembl'd for the dire reverſe I prove.

INTACTIS OPULENTIOR. *From the ſame.*

THOUGH all the wealth of Hindoſtan were thine,
  And all that commerce wafts to Thames's ſhore;
Though high in air thy gilded turrets ſhine,
And Parian columns guard the lofty door;
  Not all thy gold, nor all thy wide domain,
Can keep, one hour, diſeaſe or age away;
  Sheath the keen arrows of obdurate pain,
Or ſnatch from Death's wide graſp his deſtin'd prey.
  O happier far the wandering Scythian's lot,
In ſome green vale, who rears his tented ſhed;
  No wiſh he knows beyond his humble cot,
And peaceful ſlumbers crown his harmleſs head.
  When Spring returns, he leaves the fenceleſs fields,
To go where fountains and freſh lawns invite;
  To other tenants Nature's bounty yields,
Nor claims the ſoil, to all a common right.
  With hard unequal eye, no ſtep-dame there
Cheats the poor orphan of a mother's love;
  No titled wife diſdains her houſhold care,
Or ſeeks with wanton ſmiles, new hearts to move.
  Heir to the virtues of an honeſt race,
Rich in pure faith, and ſpotleſs chaſtity,
  No vices there allure with borrowed face;
Nor crimes, though rare, from puniſhment can fly.
  Remains there one in this degenerate age,
Whoſe patriot boſom pants for virtuous fame?
  'Tis his to ſtem the tide of hoſtile rage,
And long poſterity will bleſs his name:
  'Tis his, with fearleſs heart, and ſteady hand,
To ſave the ſtate marked for corruption's prey:
  Scorn the vile menace of a venal band,
And blaſt the traitor in the face of day.
  From luſt of gold what nameleſs miſchiefs flow,
No meanneſs ſhames us, and no tie reſtrains;
  For gold, friends, parents, country, we forego:
Nor laws avail where baſe corruption reigns.

O, could

O, could to earth deſcend the accurſed ore,
Or hid in ocean's caves innocuous lie;
Then might Aſtræa dwell with man once more,
Once more forſake her refuge in the ſky.
See the young noble, reckleſs of his fame,
Selfiſh and proud, with baſe plebeian heart,
Boaſt his lewd triumph o'er the wedded dame,
Or ply with vile ſucceſs the gameſter's art.
His hoary ſire the while, in vice grown old,
Adds to the impious ſtore with grovelling care,
Each vice extinguiſhed in the luſt of gold,
He dies a wretch to ſerve a thankleſs heir.

Tranſlation of Metaſtaſio's *Canzonet* LA LIBERTA.
From Dr. Burney's *Memoirs of* Metaſtaſio.

NISA thy pow'r is flown,
I thank thee for my cure;—
The gods have mercy ſhewn,
Thy tricks no more allure.
From all thy chains I feel
My ſoul, at length, is free;
No dream I now reveal:
I wake to liberty.

All former ardor's fled,
Which petulance could move;
And that diſdain is dead,
Which maſks itſelf in love.
Nor does my colour change,
Whoe'er thy name repeats;
When o'er thy face I range,
My heart no longer beats.

In dreams thou'rt now forgot,
And caſt on Lethe's brink;
And when I wake, thou'rt not
The firſt on whom I think.
To diſtant climes I ſteer,
Nor miſs thee day or night;
Nor doſt thou, when thou'rt near
Or pain or joy excite.

Of all thy charms I now
Can calmly think and ſpeak;
Can trace each broken vow,
Nor means of vengeance ſeek.

Confus'd

Confus'd no more I ſeem
Whene'er I ſee thee near;
And ſhouldſt thou be the theme
Can rivals patient hear.

Now if thou angry look,
Or love and kindneſs feign;
Frowns undiſturb'd I brook,
And feel thy favour vain.
Thoſe lips, however kind,
Have loſt their magic art;
Nor can thine eyes now find
The paſſage to my heart.

What pain or pleaſure gives,
What joy or ſorrow brings,
From thee no good receives,
From thee no evil ſprings.
Without thee, I delight
In woods and flow'ry meads;
And with thee hate the ſight
Of barren fields and weeds.

Nor does thy face, though fair,
At preſent ſo excel,
That I could ſafely ſwear
It has no parallel.
And let not truth offend,
Should I to think incline
Some features I could mend,
Which once I thought divine.

When firſt I drew the dart
(With ſhame my cheek's on fire)
Such torture tore my heart,
I thought I ſhould expire.
But to relieve ſuch pain,
To fly oppreſſion's ſphere,
And ſway o'er ſelf to gain,
What ſuffering's too ſevere?

When caught in viſcous ſnare
A bird, himſelf to free,
Will ſome few feathers ſpare,
To gain his liberty.
But plumage will return;
Again he'll mount the ſkies;
Nor prudence has to learn,
By ſad experience wiſe.

But ſtill I know thou'lt ſay,
My cure is not complete:
As, though tis told each day,
The tale I ſtill repeat.
My inſtinct is the ſame
As that of men who roam,
And with delight proclaim
The dangers they've o'ercome.

Thus ſoldiers, when return'd
Victorious from a war,
Tell how they laurels earn'd,
And proudly ſhew each ſcar.
And thus the galley-ſlave
Releas'd from cruel chains,
On ſhackles ſtill will rave
And ſhew their deep remains.

Of liberty I ſpeak
To pleaſe myſelf alone;
But not thy peace to break
Or to diſplay my own.
I ſpeak, nor aſk if now
My reas'ning pleaſes thee;
Nor care if calmly thou
Canſt bear to ſpeak of me,

I quit a fickle fair;
Thou'lt loſe a heart that's true;
Nor do I know or care
Who moſt has cauſe to rue.
But this I know, a ſwain
So true will ne'er be found:
But females falſe and vain
Throughout the world abound.

To a FEMALE CUP BEARER. *From Specimens of* Arabian *Poetry. By* J. D. Carlyle, *B.D. F.R.S.E.*

COME, Leila, fill the goblet up,
Reach round the roſy wine;
Think not that we will take the cup
From any hand but thine.

A draught like this 'twere vain to ſeek,
No grape can ſuch ſupply;
It ſteals its tints from Leila's cheek,
Its brightneſs from her eye.

The BATTLE *of* SABLA. *From the ſame.*

SABLA, thou ſaw'ſt th' exulting foe
—In fancied triumphs crown'd;
Thou heardſt their frantic females throw
These galling taunts around:

"Make now your choice—the terms we give,
"Deſponding victims, hear:
"These fetters on your hands receive,
"Or in your hearts the ſpear."

"And is the conflict o'er," we cried,
"And lie we at your feet?"
"And dare you vauntingly decide
"The fortune we muſt meet?

"A brighter day we ſoon ſhall ſee,
"Tho' now the proſpect lowers;
"And conqueſt, peace, and liberty,
"Shall yield our future hours."

The foe advanced:—in firm array
We ruſhed o'er Sabla's ſands,
And the red ſabre marked our way
Amidſt their yielding bands.

Then, as they writhed in death's cold graſp,
We cried, "Our choice is made:
"These hands the ſabre's hilt ſhall claſp;
"Your hearts ſhall have the blade."

SONNET. *From* Sappho *and* Phaon; *in a ſeries of legitimate Sonnets.* *By* Mary Robinſon.

IS it to love, to fix the tender gaze,
To hide the timid bluſh, and ſteal away;
To ſhun the buſy world, and waſte the day
In ſome wide mountain's ſolitary maze?
Is it to chant one name in ceaſeleſs lays,
To hear no words that other tongues can ſay,
To watch the pale moon's melancholy ray,
To chide in fondneſs, and in folly praiſe?

Is

Is it to pour th' involuntary ſigh;
To dream of bliſs, and wake, new pangs to prove;
To talk in fancy with the ſpeaking eye,
Then ſtart with jealouſy, and wildly rove?
Is it to loath the light, and wiſh to die?
For theſe I feel, and feel that they are love.

THE GENIUS OF DANMONIUM. *An Ode.* *From* Eſſays, *by a Society of Gentlemen at* Exeter.

WHERE reſtleſs Teign, with many a ſurge,
Foams to his ſacred Logan's height,
The rockſtone, at the wood's dark verge,
Shook to the moon, array'd in light;
When, as a cloud far off, diſparting flew,
A ſhadowy form appear'd, majeſtic to my view.

"Child of the duſt"—the genius cried—
"To thee (no trivial boaſt) 'tis given
"To hear with emulative pride,
"How Concord links th' inſpir'd of Heaven;
"Not with the Muſe's ſilken ties alone,
"But in that harmony which friendſhip deems her own.

"'Twas Concord bade the bards of old
"To inſpiration's numbers ſtring
"Their ſweet-ton'd harps of burniſh'd gold
"By ſunny mount or moſſy ſpring—
"Bade them, where echo loves the ſylvan dell,
"The Druid's myſtic pomp, the hero's proweſs tell!

"The ſoul-ſubduing ſtrain was high!
"Still, ſtill it vibrates in mine ear!
"I catch the holy minſtrelſy
"To Devon's faery valleys dear—
"Thro' central oaks no more in foreſt deep,
"Around the grey-ſtone cirque their twilight umbrage ſweep.

"Snatcht from the altars of the Eaſt
"I ſee the fires of Danmon riſe!
"To mark the new-moon's ſolemn feaſt,
"Behold they lighten to the ſkies;
"And, as aſſembled clans in ſilence gaze,
"The diſtant Karnes draw near, and kindle to the blaze!

"Fa

" Faſt by yon chaſmed hill that frowns,
" Cleft by an elemental ſhock,
" As aſhen foliage light embrowns
" Its rude ſide ribb'd with maſſy rock;
" Lo, on the pillar'd way, the white rob'd bands
" In long proceſſion move, where proud the Cromlech ſtands.

" But ſee, where breaking thro' the gloom,
" DANMONIUM's warrior genius ſpeeds
" That ſcythed car, the dread of Rome!
" See, fiercer than the lightning, ſteeds
" Trampling the dead, their hoofs with carnage ſtain,
" Ruſh thro' the ſpear-ſtrown field, and ſnort o'er heaps of ſlain.

" Such was the heart-inſpiring theme
" Of bards who ſung each recent deed;
" Whether amid the mailed gleam
" Of war, they ſaw the hero bleed;
" Or whether, in the druid's circling fane,
" They hymn'd to dreadful rites, the deep myſterious ſtrain.

" No more to boaſt a ſpotleſs green,
" Ere long their garlands deck'd the dead,
" As, fading from the ſight, the ſcene
" Of oriental glory fled!
" Then written verſe for oral numbers came;
" And lays of little worth were conſecrate to fame.

" Then Saxon poets ſwept their lyres,
" But harſh was their untutor'd ſong:
" Then Norman minſtrels vaunted fires
" That ill to Phœbus' train belong;
" Not that the bard of ISCA's elder'd vale
" Told to the ſparkling ſtream an inharmonious tale.*

" And ſtill, along the waſte of years,
" DEVONIA mark'd ſome ſcatter'd rhymes;
" But oft, her eyes ſuffus'd with tears,
" Wiſtful, ſhe look'd to ancient times—
" Ah! few, monaſtic Tavy's banks beſide,
" Few were the BROWNE's that trac'd the ſilver-winding tide.

" And tho' of fancy and of taſte
" A ROWE, the firſt-begotten child,
" By dark romantic woods embrac'd,
" Warbled his native carols wild;

* Joſephus Iſcanus.

" 'Twas from the lonely copſe that high o'erhung
" The Tamar's haunted wave, his ditty ſweet he ſung!

" Tho' GAY attun'd his Dorian oat,
" Such as beſeems a ſimple ſwain;
" He only pip'd a ruſtic note
" To cheer the ſolitary plain—
" Where, ſince the bards of old, hath ſocial love
" Aſſenting genius wooed, to grace the Muſe's grove.

" Where, as in DANMON'S myrtle bowers
" The race of IRAN caught the flame,
" Exerting their congenial powers,
" Not envious of a rival's name;
" Where now, in cloſe fraternal union meet
" Spirits that court the Muſe, by friendſhip doubly ſweet.

" E'en now they live! e'en here they hail
" Their reddening cliffs in ſtrains ſublime;
" Emboſom'd in the vermil dale,
" Nurſt by the roſy-breathing clime!
" Here many a letter'd minſtrel, more refin'd
" Than bards of other times, diſplays the ingenious mind.

" Behold, where lingering ISCA * laves
" The turrets on her ſloping banks,
" While, far-reflected by the waves,
" Riſe her rich elms in tufted ranks,
" The wreaths of genius and of taſte adorn
" Thoſe whom, with partial ſmile, I greet in Devon born.

" What tho' the bards ſhall harp no more
" To wondering ears their magic lays;
" Yet ſhall my choſen tribe reſtore
" The long-loſt fame of other days,—
" Rapt with diviner energies, aſpire
" Ee'n to empyreal worlds, and catch the ſeraph's fire.

" He ceas'd; and to the faltering ſound
" The ſpirit of the rock replied:
" The old oaks bending kiſs'd the ground,
" Then wav'd their boughs with conſcious pride;
" While, borne on his tranſlucent ſhell, hoar Teign
" Joy'd that two ſons † were his, to rival ISCA'S reign.

* The Gentlemen reſident in the neighbourhood of the Exe are Downman, Parr, Emett, Swete, Hole.

† Haytes and Burrington, reſident near the Teign.

EGYPTIAN

EGYPTIAN ODE. *From Sketches in Verſe, with Proſe Illuſtrations.*

WHERE boſom-thrilling tranſports glow,
We oft obſerve the intruder, woe!—
See tufted Faioum breathe delight
From roſe-trees kindling on the ſight,
From orange blooms, or tamarind bowers,
Or the pomegranate's ſcarlet flowers,
And loftier palms, that wave between
Their foliage of a deeper green,
Relieving the bright azure ſkies,
Where ſcarce a rainy vapour flies;
While thro' the fragrance as it blows
A ſtream of liquid amber flows,
While neſtles many a gurgling dove
Within the boſom of the grove,
And from the ſhade, on ſable wings
With crimſon ſtrip'd the flamen ſprings,
And the plum'd oſtrich on the ſands,
Or pelican majeſtic ſtands.
To cool the ſun's meridian beams,
There fruits refreſhing kiſs the ſtreams,
Or bluſhing to eve's purple ray,
Amid the breezy verdure play—
As its leaves ſhade each ſilver ſluice,
The pulpy water-melon's juice,
To eager thirſt delicious balm;
And ſugary dates that crown the palm.
Yet from the rocks that ſkirt the wood,
Fell tigers bound to thirſt on blood;
Yet the wide watered landſcapes ſmile,
Where lurks the treacherous crocodile;
And, ere the melting fruit we graſp,
Death doom'd, we feel the envenom'd aſp.
Then hail my Albion's hoary coaſt,
Where, tho' no ſcenes Elyſium boaſt,
We court not temperate joys in vain,
Nor thrill'd by bliſs, nor ſtung by pain.

SONNET *to an* ARTIST, *employed in new-modelling the Pleaſure Grounds of Lord* ———.

AH! what avails, fair Artiſt, to diffuſe
So bright a verdure o'er the ſwelling lawn,

To guide the stream, by gradual windings drawn
  Down the rich dale, or paint the wood with hues
That seem to kindle, as amid the dews
  They dance, to catch the crimson of the dawn!
Ah! what avails that many a nimble fawn
  Wantons beneath the foliage, if the Muse
Inspire not the possessor, fond to dart
  The eye of sympathetic pleasure round!
Alas, the poor possessor hath no heart!
  Here lies, in silence hush'd, the untrodden ground,
Though Nature boast the elegance of Art,
  Unless when vulgar notes to revelry resound.

Account of Books,

FOR

1796.

Inſtitutes of Hindu Law: *or, the Ordinances of* Menu, *according to the gloſs of* Cullúca. *Compriſing the Indian ſyſtem of duties, religious and civil. Verbally tranſlated from the original* Sanſcrit. *With a Preface, by* Sir William Jones. *Printed at Calcutta, by order of the government, and reprinted in London*, 8*vo*.

THE high antiquity of this code, and the circumſtances of its having, for ſo long a period, been inacceſſible to any but a portion of the natives of Hindoſtan, and of its having, through, perhaps, the courſe of more than thirty centuries, been the rule of conduct for many millions of people, who have always held it to be of divine origin, would render it an object of curioſity, and, in ſome meaſure, of reſpect, even did it poſſeſs leſs than it really poſſeſſes of intrinſic merit. The Hindoos firmly believe it to have been promulgated, in the beginning of time, by Menu, the ſon of Brahma; and Sir William Jones himſelf conſiders it as one of the oldeſt compoſitions exiſting, and as having received its preſent form at leaſt 880, if not 1280, years before the birth of our Saviour. He is likewiſe diſpoſed to look upon the Indian Menu and the Cretan Minos as the ſame perſon. This extraordinary code has always been kept ſecret from the profane, by the Brahmens, who are enjoined to explain it only to their pupils of the three higheſt claſſes. Before he commenced the ſtudy of Sanſcrit, Sir William Jones, who was deſirous to become acquainted with the Inſtitutes, could not obtain a Perſian tranſlation of them without extreme difficulty; and, ſubſequently, the Brahmen, who read the original with him, earneſtly requeſted that his name might be concealed; nor would he, for any conſideration, have read it on a forbidden day of the moon, or without the regular ceremonies, which are commanded to be obſerved.

In the verſion, which Sir William Jones has given to the world, he has followed the text and interpretation of Cullúca Bhatta, the moſt eſteemed of all the commentators. What age Cullúca lived in is not known; but he has himſelf declared that he was a Brahmen of the *Váréndra* tribe, whoſe family had been long ſettled in *Gaur* or Bengal, and that his reſidence was among the learned, on the banks of the

holy river at *Caſi*. In the tranſlation, the gloſs of Cullúca is printed in Italics, ſo that the reader, who may chooſe to paſs it over as if unprinted, will have in Roman letters a ſcrupulouſly exact verſion of the original, and may form ſome idea of its character and ſtructure, as well as of the Sanſcrit idiom.

The general character of the work is well deſcribed by Sir William Jones. "It contains," says he, "abundance of curious matter, extremely intereſting both to ſpeculative lawyers and antiquaries, with many beauties which need not be pointed out, and with many blemiſhes which cannot be juſtified or palliated. It is a ſyſtem of deſpotiſm and prieſtcraft, both indeed limited by law, but artfully conſpiring to give mutual ſupport, though with mutual checks; it is filled with ſtrange conceits in metaphyſics and natural philoſophy, with idle ſuperſtitions, and with a ſcheme of theology moſt obſcurely figurative, and conſequently liable to dangerous miſconception; it abounds with minute and childiſh formalities, with ceremonies generally abſurd and often ridiculous; the puniſhments are partial and fanciful; for ſome crimes, dreadfully cruel, for others, reprehenſibly ſlight; and the very morals, though rigid enough on the whole, are, in one or two inſtances (as in the caſe of light oaths and of pious perjury) unaccountably relaxed: nevertheleſs, a ſpirit of ſublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderneſs to all ſentient creatures, pervades the whole work; the style of it has a certain auſtere majeſty, that ſounds like the language of legiſlation, and extorts a reſpectful awe; the ſentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harſh admonitions, even to kings, are truly noble; and the many panegyrics on the *Gáyatrì*, the *Mother* as it is called, of the *Veda*, prove the author to have *adored* (not the viſible material *ſun*, but) *that divine and incomparably greater light*, to uſe the words of the moſt venerable text in the Indian ſcripture, *which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all muſt return, and which alone can irradiate* (not our viſual organs merely, but our ſouls and) *our intellects*."

It is well known that, in Hindoſtan, the Hindoo population is divided into caſts or claſſes. The fabled origin of theſe claſſes, is not a little curious. "That the human race," say the Institutes, "might be multiplied, Brahma cauſed the *Brahmen*, the *Cſhatrya*, the *Vaiſya*, and the *Súdra*, (ſo named from the *Scripture*, *protection*, *wealth*, and *labour*), to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot."

This ſingular mode of producing the parent ſtock of the human race, occaſioned the firſt of the caſts to enjoy a proud ſuperiority, and the laſt of them to be placed in a degraded ſituation. Why this wonderful difference was made, Menu himſelf will inform us. "Man," ſays he, "is declared purer above the navel; but the ſelf-creating Power declared the pureſt part about him, to be his mouth. Since the *Bráhmen* ſprang from the moſt excellent part, ſince he was the firſt born, and ſince he poſſeſſes the *Veda*, he is by right the chief of this whole creation. Him, the Being, who exiſts

" exiſts of himſelf, produced in the " beginning from his own mouth, " that, having perſormed holy rites, " he might preſent clarified butter " to the Gods, and cakes of rice to " the progenitors of mankind, for " the preſervation of this world: " What created being then can ſur- " paſs Him, with whoſe mouth the " Gods of the firmament continually " feaſt on clarified butter, and the " manes of anceſtors, on hallowed " cakes."

The duties of the various claſſes are thus ſummarily enumerated. " *To Bráhmens* he aſſigned the du- " ties of reading the *Veda*, of teach- " ing it, of ſacrificing, of aſſiſting " others to ſacrifice, of giving alms, " *if they be rich*, and, *if indigent*, " of receiving gifts: To defend the " people, to give alms, to ſacrifice, " to read the *Veda*, to ſhun the " allurements of ſenſual gratifica- " tion, are, in a few words, the du- " ties of a *Cſhatrya*: To keep herds " of cattle, to beſtow largeſſes, to " ſacrifice, to read the Scripture, to " carry on trade, to lend at intereſt, " and to cultivate land, are pre- " ſcribed *or permitted* to a *Vaiſya*: " One principal duty the Supreme " Ruler aſſigns to a *Súdra*; namely, " to ſerve the before-mentioned " claſſes, without depreciating their " worth."

From the quotations which have been already given, it is manifeſt, that the nearly ſinecure office of preſenting clarified butter to the Gods, and cakes of rice to the manes of anceſtors, is endowed with extraordinary privileges. Never, indeed, was any code ſo artfully formed as this, to raiſe one favoured claſs to an immeaſurable height above all others. In every part of it the doctrine, that " ſuch divinity doth " hedge" a Bráhmen, is carefully taught. A few extracts, taken, in ſucceſſion, from ſome of the chapters, will not be unamuſing.

" The very birth of *Bráhmens* is a " conſtant incarnation of DHERMA, " *God of Juſtice*; for the *Bráhmen* is " born to promote juſtice, and to " procure ultimate happineſs.

" When a *Bráhmen* ſprings to " light, he is born above the world, " the chief of all creatures, aſſigned " to guard the treaſury of duties, " religious and civil.

" Whatever exiſts in the univerſe, " is all in effect, *though not in form*, " the wealth of the *Bráhmen*; ſince " the *Bráhmen* is entitled to it all by " his primogeniture and eminence of " birth.

" The *Bráhmen* eats but his own " food; wears but his own apparel; " and beſtows but his own in alms: " through the benevolence of the " *Bráhmen*, indeed, other mortals " enjoy life.

" The *Bráhmen* who ſtudies this " book, having performed ſacred rites, " is perpetually free from offence, in " thought, in word, and in deed; he " confers purity on his living family, " on his anceſtors, and on his de- " ſcendants, as far as the ſeventh " perſon; and he alone deſerves to " poſſeſs this whole earth.

" A *Bráhmen*, who is the giver of " ſpiritual birth, the teacher of pre- " ſcribed duty, is by right *called* " the father of an old man, though " himſelf be a child.

" By culpable marriages, by omiſ- " ſion of preſcribed ceremonies, " by neglect of reading the *Veda*, " and by irreverence towards a " *Bráhmen*, great families are ſunk " to a low ſtate.

" A *Bráhmen* coming as a gueſt, " and not received with juſt honour,

" takes to himself all the reward of " the housekeeper's former virtue, " even though he had been so tem- " perate as to live on the gleanings " of harvests, and so pious as to " make oblations in five distinct " fires.

" A twice-born man, who barely " assaults a *Bráhmen*, with intention " to hurt him, shall be whirled " about for a century in the hell " named *Támisra*; but, having smit- " ten him in anger and by design, " even with a blade of grass, he " shall be born, in one and twenty " transmigrations, from the wombs " of impure quadrupeds.

" Let the king, having risen at " early dawn, respectfully attend to " *Bráhmens*, learned in the three " *Vedas*, and in the science of " ethics; and by this decision let " him abide. Constantly must he " show respect to *Bráhmens*. Let " him give the *Bráhmens* both le- " gal enjoyments and moderate " wealth.

" A king, even though dying *with* " *want*, must not receive any tax " from a *Bráhmen* learned in the " *Vedas*, nor suffer such a *Bráhmen*, " residing in his territories, to be " afflicted with hunger: of that " king, in whose dominion a learned " Bráhmen is afflicted with hunger, " the whole kingdom will in a short " time be afflicted with famine.

" A learned *Bráhmen*, having " found a treasure formerly hidden, " may take it without any deduction, " since he is the lord of all; but of a " treasure accidentally reposited un- " der ground, which *any other sub-* " *ject or* the king has discovered, " the king may lay up half in his " treasury, having given half to the " *Bráhmens*.

" Let a just prince banish men of " the three *lower* classes, if they " give false evidence, having first " levied the fine; but a *Bráhmen* let " him only banish.

" MENU, son of the self-existent, " has named ten places of punish- " ment, which are appropriated to " the three *lower* classes; but a " *Bráhmen* must depart from the " realm unhurt *in any one of them*.

" Ignominious tonsure is ordained, " instead of capital punishment, for " an adulterer of the priestly class, " where the punishment of other " classes may extend to loss of life.

" Never shall the king slay a " *Bráhmen* though convicted of all " possible crimes: let him banish " the offender from his realm, but " with all his property secure, and " his body unhurt. No greater " crime is known on earth than " slaying a *Bráhmen*; and the king, " therefore, must not even form in " his mind an idea of killing a priest.

" A *Bráhmen*, whether learned " or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; " even as fire is a powerful divinity, " whether consecrated or popular. " Though *Bráhmens* employ them- " selves in all sorts of mean occupa- " tion, they must invariably be " honoured, for they are something " transcendently divine.

" Let every man, according to his " ability, give wealth to *Bráhmens* " detached from the world and " learned in scripture: such a giver " shall attain heaven after this " life.

" Let no pious king fine the man " *who takes by stealth, or by force,* " *what he wants to make a sacrifice* " *perfect*; since it is the king's folly, " that causes the hunger or wants " of a *Bráhmen*.

" From his high birth alone, a " *Bráhmen* is an object of veneration

" even

" even to deities; his declarations
" to mankind are decisive evidence;
" and the *Veda* itself confers on
" him that character.

" For striking a *Bráhmen*, even
" with a blade of grass, or tying
" him by the neck with a cloth, or
" overpowering him in argument,
" and adding contemptuous words,
" the offender must soothe him by
" falling prostrate.

" An assaulter of a *Bráhmen*, with
" intent to kill, shall remain in hell
" a hundred years; for actually
" striking him *with the like intent*,
" a thousand.

" As many small pellets of dust
" as the blood of a *Bráhmen* collects
" on the ground, for so many
" thousand years must the shedder
" of that blood be tormented in
" hell.

" A priest, who should retain in
" his memory the whole *Rigvéda*,
" would be absolved from guilt, even
" if he had slain the inhabitants of
" three worlds, and had eaten food
" from the foulest hands."

It will, perhaps, excite a smile in some, and a frown in others, to see the slaying the inhabitants of three worlds, and the eating of food from impure hands, thus linked together, as if equal offences. Nor will the morality which admits such slight expiation for enormous crimes, be allowed to pass without censure.

From the *Bráhmen*, to whose pleasure every thing is rendered subservient, and to whose sins almost complete impunity is allowed, let us turn to the *Sudra*, the hewer of wood and drawer of water to the Brahmenical class. A few quotations, from a crowd of similar passages, will afford some idea of the *Súdra's* state. What is considered as the principal duty of the lowest class, has already been slightly mentioned. We shall now see it more fully.

" The first part of a *Bráhmen's*
" compound name should indicate
" holiness; of a *Cshatriya's*, power;
" of a *Vaisya's*, wealth; and of a
" *Súdra's*, contempt: Let the se-
" cond part of the Priest's name
" imply prosperity; of the soldier's,
" preservation; of the merchant's,
" nourishment; of the servant's,
" humble attendance.

" A *Bráhmen*, if he takes a *Súdra*
" to his bed, *as his first wife*, sinks
" to the region of torment; if he
" beget a child by her, he loses even
" his priestly rank.

" For the crime of him, who
" *thus illegally* drinks the moisture
" of a *Súdra's* lips, who is tainted
" by her breath, and who even
" begets a child on her body, the
" law declares no expiation.

" He, who caresses a *Súdra* wo-
" man, after he has been invited
" to sacred obsequies, takes on
" himself all the sin that has been
" committed by the giver of the
" repast.

" That fool, who, having eaten
" of the *Srádhha* (a sacrificial feast),
" gives the residue of it to a man
" of the servile class, falls headlong
" down to the hell named *Cálasútra*.

" Let him not give *even temporal*
" advice to a Sudra. Nor let him
" *in person* give spiritual counsel to
" such a man, nor *personally* inform
" him of the legal expiation for his
" sin: surely he, who declares the
" law to a servile man, and he, who
" instructs him in the mode of ex-
" piating sin, *except by the interven-*
" *tion of a priest*, sinks with that
" very man into the hell named
" *Asamvrita*.

" Let

" Let no kinſman, whilſt any of " his own claſs are at hand, cauſe " a deceaſed *Bráhmen* to be carried " out by *Súdra*; ſince the funeral " rite, polluted by the touch of a " ſervile man, obſtructs his paſſage " to heaven.

" A *Bráhmen* ſupported only by " his claſs, and one barely reputed " a *Bráhmen*, but without perform- " ing any ſacerdotal acts, may, at " the king's pleaſure, interpret the " law to him: *ſo may the two middle* " *claſſes*; but a *Súdra*, in no caſe " whatever. Of that king, who " ſtupidly looks on, while a *Súdra* " decides cauſes, the kingdom itſelf " ſhall be embarraſſed, like a cow in " deep mire.

" The whole territory, which is " inhabited by a number of Sudras, " overwhelmed with atheiſts, and " deprived of *Bráhmens*, muſt ſpeedily " periſh, afflicted with death and " diſeaſe.

" A once born man, who inſults " the twice born with groſs invec- " tives, ought to have his tongue " ſlit; for he ſprang from the low- " eſt part of *Bráhma*. If he men- " tion their names and claſſes with " contumely, *as if he* say, '*Oh* " DE'VADATTA, thou refuſe of *Bráh-* " *mens*,' an iron ſtyle, ten fingers " long, ſhall be thruſt red hot into " his mouth.

" A man of the loweſt claſs, who " ſhall inſolently place himſelf on " the ſame ſeat with one of the " higheſt, ſhall either be baniſhed " with a mark on his hinder parts, " or the king ſhall cauſe a gaſh to be " made on his buttock.

" A *Súdra*, though emancipated " by his maſter, is not releaſed from " a ſtate of ſervitude; for of a ſtate " which is natural to him, by whom " can he be diveſted?

" A *Bráhmen* may ſeize without " heſitation, *if he be diſtreſſed for a* " *ſubſiſtence*, the goods of his *Súdra* " ſlave; for as that ſlave can have " no property, his maſter may take " his goods.

" A ſon, begotten through luſt on " a *Súdra* by a man of the prieſtly " claſs, is even as a corpſe, though " alive, and is thence called in law " a living corpſe.

" Servile attendance on *Bráhmens* " learned in the *Véda*, chiefly on " ſuch as keep houſe and are famed " for virtue, is of itſelf the higheſt " duty of a *Súdra*, and leads him to " future beatitude.

" From a *Súdra*, on women of the " commercial, military, and prieſtly " claſſes, are born ſons of a mixed " breed, called *Ayogava*, *Cſhattrí*, " and *Chandála*, the loweſt of mor- " tals.

" The abode of a *Chandála* and a " *Swapáca*," (the latter is another tribe, of a croſs breed), "muſt be out " of the town; they muſt not have " the uſe of entire veſſels; their ſole " wealth muſt be dogs and aſſes:— " Their clothes muſt be the mantles " of the deceaſed; their diſhes for " food, broken pots; their orna- " ments, ruſty iron; continually " muſt they roam from place to " place:—Let no man, who regards " his duty, religious and civil, hold " any intercourſe with them; let " their tranſactions be confined to " themſelves; and their marriages " only between equals:—Let food " be given to them in potsherds, but " not by the hands of the giver; " and let them not walk by night in " cities or towns:—By day they " may walk about for the purpoſe of " work, diſtinguiſhed by the king's " badges; and they ſhall carry out " the corpſe of every one who dies

" without kindred: ſuch is the fixed " rule. They ſhall always kill thoſe " who are to be ſlain by the ſentence " of the law, and by the royal war- " rant; and let him take the clothes " of the ſlain, their beds, and their " ornaments.

" Attendance on *Bráhmens* is pro- " nounced the beſt work of a *Súdra:* " whatever elſe he may perform, will " comparatively avail him nothing.

" No *ſuperfluous* collection of " wealth muſt be made by a *Súdra*, " even though he has power to make " it, ſince a ſervile man, who has " amaſſed riches, *becomes proud, and*, " *by his influence or neglect*, gives " pain even to *Bráhmens.*"

It is impoſſible to rivet more carefully or firmly, than this code does, the hateful links of the chain of ſlavery and human degradation. But low as he is, the *Súdra*, as will indeed be ſeen in the preceding extracts, is not the loweſt. There is " in the loweſt deep a lower deep." " Even," ſays Menu, " as a *Súdra* " begets, on a *Bráhmeni* woman, a " ſon more vile than himſelf, thus " any other low man begets, on " *women of* the four claſſes, a ſon " yet lower. The ſix low claſſes, " marrying inverſely, beget fifteen " yet lower tribes, the baſe pro- " ducing ſtill baſer; *and in a direct* " *order they produce fifteen more.*" The names and occupations of many of theſe outcaſt tribes are enumerated and pointed out with the utmoſt preciſion.

In ſpeaking of oriental habits and cuſtoms, the tranſition, from the ſituation of the ſervile claſs, to that of females in general, is not ſo abrupt and unnatural as, at firſt ſight, it may ſeem, to the native of a country where women rank high in place and eſtimation. Let us, therefore, next ſee in what manner the divine Menu directs women to be treated. He tells us, at the beginning, that " The names of women ſhould be " agreeable, ſoft, clear, captivating " the fancy, auſpicious, ending in " long vowels, reſembling words of " benediction."

Thus far, the ladies will not be diſpoſed to quarrel with his law, and will, perhaps, admire the taſte by which it was dictated. Nor will they, probably, quarrel with the following paſſage, which gives a ſtriking picture of their influence over the lords of the creation.

" It is the nature of women in " this world to cauſe the ſeduction " of men; for which reaſon the " wiſe are never unguarded in the " company of females:—a female " indeed, is able to draw from the " right path in this life not a fool " only, but even a ſage, and can lead " him in ſubjection to deſire or to " wrath. Let not a man, therefore, " ſit in a ſequeſtered place with his " neareſt female relations: the aſ- " ſemblage of corporeal organs is " powerful enough to ſnatch wiſdom " from the wiſe."

The next injunction of Menu, is ſtill more flattering: " Married " women muſt be honoured and " adorned by their fathers and bre- " thren, by their huſbands, and by the " brethren of their huſbands, if they " ſeek abundant proſperity:—where " females are honoured, there the " deities are pleaſed; but where " they are diſhonoured, there all re- " ligious acts become fruitleſs. " Where female relations are made " miſerable, the family of him who " makes them ſo, ſoon wholly pe- " riſhes; but where they are not un- " happy, the family always increaſes. " —On whatever houſes the women " of

" of a family, not being duly ho-
" noured, pronounce an imprecation,
" thofe houfes, with all that belong
" to them, utterly periſh, as if de-
" ſtroyed by a ſacrifice for the death
" of an enemy.—Let thofe women,
" therefore, be continually ſupplied
" with ornaments, apparel, and food,
" at feſtivals and at jubilees, by
" men deſirous of wealth."

It ſeems as if thofe ladies, who hurry to India every year, had read the *Veda* thus far, and no farther; and, certainly, had Menu ſtopped here, he would have been held in high reſpect by all the female race. But the dark ſide of the picture muſt now be ſhown; and this will, undoubtedly, excite infinite diſguſt.

" By a girl, or by a young woman,
" or by a woman advanced in years,
" nothing muſt be done, even in her
" own dwelling place, according to
" her mere pleaſure:—In childhood
" muſt a female be dependent on her
" father, in youth, on her huſband;
" her lord being dead, on her ſons;
" *if ſhe have no ſons, on the near*
" *kinſmen of her huſband; if he left*
" *no kinſmen, on thoſe of her father;*
" *if ſhe have no paternal kinſmen, on*
" *the ſovereign*; a woman muſt
" never ſeek independence.—Him
" to whom her father has given
" her, or her brother with the pa-
" ternal aſſent, let her obſequiouſly
" honour, while he lives; and when
" he dies, let her never neglect him.
" —Though inobſervant of approved
" uſages, or enamoured of another
" woman, or devoid of good quali-
" ties, yet a huſband muſt conſtantly
" be adored as a god by a virtuous
" wife.—Nor is a ſecond huſband
" allowed, in any part of this code,
" to a virtuous woman.—A married
" woman, who violates the duty
" which ſhe owes to her lord, brings
" infamy on herſelf in this life, and,
" in *the next*, ſhall enter the womb
" of a ſhakal, or be afflicted with
" *elephantiaſis, and other* diſeaſes,
" which puniſh crimes." But leſt, in ſome caſes, the dread of being born a ſhakal, or being afflicted with elephantiaſis, ſhould not be ſufficiently ſtrong to deter a wife from going aſtray, Menu has provided more immediate and effectual penalties. " Should a wife, proud of
" her family and the great qualities
" of her kinſmen, actually violate
" the duty which ſhe owes to her
" lord, let the king condemn her to
" be devoured by dogs in a place
" well frequented; and let him
" place the adulterer on an iron bed
" well heated, under which the ex-
" ecutioners ſhall throw logs con-
" tinually, till the ſinful wretch be
" there burned to death."

So rigid are the laws of Menu, with reſpect to the perpetual dependence of women, that the precepts, which we have quoted from the fifth chapter, are repeated, with ſome variations, in the ninth. " Day
" and night muſt women be held
" by their protectors in a ſtate of
" dependence; but in *lawful and*
" *innocent* recreations, though rather
" addicted to them, they may be
" left at their own diſpoſal.—Their
" fathers protect them in childhood;
" their huſbands protect them in
" youth; their ſons protect them in
" age: a woman is never fit for in-
" dependence.—Women muſt, above
" all, be reſtrained from the ſmalleſt
" illicit gratification; for, not being
" thus reſtrained, they bring ſorrow
" on both families.—Let huſbands,
" how weak ſoever, diligently keep
" their wives under lawful reſtric-
" tions.—No man, indeed, can
" wholly reſtrain women by violent
" meaſures;

" meaſures; but by theſe expedients
" they may be reſtrained: let the
" huſband keep his wife employed
" in the collection and expenditure
" of wealth, in purification and
" female duty, in the preparation of
" daily food, and the ſuperintend-
" ence of houſehold utenſils."

In the ſeventh chapter, there is a curious inſtance of that reſtleſs ſuſpicion and terror which deſpotiſm, even in the pride of its power, and in the midſt of its pleaſures, is doomed to feel. Speaking of the king, it, among an abundance of trivialities, says, " Let his females, well
" tried and attentive, their dreſs
" and ornaments having been exa-
" mined, *leſt ſome weapon ſhould be*
" *concealed in them*, do him humble
" ſervice with fans, water, and per-
" fumes."

That the religious ceremonies, which this code orders, juſtly merit the cenſure of being " generally abſurd and often ridiculous," the following inſtances, ſelected from a crowd of others, will clearly prove.

" A *Brâhmen*, beginning and
" ending a lecture on the *Véda*,
" muſt always pronounce to himſelf
" the ſyllable *óm*; for, unleſs the
" ſyllable *om* precede, his learning
" will ſlip away from him; and,
" unleſs it follows, nothing will be
" long retained.

" If he have ſitten on culms of
" *cúſa* with their points toward the
" eaſt, and be purified by *rubbing*
" that holy graſs on both his hands,
" and be further prepared by three
" ſuppreſſions of breath, *each equal*
" *in time to five ſhort vowels*, he then
" may fitly pronounce *om*.

" *Brahmá* milked out, *as it were*,
" from the three *Vedas*, the letter
" *a*, the letter *u*, and the letter *m*,
" *which form by their coalition the*
" *triliteral monoſyallable*, together
" with three myſterious words, *bhur*,
" *bhuvah*, *ſwer*, *or earth*, *ſky*, *heaven*:
" From the three *Vedas*, alſo, the
" Lord of creatures incomprehenſibly
" exalted, ſucceſſively milked out
" the three meaſures of that in-
" effable text, beginning with the
" word *tad*, and entitled *ſavitri* or
" *gâyatri*."

" In his domeſtic fire for dreſſing
" the food of all the gods, after the
" preſcribed ceremony, let a *Bráh-*
" *men* make an oblation each day,
" to theſe *following* divinities; Firſt
" to AGNI, god of fire, and to the
" lunar god, ſeverally; then to
" both of them at once; next to
" the aſſembled gods; and afterwards
" to DHANWANTARI, god of me-
" dicine; to CUHU, goddeſs of the
" day, when the new moon is
" diſcernible; to ANUMATI, goddeſs
" of the day, after the oppoſition;
" to PRAJAPATI, or the lord of
" creatures; to DYA'VA' and PRI-
" THIVI', goddeſſes of ſky and
" earth; and laſtly, to the fire of
" the good ſacrifice.

" Having thus, with fixed atten-
" tion, offered clarified butter in all
" quarters, proceeding *from the eaſt*
" in a ſouthern direction to INDRA,
" YAMA, VARUNA, and the god
" SOMA, let him offer his gift to
" animated creatures: Saying, " I
" ſalute the *Maruts*," or *winds*, let
" him throw dreſſed rice near the
" door; *ſaying*, " I ſalute the water
" gods," in water; and on his peſtle
" and mortar, *ſaying* " I ſalute the
" gods of large trees.

" Let him do the like *in the north*
" *eaſt*, *or* near his pillow, to SRI',
" the goddeſs of abundance; *in the*
" *ſouth weſt*, or at the foot of his
" bed, to the propitious goddeſs,
" BHADRACA'LI'; in the centre of
" his

" his manſion, to BRAHMA' and his " houſehold god; to all the gods " aſſembled, let him throw up his " oblation in the open air; by day, " to the ſpirits who walk in light; " and by night, to thoſe who walk " in darkneſs: In the building on " his houſe top, *or behind his back*, " let him caſt his oblation for the " welfare of all creatures; and " what remains let him give to the " *Pitris* with his face towards the " ſouth: The ſhare of dogs, of out- " caſts, of dog feeders, of ſinful men, " puniſhed with elephantiaſis or " conſumption, of crows and of " reptiles, let him drop on the " ground by little and little.

" A *Bráhmen*, who thus each " day ſhall honour all beings, will " go to the higheſt region in a " ſtraight path, in an irradiated " form."

A long liſt of various oblations to the manes, among which the fleſh of the rhinoceros, and of an iron-coloured kid, ſtands the higheſt in value, concludes with this dramatic exclamation. " Oh! may that man, " *ſay the manes*, be born in our line, " who may give us milky food, with " honey and pure butter, both on " the thirteenth of the moon, and " when the ſhadow of an elephant " falls to the eaſt!"

Every page preſents examples of minute and childiſh formalities, even more trivial than the following:

" Let ſtudents in theology wear " *for their mantles*, the hides of " black antelopes, of common deer, " or of goats, with *lower veſts* of " woven *ſána*, of *oſhúma*, and of " wool, in the direct order of their " claſſes. The girdle of a prieſt " muſt be made of *munja*, in a triple " cord, ſmooth and ſoft; that of " a warrior muſt be a bow-ſtring of " *múrvá*; that of a merchant, a " triple thread of *ſána*."

The choice of ſtaves for the three ſuperior claſſes, (for the poor *Súdras* are not favoured with a ſtaff), is likewiſe a matter of great nicety. The materials and length are accurately regulated, and it is gravely added, " Let all the ſtaves be " ſtraight, without fracture, of a " handſome appearance, not likely " to terrify men, with their bark " perfect, unhurt by fire."

" A *Bráhmen* ſhould thus be " ſaluted in return; 'May'ſt thou " live long excellent man!' and at " the end of his name, the vowel " and preceding conſonant ſhould " be lengthened *with an acute accent* " to three ſyllabick moments *or* " *ſhort vowels*."

" Let all the dreſſed food" (at a Sraddha)" be very hot; and let " the *Bráhmens* eat it in ſilence; " nor let them declare the qualities " of the food, even though aſked " by the giver."

" Let him not eat his food, " wearing only a ſingle cloth; nor " let him bathe quite naked; nor " let him eject urine or feces on " the highway, nor on aſhes, nor " where kine are grazing; nor on " tilled ground, nor in water, nor " on wood raiſed for burning, nor, " *unleſs he be* in great need, or on " a mountain, nor on the ruins of " a temple, nor at any time on a " neſt of white ants, nor in ditches " with living creatures in them, " nor walking, nor ſtanding, nor on " the bank of a river, nor on the " ſummit of a mountain: nor let " him eject them, looking at *things* " *moved by* the wind, or at fire, or " at a prieſt, or at the ſun, or at " water, or at cattle; but let him " void his excrements, having co-

" vered

" vered the earth with wood, pot-
" herbs, *dry* leaves and graſs, or
" the like, carefully ſuppreſſing his
" utterance, wrapping up his breaſt
" and his head. By day let him
" void them with his face to the
" north; by night, with his face to
" the ſouth; and at ſun-riſe and at
" ſun-ſet, in the ſame manner as by
" day; in the ſhade or in darkneſs,
" whether by day or by night, let
" a *Bráhman* caſe nature with his
" face turned as he pleaſes; and in
" places where he fears injury to
" life, *from wild beaſts or from rep-*
" *tiles.* Of him, who ſhould urine
" againſt fire, againſt the ſun, or the
" moon, againſt a twice-born man,
" a cow, or the wind, all the ſacred
" knowledge would periſh."

" Let not a man, who deſires to
" enjoy long life, ſtand upon hair,
" nor upon aſhes, bones, or pot-
" ſherds, nor upon ſeeds of cotton,
" nor upon huſks of grain."

" At the beginning of each day
" let him diſcharge his feces, bathe,
" rub his teeth, apply a collirium to
" his eyes, adjuſt his dreſs, and
" adore the gods."

" From a king, not born in the
" military claſs, let him accept no
" gift, nor from ſuch as keep a
" ſlaughter-houſe or an oil-preſs, or
" put out a vintner's flag, or ſubſiſt
" by the gain of proſtitutes: one
" oil preſs is as bad as ten ſlaugh-
" ter-houſes; one vintner's flag, as
" ten oil-preſſes; one proſtitute, as
" ten vintner's flags; one *ſuch* king,
" as ten proſtitutes; with a ſlaugh-
" terer, *therefore*, who employs ten
" thouſand ſlaughter-houſes, a king,
" *not a ſoldier by birth*, is declared
" to be on a level; *and*, a gift from
" him is tremendous."

The directions for the choice of a wife are calculated to excite a ſmile. " In connecting himſelf
" with a wife, let him ſtudiouſly
" avoid the ten following families,
" be they ever ſo great, or ever ſo
" rich in kine, goats, ſheep, gold
" and grain: The family which
" has omitted the preſcribed acts of
" religion; that, which has pro-
" duced no male children; that, in
" which the *Veda* has not been
" read; that, which has thick hair
" on the body; and thoſe which
" have been ſubject to hemorrhoids,
" to phthiſis, to diſpepſia, to epi-
" lepſy, to leproſy, and to elephan-
" tiaſis. Let him not marry a girl
" with reddiſh hair, nor with any
" deformed limb; nor one troubled
" with habitual ſickneſs; nor one
" either with no hair, or with too
" much; nor one immoderately
" talkative; nor one with inflamed
" eyes; nor one with the name of
" a conſtellation, of a tree, or of a
" river, of a barbarous nation, or
" of a mountain, of a winged crea-
" ture, a ſnake, or a ſlave; nor
" with any name raiſing an image
" of terror. Let him chuſe for his
" wife, a girl, whoſe form has no
" defect; who has an agreeable
" name; who walks *gracefully*, like
" a *phenicopteros*, or like a young
" elephant; whoſe hair and teeth
" are moderate reſpectively in
" quantity and in ſize; whoſe body
" has exquiſite ſoftneſs."

Sir William Jones has mentioned, with implied cenſure, the relaxed morality of the *Hindus*, in the two inſtances of light oaths and pious perjury. In the caſe of pious perjury, the laxity of the law, however improper, has been occaſioned by benevolent motives. But, with reſpect to light oaths, it is not eaſy to conceive, except in one part, the motives which induced the legiſlator

to

to tolerate ſuch flagrant violations of moral propriety. As far as regards females and lovers, he ſeems to have been of the ſame opinion with many Europeans,—that "Jove "but laughs at lovers' oaths, and "lovers' perjuries." Speaking on the latter head, of light oaths, after having, in certain caſes, ſtrictly forbidden, and denounced puniſhment againſt them, he adds, "To "women, however, at a time of "dalliance, or on a propoſal of "marriage, in the caſe of graſs or "fruit eaten by a cow, of wood "taken for a ſacrifice, or of a pro-"miſe made for the preſervation of "a *Bráhmen*, it is no deadly ſin to "take a light oath."

Pious perjury is thus favourably mentioned. "In ſome caſes, a "giver of falſe evidence from a "pious motive, even though he "know the truth, ſhall not loſe a "feat in heaven; ſuch evidence "wiſe men call the ſpeech of the "gods.—Whenever the death of a "man, *who had not been a grievous* "*offender*, either of the ſervile, the "commercial, the military, or the "ſacerdotal claſs, would be occa-"ſioned by true evidence, *from the* "*known rigour of the king, even* "*though the fault aroſe from inad-*"*vertence or error*, falſehood may "be ſpoken: it is even preferable "to truth."

One remarkable clauſe, in that branch of the code which relates to judicial proceedings, ſeems to render it rather hazardous, to appear in the character of a witneſs. The ſtrange perverſion of religious feeling, by which this clauſe was prompted, is ſufficiently obvious. "The witneſs, "who has given evidence, and to "whom, within ſeven days after, "*a misfortune* happens *from* diſeaſe, "fire, or the death of a kinſman, "ſhall be condemned to pay the "debt and a fine." It is wonderful that the legiſlator did not perceive the dreadful uſe which might be made of this clauſe, by any wicked individual.

Even our beſt actions have been attributed to the love of ſelf, by Rochefoucauld; and Pope has aſſert-ed, that "ſelf-love and ſocial are "the ſame." Menu certainly has the merit, ſuch as it is, of having diſcovered, long before the French duke, that ſelf-love is the motive power of the human mind: but he does not, with Pope, conſider it as worthy of approbation. "Self-love," he ſays, is no "laudable motive; "yet an exemption from self-love "is not *to be found* in this world: "on ſelf-love is grounded the ſtudy "of ſcripture, and the practice of "actions recommended in it.—Not "a ſingle act here below appears "ever to be done by a man free from "ſelf-love; whatever he performed, "it is wrought from his deſire of a "reward. He, indeed, who ſhould "perſiſt in *diſcharging* theſe duties "without any view to their fruit, "would attain hereafter the ſtate "of the immortals, and even in this "life, would enjoy all the virtuous "gratifications, that his fancy could "ſuggeſt."

It is now time to give ſome ſpe-cimens of that amiable feeling, and exalted morality, with which, not-withſtanding its occaſional devia-tions, this work abounds; and with theſe, and one or two from the laſt chapter of the volume, we ſhall cloſe our extracts.

"A man, by the attachment of "his organs to ſenſual pleaſure "incurs

" incurs certain guilt, but, having " wholly ſubdued them, he thence " attains heavenly bliſs."

" To a man contaminated by ſen- " ſuality, neither the *Védas*, nor libe- " rality, nor ſacrifices, nor ſtrict ob- " ſervances, nor pious auſterities, " ever procure felicity. He must " be conſidered as really triumphant " over his organs, who, on hearing " and touching, on ſeeing and taſting " and ſmelling, *what may pleaſe or* " *offend the ſenſes*, neither greatly " rejoices nor greatly repines."

" Good inſtruction muſt be given " without pain to the inſtructed; and " ſweet gentle ſpeech muſt be uſed " by a preceptor who cheriſhes " virtue."

" Let not a man be querulous " even though in pain; let him not " injure another in deed or in " thought; let him not even utter a " word, by which his fellow-creature " may ſuffer uneaſineſs; ſince that " will obſtruct his own progreſs to " future beatitude."

" No gueſt muſt be diſmiſſed in " the evening by a houſekeeper; he " is ſent by the retiring ſun; and, " whether he come in fit ſeaſon or " unſeaſonably, he muſt not ſojourn " in the houſe without entertain- " ment. Let him not himſelf eat " any delicate food, without aſking " his gueſt to partake of it: the " ſatisfaction of a gueſt will aſſuredly " bring the houſekeeper wealth, " reputation, long life, and a place " in heaven."

" He muſt live, with no injury, " or with the leaſt poſſible injury, " to animated beings."

" Let him not inſult thoſe who " want a limb, or have a limb re- " dundant, who are unlearned, who " are advanced in age, who have " no beauty, who have no wealth, " or who are of an ignoble race."

" Denial of a future ſtate, neglect " of the ſcripture, and contempt of " the deities, envy and hatred, va- " nity and pride, wrath and ſeverity, " let him at all times avoid."

" Even here below an unjuſt man " attains no felicity; nor he, whoſe " wealth proceeds from giving falſe " evidence; nor he, who conſtantly " takes delight in miſchief. Though " oppreſſed by penury, in conſequence " of his righteous dealings, let him " never give his mind to unrighte- " ouſneſs; for he may obſerve the " ſpeedy overthrow of iniquitous and " ſinful men. Iniquity, committed " in this world, produces not fruit " immediately, *but*, like the earth, " *in due ſeaſon*; and, advancing by " little and little, it eradicates the " man who committed it. Yes; " iniquity once committed, fails not " of producing fruit to him who " wrought it; if not in his own perſon, " yet in his ſons; or, if not in his ſons, " yet in his grandſons: he grows rich " for awhile through unrighteouſ- " neſs; then he beholds good things; " then it is, that he vanquiſhes his " foes; but he periſhes at length " from his whole root upwards. Let " a man continually take pleaſure " in truth, in juſtice, in laudable " practices, and in purity; let him " chaſtiſe thoſe whom he may " chaſtiſe in a legal mode; let him " keep in ſubjection his ſpeech, his " arm, and his appetite: wealth " and pleaſures, repugnant to law, " let him ſhun; and even lawful " acts, which may cauſe future pain, " or be offenſive to mankind."

" A wiſe man ſhould conſtantly " diſcharge all the moral duties, " though he perform not conſtantly

" the ceremonies of religion; ſince " he falls low, if, while he performs " ceremonial acts only, he diſcharge " not his moral duties."

" Giving no pain to any creature, " let him collect virtue by degrees, " for the ſake of acquiring a com- " panion to the next world, as the " white ant by degrees builds his " neſt; for, in his paſſage to the " next world, neither his father, nor " his mother, nor his wife, nor his " ſon, nor his kinſmen, will remain " in his company: his virtue alone " will adhere to him. Single is each " man born; ſingle he dies; ſingle " he receives the reward of his good, " and ſingle the puniſhment of his " evil deeds: when he leaves his " corſe, like a log or a lump of " clay, on the ground, his kindred " retire with averted faces; but his " virtue accompanies his ſoul. Con- " tinually, therefore, by degrees, let " him collect virtue, for the ſake of " ſecuring an inſeparable companion; " ſince with virtue for his guide, he " will traverſe a gloom, how hard " to be traverſed! A man, habitually " virtuous, whoſe offences have been " expiated by devotion, is inſtantly " conveyed after death to the higher " world, with a radiant form and a " body of ethereal ſubſtance."

" He, who injures animals, that " are not injurious, from a wiſh to " give himſelf pleaſure, adds nothing " to his own happineſs, living or " dead; while he, who gives no " creature willingly the pain of con- " finement or death, but ſeeks the " good of all *ſentient beings*, enjoys " bliſs without end."

" But of all pure things, purity " in acquiring wealth is pronounced " the moſt excellent: ſince he, who " gains wealth with clean hands is " truly pure; not he, who is purified " merely with earth and water."

" By *Bráhmens*, placed in theſe " four orders, a tenfold ſyſtem of " duties muſt ever be ſedulouſly " practiſed: content, returning good " for evil, reſiſtance to ſenſual ap- " petites, abſtinence from illicit " gain, purification, coercion of the " organs, knowledge of ſcripture, " knowledge of the Supreme Spirit, " veracity, and freedom from wrath, " form their tenfold ſyſtem of " duties."

" On a compariſon between death " and vice, the learned pronounce " vice the more dreadful; ſince, " after death, a vicious man ſinks to " regions lower and lower, while a " man, free from vice, reaches " heaven."

" Let mutual fidelity continue till " death: this, in few words, may be " conſidered as the ſupreme law " between huſband and wife. Let " a man and woman, united by " marriage, conſtantly beware, leſt " at any time diſunited, they violate " their mutual fidelity."

" The ſoul itſelf is its own wit- " neſs; the ſoul itſelf is its own " refuge; offend not thy conſcious " ſoul, the ſupreme internal witneſs " of men! the ſinful have ſaid in " their hearts: " none ſees us." Yes; " the gods diſtinctly ſee them, and " ſo does the ſpirit within their " breaſts."

The Inſtitutes conſiſt of twelve chapters, of which the following are the titles: Chapter I. On the Creation; with a Summary of the Contents. In the Hindu account of the creation, as given in this chapter, there are many points of ſimilarity with the Moſaical account. Chap. II. On Education; or on the

First

First Order. Chap. III. On Marriage; or on the Second Order. Chap. IV. On Economicks, and Private Morals. Chap. V. On Diet, Purification, and Women. Chap. VI. On Devotion, or on the Third and Fourth Orders. Chap. VII. On Government; or on the Military Clafs. Chap. VIII. On Judicature; and on Law, private and criminal. Chap. IX. On the Commercial and Servile Claffes. Chap. X. On the mixed Claffes, and on Times of Diftrefs. Chap. XI. On Penance and Expiation. Chap. XII. On Tranfmigration and final Beatitude.

The laft chapter is exceedingly curious, and contains a minute enumeration of the different forms, which tranfgreffors of almoft every clafs are to affume, when, after having, "for a great number of years, paffed through terrible regions of torture," they once more enter into exiftence, "to efface all remains of their fin." Some of thefe transmigrations are fufficiently ludicrous. If a man have ftolen a woman, he is to become a bear; if filken clothes, the bird *tittiri*: and if exquifite perfumes, a muſk rat. A *Súdra*, who neglects his occupations, becomes a foul embodied fpirit, called *Chailásaca*, who feeds on lice.

The Brahminical hell, or rather purgatory, is of a terrible kind. "As far," fays the legiflator, as "vital fouls, addicted to fenfuality, "indulge themfelves in forbidden "pleafures, even to the fame degree "fhall the acutenefs of their fenfes "be raifed *in their future bodies*, "*that they may endure analogous* "*pains*; and, in conſequence of their "folly, they fhall be doomed, as "often as they repeat their criminal "acts, to pains more and more in"tenſe in defpicable forms on this "earth. They fhall firft have a "fenfation of agony in *Tamifra* or "*utter darkneſs*, and in other feats "of horrour; in *Afipatravana*, or the "*fword-leaved foreft*, and in different "places of binding faft and of "rending: multifarious tortures "await them; they fhall be mangled "by ravens and owls, fhall fwallow "cakes boiling hot, fhall walk over "inflamed fands, and fhall feel the "pangs of being baked like the "veffels of a potter: They fhall "affume the forms of beafts con"tinually miferable, and fuffer al"ternate afflictions from extremities "of cold and of heat, furrounded "with terrors of various kinds: "More than once fhall they lie in "different wombs, and, after agoni"zing births, be condemned to "fevere captivity, and to fervile "attendance on creatures like them"felves: Then fhall follow fepara"tions from kindred and friends, "forced refidence with the wicked, "painful gains and ruinous loffes "of wealth; friendfhips hardly ac"quired, and at length changed into "enmities; old age without refource, "diſeaſes attended with anguifh, "pangs of innumerable forts, and, "laftly, unconquerable death."

Miſcellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, *Eſquire, with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, compoſed by himſelf: illuſtrated from his Letters, with occaſional Notes and Narrative, by* John *Lord* Sheffield. *4to. Two volumes.*

AMONG the celebrated hiſtorians of modern times, an honourable place muſt be aſſigned to the author of the Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,

Notwithſtanding its ſceptical principles, an occaſional glitter and affectation of manner, and ſome other faults, his work will always be admired, for its extenſive reſearch, its philoſophical ſpirit, its luminous arrangement, its happy delineation of characters and events, its felicity of language, and its general beauty and harmony of ſtyle. Every fragment of ſuch a writer, and every particular of his life, is worthy of being preſerved; and the public is, therefore, indebted to Lord Sheffield, for the friendly zeal which has produced this collection of the miſcellaneous pieces of his deceaſed friend.

The firſt of theſe volumes contains Memoirs of Mr. Gibbon, from his own pen, and an Appendix, of two hundred and ten letters, between Mr. Gibbon and a variety of correſpondents. The ſecond volume compriſes the following works. An abſtract of the books which he read, with reflections: extracts from his journal; a collection of his remarks, and detached pieces, on different ſubjects: outlines of the Hiſtory of the World, from the ninth to the fifteenth century inclusive: Eſſai ſur l'etude de la Littérature: critical obſervations on the deſign of the ſixth book of the Æneid: a diſſertation on the ſubject of L'Homme au Maſque de Fer: Memoire juſtificatif pour ſervir de reponſe à l'expoſé des motifs de la conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre: a vindication of ſome paſſages in the fifteenth and ſixteenth chapters of his hiſtory: antiquities of the Houſe of Brunſwick: and an unfiniſhed Addreſs to the Public, relative to a project of reprinting the Engliſh hiſtorians of the middle ages, who wrote in the Latin tongue.

No leſs than ſix different ſketches, all of them incomplete, of the Memoirs of his Life and Writings, were found among the papers of Mr. Gibbon. He ſeems to have been undecided, whether he would publiſh his Memoirs himſelf, or leave them as a poſthumous work. In one of the ſketches, he mentions them as intended not to ſee the light till after his deceaſe, but to his friend, Lord Sheffield, he frequently declared that he would give them to the world while he was ſtill in exiſtence. The lateſt of the ſketches, however, does not come down to a later period than a ſhort time after his return to Lauſanne, in 1788, and the deficiency muſt be ſupplied from his epiſtolary correſpondence, aided by ſome brief connecting paragraphs, from the pen of Lord Sheffield. The ſtyle of theſe Memoirs was intended to be "ſimple and familiar," but it, nevertheleſs, bears, in its phraſeology and conſtruction, a very cloſe reſemblance to that of his hiſtory. This he has, indeed, naturally and truly accounted for, by obſerving that "ſtyle is "the image of character; and the "habits of correct writing may "produce, without labour or deſign, "the appearance of art and ſtudy."

Under the head of "Characters," we have given a copious extract from the Memoirs of Mr. Gibbon. In the quarto, that extract is introduced by a ſketch of his family and anceſtors, which contains ſome amuſing paſſages, and a well-drawn character of Mr. William Law, author of the *Serious Call*, who was the friend and ſpiritual guide of one of his aunts. In the quotation which we have made from the Memoirs, we have omitted his ſevere attack upon the univerſity of Oxford, and his

his extenuation of his conduct in becoming a Catholic. Chillingworth and Bayle are the two inſtances of change which he produces, to ſhield himſelf from the ſeverity of thoſe who cenſured his own.

At Lauſanne Mr. Gibbon reſided for a period of nearly five years, with the exception of one month, which was ſpent in a tour of Switzerland, another which he paſſed at Geneva, and ſome ſhort viſits in the Pays de Vaud. His time was inceſſantly and laudably occupied in his ſtudies, and it is no mean proof of his proficiency, that he opened a literary correſpondence with M. Crevier and with profeſſors Breitinger and Geſner, in which he appears no wiſe inferior to thoſe learned characters. He likewiſe formed a more intimate and perſonal acquaintance with Mr. Allamand, a man of uncommon talents, who ſeems to have ſown in his mind the firſt ſeeds of ſcepticiſm. To Voltaire, who lived for two winters in Lauſanne or its neighbourhood, he was introduced, but, though he was received with civility, he declares that he could not boaſt of any peculiar notice or diſtinction. Devoted as he was to ſtudy, his heart, nevertheleſs, was not inacceſſible to love. He ſaw and became ſtrongly attached to Mademoiſelle Suſan Curchod, who was afterwards the wife of M. Néckar, and whom he deſcribes as learned without pedantry, lively in converſation, pure in ſentiment, and elegant in manners; and maintaining, even in the loweſt diſtreſs, to which ſhe was ſubſequently reduced, a dignified behaviour, and a ſpotleſs reputation. His projected union with this amiable woman, did not, however, take place. His father diſapproved of it; and he was reluctantly and ſorrowfully compelled to relinquiſh his hopes of matrimonial felicity.

Previouſly to the return of Mr. Gibbon to England, his father had again married. His ſtepmother was introduced to him under the moſt unfavourable prejudices, but thoſe prejudices were ſoon diſpelled. "I "conſidered," ſays he, "his ſecond "marriage as an act of diſpleaſure, "and I was diſpoſed to hate the "rival of my mother. But the "injuſtice was in my own fancy, "and the imaginary monſter was "an amiable and deſerving woman. "I could not be miſtaken in the "firſt view of her underſtanding, "her knowledge, and the elegant "ſpirit of her converſation: her "polite welcome, and her aſſiduous "care to ſtudy and gratify my "wiſhes, announced at leaſt that "the ſurface would be ſmooth; and "my ſuſpicions of art and falſehood "were gradually diſpelled by the "full diſcovery of her warm and "exquiſite ſenſibility. After ſome "reſerve on my ſide, our minds "aſſociated in confidence and friend-"ſhip; and as Mrs. Gibbon had "neither children nor the hopes of "children, we more eaſily adopted "the tender names and genuine "character of mother and of ſon." He was, likewiſe, agreeably undeceived, with reſpect to his father, from whom he had anticipated a cold reception, and harſh reſtraint, but who, on the contrary, received him with warm affection, and ever after treated him as an equal and a friend.

Two years were now ſpent in his father's houſe, either at London or at Buriton, in ſtudious retirement, during which he produced his eſſay, written in French, on the ſtudy of

literature. At the ſolicitation of his father, though not without his own hearty concurrence, he publiſhed this eſſay in the ſpring of 1761. A congreſs had juſt then been propoſed to be holden at Augsbourg, and the father of Mr. Gibbon, indulged the idea, that the credit which would be gained by the eſſay, would aſſiſt in obtaining for his ſon the character of ſecretary to the Britiſh plenipotentiaries. As the congreſs never met, his hopes were not realized. At home, as might have been expected, from its being compoſed in a foreign language, the eſſay was coldly received, but abroad it was widely read, praiſed, and at leaſt once reprinted. Letters of compliment flowed in on the author, from perſons by whoſe praiſes of his work it would have been a fault in him not to feel highly gratified.

A new ſcene was now entered on by Mr. Gibbon. He accepted a commiſſion in the recently formed militia, and, for nearly three years, much of his time was ſpent with his regiment. Though his ſituation was ſometimes irkſome, his military purſuits were not unproductive of beneficial effects: they made him an Engliſhman, they brought him more acquainted with the men and manners of his country, and they gave him a knowledge of tactics, which he declares to have been ſubſequently uſeful to him in his character of an hiſtorian. The peace, in 1762, releaſed him from the drudgery of ſervice; but it was not till the year 1770 that he finally reſigned his commiſſion. In his journal, for 1762, there is an anecdote of Wilkes, then colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia, which deſerves to be remembered. After deſcribing him as one of the beſt of companions, having inexhauſtible ſpirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge, Mr. Gibbon adds, "he told us himſelf, "that in this time of public diſ- "penſion he was reſolved to make "his fortune. Upon this principle "he has connected himſelf cloſely "with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, "commenced a public adverſary to "Lord Bute, whom he abuſes weekly "in the North Briton, and other "political papers in which he is "concerned."

At this period he drew his own character; ſeemingly without any undue favouring of himſelf. It occurs in his journal, under the date of the eighth of May, 1762. "This "was my birth-day, on which I "entered into the twenty-ſixth year "of my age. This gave me occa- "ſion to look a little into myſelf, "and conſider impartially my good "and bad qualities. It appeared "to me, upon this inquiry, that my "character was virtuous, incapable "of a baſe action, and formed for "generous ones; but that it was "proud, violent, and diſagreeable in "ſociety. Theſe qualities I muſt "endeavour to cultivate, extirpate, "or reſtrain, according to their "different tendency. Wit I have "none. My imagination is rather "ſtrong than pleaſing. My memory "both capacious and retentive. "The ſhining qualities of my un- "derſtanding are extenſiveneſs and "penetration; but I want both "quickneſs and exactneſs."

To enjoy the fame of an hiſtorian was, from his early youth, the ambition of Mr. Gibbon. In the latter period of his ſervice in the militia, and after he had retired from that ſervice, a variety of ſubjects, for

for an hiſtorical work, were revolved in his mind. The expedition of Charles the Eighth into Italy, the cruſade of Richard the Firſt, the Baron's wars, the hiſtory of the Black Prince, the lives and compariſons of Henry the Fifth and the Emperor Titus, the lives of Sir Philip Sidney, the Marquis of Montroſe, and Sir Walter Raleigh, the hiſtory of the liberty of the Swiſs, and of the republic of Florence, under the houſe of Medicis, were ſucceſſively choſen and rejected. It was not till his ſecond journey to the continent, in 1763, that he thought of the great ſubject which was ultimately his choice.

This ſecond tour was a fruitful ſource of pleaſure. He was well received by all the literature and faſhion of France. It was now that his friendship commenced with Mr. Holroyd, ſubſequently Lord Sheffield, the editor of his poſthumous works. He arrived at Rome, in the beginning of October 1764, and has finely deſcribed his feelings on approaching and entering "the eternal "city." Here the work which was to immortalize him firſt ſuggeſted itſelf to his thoughts. "It was at "Rome, on the 15th of October, "1764," ſays he, "as I ſat muſing "amidſt the ruins of the capitol, "while the bare-footed friars were "ſinging veſpers in the temple of "Jupiter,* that the idea of writing "the decline and fall of the city "firſt ſtarted to my mind. But my "original plan was circumſcribed "to the decay of the city rather "than of the empire: and, though "my reading and reflections began "to point towards that object, ſome "years elapſed, and ſeveral avocations intervened, before I was "ſeriouſly engaged in the execution "of that laborious work."

In the middle of the ſummer of 1765, Mr. Gibbon returned to his native country. The period between this and the year 1770, when his father died, he characterizes as the portion of his life which he paſſed with the leaſt enjoyment, and remembered with the leaſt ſatisfaction. His devotion to the hiſtoric muſe continued with unabating ardour. His choice of a ſubject was at length fixed on the revolutions of Switzerland. Aided by his friend M. Deyverdun, he made large and laborious collections from the various neceſſary documents, in the French and German languages. He entered upon the compoſition in 1767, and, in the courſe of the following winter, the firſt book of his work, which he had compoſed in French, was read to a literary ſociety of foreigners, in London. Their verdict was unfavourable, and he conſequently abandoned the purſuit. Hume, however, while he blamed him for not writing in Engliſh, and predicted the future predominance of our own language, paid a tribute of applauſe to his labours, and exhorted him to perſevere in them.

Mr. Gibbon, nevertheleſs, did not remain entirely idle in the interval of time between the abandonment of this work, and the death of his parent. In conjunction with M. Deyverdun, he publiſhed two volumes, under the title of Memoires Literaires de la Grand Bretagne, and likewiſe Critical Obſervations on the Deſign of the Sixth Book of the Æneid. The latter was an

* Now the church of the Zoccolants, or Franciscan Friars.

attack upon an hypothesis of bishop Warburton's, and was published anonymously. It was very favourably received by the learned world, and was completely victorious. Yet, with a noble candour, Mr. Gibbon says, "I cannot forgive myself the "contemptuous treatment of a man, "who, with all his faults, was "entitled to my esteem; and I can "less forgive, in a personal attack, "the cowardly concealment of my "name and character."

As soon as the History of the Swiss Revolution was relinquished, that of the Decline and Fall of the Roman empire was resolved on. Some years, with only few and short pauses, were employed in a minute examination and comparison of the vast materials, from which his history was to be drawn. While he was thus engaged, he nevertheless drew up for the press an Essay on the Cyropædia, and made a copious and critical abstract of the Commentaries of Blackstone. The essay was not published; nor is either of these works inserted in the posthumous volumes.

After the death of his father, two years elapsed, before he could sufficiently disentangle himself from family affairs, to commence the writing of his history. Having, at length, settled in London, he took up the pen. "At the outset," says he, "all was dark and doubtful; "even the title of the work, the true "æra of the decline and fall of the "empire, the limits of the introduction, the division of the chapters, and the order of the narrative; and I was often tempted to "cast away the labour of seven "years. The style of an author "should be the image of his mind, "but the choice and command of "language is the fruit of exercise. "Many experiments were made "before I could hit the middle tone "between a dull chronicle and a "rhetorical declamation: three "times did I compose the first "chapter, and twice the second and "third, before I was tolerably satisfied of their effect. In the remainder of the way I advanced "with a more equal and easy pace; "but the fifteenth and sixteenth "chapters have been reduced by "three successive revisals, from a "large volume to their present size, "and they might still be compressed, "without any loss of facts or sentiments. An opposite fault may "be imputed to the concise and "superficial narrative of the first "reigns, from Commodus to Alexander; a fault of which I have "never heard, except from Mr. "Hume in his last journey to London. Such an oracle might have "been consulted and obeyed with "rational devotion; but I was soon "disgusted with the modest practice "of reading the manuscript to my "friends. Of such friends some "will praise from politeness, and "some will criticize from vanity. "The author himself is the best "judge of his own performance: "no one has so deeply meditated "on the subject; no one is so sincerely interested in the event."

While he was thus employed, his reputation was daily increasing. He was chosen a member of all the fashionable clubs, and lived on a footing of intimacy with almost every person of eminence in the literary and the political world. Through the friendship of Mr. Eliot, who was married to his first cousin, he was likewise returned to parliament, for the borough of Leskeard.

Leſkeard. Like many other men of eminent talent, he could never find the courage to become a public ſpeaker. "After a fleeting illuſive "hope, prudence condemned me to "acquieſce in the humble ſtation "of a mute. I was not armed by "nature and education with the "intrepid energy of mind and "voice,

Vincentem ſtrepitus, et natum rebus agendis.

"Timidity was fortified by pride, "and even the ſucceſs of my pen "diſcouraged the trial of my voice." His vote was generally and conſcientiouſly given on the ſide of the miniſtry. He has described, with ſhort but highly characteriſtic ſtrokes, the parliamentary eloquence of the principal ſpeakers during the eventful period of the American conteſt.

The firſt volume of his great work was publiſhed in the commencement of 1776. The riſk of publication having been declined by Mr. Elmſley, was encountered by Mr. Cadell and Mr. Strahan; the latter of whom, with a foreſight which did credit to his taſte, doubled the number of the edition, which had, at firſt, been limited to five hundred. Never was a work more flatteringly received. The firſt edition was exhauſted in a few days; a ſecond and third rapidly followed; and two other ſurreptitious editions were iſſued, from the piratical preſs of Dublin. From almoſt all quarters the ear of the hiſtorian was gratified with the voice of praiſe. In the warm ſuffrage of Robertſon and Hume alone, he might have found a ſufficient compenſation for his toils.

Two years paſſed away, before he ſeriouſly began on his ſecond volume. Theſe were taken up by a tour to Paris, a courſe of anatomy and chymiſtry, and a long and profound inveſtigation into every thing which related to the Arian controverſy. Even when he entered on the taſk of compoſition, a circumſtance occurred to retard his progreſs. "It is difficult," he declares, "to arrange, with order and per-"ſpicuity, the various tranſactions "of the age of Conſtantine; and "ſo much was I diſpleaſed "with the firſt eſſay, that I com-"mitted to the flames above fifty "ſheets." In the mean time he publiſhed his vindication of the fifteenth and ſixteenth chapters, againſt the attacks of Mr. Davis and others; and, at the requeſt of the lord chancellor and lord Weymouth, produced his *Memoire Juſtificatif*; in reply to the Manifeſto of the court of France. It was, probably, the latter eloquent compoſition which obtained for him the nearly ſinecure office of one of the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations, with a yearly ſalary of between ſeven and eight hundred pounds. This office he enjoyed only three years; the keen eloquence of Mr. Burke having given a mortal wound to the board of trade.

Mr Eliot being now deeply engaged in the meaſures of oppoſition, Mr. Gibbon, on a premature diſſolution of parliament, loſt his ſeat for Leſkeard. "The electors of Leſkeard," he ſarcaſtically remarks, "are commonly of the ſame opinion as Mr. Eliot." While the doors of the Houſe of Commons were thus cloſed on him, he publiſhed the ſecond and third volumes of the Decline and Fall. An author, as he juſtly obſerves, who cannot aſcend, will always appear to ſink; and

and it is, therefore, not wonderful that the preſent portion of his labours was received with ſomewhat leſs warmth than the former had been. Some declared that his "continuation was much inferior to the original attempts." He was, nevertheleſs, encouraged by valuable teſtimonies of applauſe, both foreign and domeſtic; and the volumes inſenſibly roſe in ſale and reputation to a level with the firſt. "But the "public," he candidly adds, "is ſel-"dom wrong; and I am inclined "to believe that, eſpecially in the "beginning, they are more prolix "and leſs entertaining than the firſt: "my efforts had not been relaxed "by ſucceſs, and I had rather de-"viated into the oppoſite fault of "minute and ſuperfluous diligence."

Through the intereſt of lord North, Mr. Gibbon was returned to Parliament, for the borough of Lymington in Hampſhire. He did not long, however, continue connected with politics and public life. A ſeat, on the firſt vacancy, at the board of cuſtoms or exciſe, was promiſed him, but he had little hope of obtaining it, and, in reality, as little deſire. Yet, without ſome additional income, he could neither long nor prudently maintain that ſtyle of expence to which he had been accuſtomed. In ſpite, therefore, of the ſolicitations of his friends, he reſolved to retire to Lauſanne, and reſide with M. Deyverdun, to whom he was warmly attached. This reſolution was carried into effect, and he reached Lauſanne in the month of September 1783, after an abſence of twenty years.

At Lauſanne he completed his hiſtory, the fourth volume of which, with the exception of the laſt chapter, had been written previouſly to his quitting London. "I have "preſumed," he ſays, "to mark "the moment of conception. I "ſhall now commemorate the hour "of my final deliverance. It was "on the day, or rather night of "the 27th of June 1787, between "the hours of eleven and twelve, "that I wrote the laſt line of the "laſt page, in a ſummer houſe in "my garden. After laying down "my pen, I took ſeveral turns in a "*berceau*, or covered walk of "acacias, which commands a proſ-"pect of the country, the lake and "the mountains. The air was "temperate, the ſky was ſerene, the "ſilver orb of the moon was re-"flected from the water, and all "nature was ſilent. I will not "diſſemble the firſt emotions of joy "on the recovery of my freedom, "and, perhaps, the eſtabliſhment of "my fame. But my pride was ſoon "humbled, and a ſober melancholy "was ſpread over my mind, by the "idea that I had taken an ever-"laſting leave of an old and agree-"able companion, and that what-"ſoever might be the future date of "my hiſtory, the life of the hiſto-"rian muſt be ſhort and precarious. "I will add two facts, which have "ſeldom occurred in the compoſition "of ſix, or at leaſt five, quartos. "1. My firſt rough manuſcript, "without any intermediate copy, "has been ſent to the preſs. 2. Not a "ſheet has been ſeen by any human "eyes, excepting thoſe of the "author and the printer: the faults "and the merits are excluſively "my own."

In 1788, he returned to England, for the purpoſe of putting his hiſtory to preſs. It was publiſhed on his birth day, the 8th of May, and met with the public applauſe.

On

On his reviſiting Lauſanne, which took place in July, his happineſs was damped by the declining ſtate of M. Deyverdun. That gentleman lingered for twelve months, in a hopeleſs, helpleſs ſituation, before he expired. With him fled a large part of the attractions of Lauſanne; and Mr. Gibbon ſeems at times to have thought of finally ſettling in his native country. His tranquillity was likewiſe diſturbed by his reflecting on the probable conſequences which might ariſe to the Pays de Vaud, from the French Revolution. In June 1791, he had the pleaſure of a viſit from Lord Sheffield and his family, who remained with him four months.

His affection for Lord Sheffield, a promiſe which he had given to that nobleman, and the change which French politics had produced in the manners of Lauſanne, all conſpired to induce Mr. Gibbon to reviſit England. But, before he had finiſhed the neceſſary arrangements, the ſudden death of Lady Sheffield, and the conſequent grief of his friend, made him precipitate his departure. He reached London in the beginning of June 1793. Nor was he ever more to quit the land which gave him birth. In November, a hydrocele, which had for many years been forming, encreaſed with ſuch rapidity that he was compelled to reſort to ſurgical aid. The neceſſary operation of tapping was ſeveral times performed; all ſymptoms appeared to be favourable; and he himſelf was calculating upon a protraction of exiſtence during ſeveral years; when his malady took an unfavourable turn; and he expired on the 16th of January, 1794. He retained his ſenſes till the laſt, and died without a ſtruggle or a ſigh.

The numerous letters, which form the Appendix to his Memoirs, are written with much ſpirit and graceful eaſe, and have none of thoſe faults which have been attributed to his hiſtorical ſtyle. They contain many curious anecdotes of men and things, which will at once afford information and pleaſure.

The ſecond volume of the poſthumous works commences with "*Extraits Raiſonnés de mes Lectures*," which is followed by "*Extraits de mon Journal.*" The firſt of theſe is written in Engliſh, and the ſecond in French. They extend through no leſs than 312 pages, and contain an infinite variety of characters, remarks, and diſquiſitions, which manifeſt deep reſearch, extenſive erudition, a ſound judgment, and an exquiſite taſte. From this part of the volume we ſhall give a few extracts.

"June 6.—I began with Quintillian, in Burman's edition, read his article in Bayle's Dictionary, the preface of Burman; Burman was a mere critic, without being (in my opinion) a good one; ſince a good critic muſt reaſon well; and Burman never could reaſon at all. I began likewiſe the *Annales Quintilianæi* of Dodwell. *** Dodwell's learning was immenſe; in this part of hiſtory eſpecially, (that of the Upper Empire) the moſt minute fact or paſſage could not eſcape him; and his ſkill in employing them is equal to his learning. The worſt of this author is his method and ſtyle; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbariſm."

"Auguſt 28.—I finiſhed the *Siecle of Louis* XIV. I believe that Voltaire had for this work an advantage which he has ſeldom enjoyed. When he treats of a diſtant period,

period, he is not a man to turn over muſty monkiſh writers to inſtruct himſelf. He follows ſome compilation, varniſhes it over with the magic of his ſtile, and produces a moſt agreeable, ſuperficial, inaccurate performance. But there the information, both written and oral, lay within his reach, and he ſeems to have taken great pains to conſult it. Without any thing of the majeſty of the great hiſtorians, he has compriſed, in two ſmall volumes, a variety of facts, told in an eaſy, clear, and lively ſtyle. To this merit, he has added that of throwing aſide all trivial circumſtances, and chooſing no events, but ſuch as are either uſeful or entertaining. His method (of treating every article in a diſtinct chapter) I think vicious: as they are all connected in human affairs, and as they are often the cauſe of each other, why ſeparate them in hiſtory? The firſt volume is much leſs intereſting than the ſecond; arts and manners were a ſubject almoſt untouched; but ſo many writers had exhauſted the battles and ſieges of Louis the XIVth's reign, that it was impoſſible to add any thing new, eſpecially in ſo confined an abridgement. Beſides, thoſe detached particulars wanted leſs that art of narrating, which Voltaire never poſſeſſed, with all his other talents: I mean in proſe, for there are ſome very fine narrations in his tragedies. That of *Iſmène*, in the laſt act of Merope, is equal to the famous ones of *Racine*. As to his hero, I think that he performed great actions without being a great man. France, notwithſtanding his wars and perſecutions, ought never to forget him. But when Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Louvois, Colbert, &c. have claimed their ſhare of fame, little more will remain to the monarch than the having choſen and employed thoſe great men: I can hardly add that of perſiſting in his choice. A prince, diffident or inconſtant, may claim great merit for having perſiſted in a good choice. A monarch, proud, vain, or obſtinate, is only to be praiſed if he renounces a bad one. And every one muſt know to what a degree Louis carried thoſe laſt mentioned qualities."

"As to Longinus in general, after what I have obſerved upon almoſt every chapter, I have little left to ſay. It is certainly a fine performance; the ſtyle is faulty only by being too poetical for a didactic work. In general, I ſhould adopt moſt of his deciſions; only I think, that for want of having a clear idea of the ſublime, he has ſometimes blamed paſſages for being deficient in that reſpect, or praiſed them for excelling in it, whoſe nature and deſign neither had, nor required, that kind of beauty. I could likewiſe have wiſhed that Longinus had not always confined himſelf to ſingle paſſages, but had pointed out that ſublime which reſults from the choice and general diſpoſition of a ſubject. I think that Longinus ſhews real taſte and genius, by his indulgence in the ſallies of a warm imagination, and by his ſeverity to the prettineſſes of the art; though, like moſt men of genius who poſſeſs more force and elevation than delicacy, he may ſometimes have confounded refinement and affectation. As to his commentators, Langbœnius is oſtentatiouſly pedantic, and learnedly abſurd; Le Fevre is, as uſual, vain, bold, and ingenious; the notes of Tollius are full of taſte, good criticiſm,

ticiſm, and real erudition: there are a number of corrupted paſſages in Longinus, which, by the help of manuſcripts, or from his own conjectures, he has reſtored extremely well."

"Dec. 12.—I had borrowed of Mr. B. . . . . a French Moral and Political Romance of the Abbé Teraſſon, called *Sethos*. The beginning is fine, the deſcription of the manners of the court of Memphis is worthy of Tacitus; and the ſyſtem of the Egyptian initiation is a very happy thought: but unluckily, the intereſt of the piece gradually diminiſhes in every book, till you arrive at the cataſtrophe, which is very cold and unnatural. As to the ſtyle, it is pure and elegant, ſcarcely ever elevated, and never animated. The Abbé Teraſſon had too mathematical a head to excel in the language of deſcription, and too ſtoic a heart to ſhine in that of the paſſions. His feelings, however, are juſt, though not warm: the whole work breathes a ſpirit of virtue and humanity, which renders it very amiable."

"Auguſt 27, 1763.—I read, for the ſecond time, the ſixth Satire of Juvenal,——the ſource of all the invectives that have for ſixteen centuries been accumulated againſt the ſex. Nothing can be added to its force, richneſs, and variety; but ſome things perhaps might be retrenched from thoſe too faithful deſcriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inſpire vicious paſſions. Yet thoſe wretches—— are they intitled to eſcape infamy through the exceſs of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from poſterity, becauſe they carried it to an immeaſurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in ſuch deſcriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly teſtifies at the diſorders which he deſcribes, will always perſuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuouſneſs, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Inſtead of a licentiouſneſs of morals, which inclined him to pardon vice, I would rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with ſatire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the moſt enormous crimes. You may find a Clytemneſtra in every ſtreet.* I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury, the heart hardened by the inſtitutions of domeſtic ſlavery and the amphitheatre; ſentiments debaſed by the tyranny of government; and every characteriſtic and manly principle ſubverted, by the mixture and confuſion of nations in one great city. Yet, there ſtill remained many veſtiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age. If we conſult Pliny's Epiſtles, a contemporary monument, we ſhall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himſelf to beſtow the ſmalleſt praiſe on virtuous characters,† even with

* Juvenal Satir. vi. v. 655.

† I mean thoſe of his own times.

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the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contraſt. All the other ſatiriſts, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themſelves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as ſuch, have perhaps, of all poets, moſt gained our love. But Juvenal ſeems to have a rooted hatred to his ſpecies; and having declared againſt them open war, is totally regardleſs of their friendſhip. This miſanthropy, indeed, muſt render his work peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

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Juvenal ſpeaks, (Sat. VIII.) from one end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the dignity of a true cenſor, who arraigns vice, expoſes folly, and appals guilt, but the ſoul of a republican, reluctantly bending under the new conſtitution, the ſworn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild and equitable monarchy, rather through neceſſity than inclination. This love of liberty, and loftineſs of mind, diſtinguiſhes Juvenal from all the poets who lived after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all ſing the ruin of their country, and the triumph of its oppreſſors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of praiſe, as the virtues of Auguſtus and Veſpaſian. Juvenal alone never proſtitutes his muſe. In his works, there is but one example of praiſe beſtowed on the emperor; a praiſe perhaps juſt, expreſſed with the greateſt ſimplicity, and included in a ſingle verſe. But he never loſes an opportunity of arraigning the folly and tyranny of thoſe maſters of the world and their deputies. He does more; he teaches how the evils inflicted by them may be cured.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam est,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam; ſpoliatis arma ſupersunt—

is an advice addreſſed fully as much to the Romans as to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of ſpeech fixes the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old ſcholiaſt. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his ſentiments might be expreſſed without diſguiſe. Tyrants had the niceſt ſenſibility; they eaſily knew their own pictures in thoſe of their predeceſſors. Domitian reasonably concluded that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend; an informer would have ſilenced Juvenal after his firſt ſatire.

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Juvenal poſſeſſed juſtneſs of underſtanding, and honeſty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of ſweetneſs and ſenſibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expreſſing thoſe ſentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour into the bosom of another. The free and philoſophical converſation which the confidence of friendſhip inſpires and warrants, is but ill ſupplied at his ſupper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment diſtant and uncertain, thoſe amiable feelings with which the near reality of a ſimilar repaſt does not inſpire Juvenal.

Here, however, I would make a diſtinction between this ſatiriſt and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderneſs of ſentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldneſs of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little ſuſceptible of any paſſion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth exhauſted itſelf in paſſions ſtrong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

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"There are ſatires more agreeable than the fourteenth; there are others in which the poet takes a loftier flight; but there are none in which he ſo much diſplays his genius for philoſophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his preciſion, his brevity. His brevity reſembles not that ſo common among writers of the preſent age, who often ſtrangle a thought in hopes of ſtrengthening it; and who applaud their own ſkill, when they have ſhewn to us, in a few abſurd words, the fourth part of an idea: it is the brevity of Tacitus and Monteſquieu, which, after retrenching whatever is ſuperfluous or unneceſſary, includes the principal thought in a preciſe and vigorous expreſſion.

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"Juvenal's verſification appears to me to be ſuperior to that of moſt of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loſes all its roughneſs. His verſes are flowing, harmonious and animated; although he never ſacrifices the ſenſe to the ſound. I could almoſt fancy that the lines flowed ſpontaneouſly from his pen, when I perceive, amidſt a multitude of fine ones, ſome few that are diſguſting, by their rudeneſs or their languor. To have allowed them to paſs uncorrected, a poet muſt have been extremely inattentive to his verſification; ſince they could have been mended ſo eaſily. I remark alſo that his poetry is more ſparing of ornament in his laſt ſatires. If they are placed in chronological order, this difference may be eaſily accounted for."

There are ſome critics who may take a leſſon from the following ſhort paſſage, which we quote for their benefit.

"I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly express how much I am delighted with this journal; its characteriſtics are erudition, preciſion, and taſte; but what I moſt admire is that impartiality and candour which diſtinguiſh the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praiſe, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This journal, the father of all the reſt, is ſtill their ſuperior. There is nothing to be wiſhed for in this journal, but a little more boldneſs and philoſophy; but it is publiſhed under the chancellor's eye."

The collection of remarks, and detached pieces, on different ſubjects, contains eight papers. From theſe we give the character of Ovid, as a companion to that of Juvenal, which we have already given. It was written after a careful peruſal of the *Faſti*.

"The poetry of the Faſti appears to me more liable to blame than worthy of praiſe. I acknowledge with pleaſure all the merits of Ovid; his aſtoniſhing fancy, a perpetual elegance, and the moſt agreeable

able turn of mind. I principally admire his variety, fuppleneſs, and (if I may ſay ſo) his flexibility of genius, which rapidly embraces the moſt oppoſite ſubjects, aſſumes the true ſtyle of each, and preſents them all under the moſt pleaſing forms of which they are ſuſceptible. The thought almoſt always ſuits the ſubject; and the expreſſion rarely fails in being ſuitable to the thought. In the Faſti, the ſame ideas are perpetually recurring; but the images under which they are repreſented, are continually different. The paſſages of the Faſti which have given me moſt pleaſure are, 1. The origin of ſacrifices: 2. The adventure of Lucretia: 3. The feſtival of Anna Perenna: 4. The origin of the name of May: 5. The diſpute of the goddeſſes for that of June.

"The following are ſome of the faults in the character either of the poet or of his ſubject; which it is painful to perceive. Ovid appears to me defective in ſtrength and elevation; and his genius loſes in depth what it gains in ſurface. In painting nature, his ſtrokes are vague, and ſeldom characteriſtic. His expreſſion of the paſſions is rarely juſt; he is ſometimes weak, ſometimes extravagant, always too diffuſe; and though he continually ſeeks the road to the heart, is ſeldom fortunate enough to find it. His light and tender character, ſoftened by pleaſure, and rendered more intereſting by misfortune, made him acquainted with the tones of ſadneſs and joy. He knows how to lament the miſery of a forſaken miſtreſs, or to celebrate the triumphs of a ſucceſsful lover. But the great paſſions are above his reach; fury, vengeance, the fortitude or ferocity of the ſoul, which either ſubdues its moſt impetuous movements, or precipitates their unbridled career. His heroes think more of the reader than of themſelves; and the poet, who ought to remain concealed, is always ready to come forward, and to praiſe, blame, or pity them. Ovid wrote a tragedy; but, notwithſtanding the judgment of Quintilian, I cannot much regret its loſs. 2. He was ignorant of the rules of proportion, rules ſo neceſſary to a writer who would give to each ſentiment its due extent, and arrange it in its proper place, agreeably to its own nature, and the end for which he employs it. In Ovid, you may perceive thoughts the moſt intereſting, and narratives cloſely connected with the very eſſence of his ſubject, paſs away lightly without leaving a trace behind; while he dwells with complacence on parts merely ornamental, frivolous, or ſuperfluous? Can it be believed that the Rape of Proſerpine ſhould be deſcribed in two verſes, when the enumeration of the flowers which ſhe gathered in the garden of Eden ("les campagnes d' *Enna*,") had juſt filled ſixteen."

Of the tranſlation of Mr. Gibbon's journal and remarks, which has been added by the bookſellers, we muſt obſerve that it is in general ſpiritleſs and inelegant; almoſt always faithleſs to the ſtyle, and frequently to the meaning, of the French original. One inſtance of the tranſlator's propenſity to blunder our readers will perceive in the laſt quotation.

The "Outlines of the Hiſtory of the World," are drawn up with almoſt Spartan conciſeneſs. Seven buſy centuries occupy only thirty-

two

two pages. The narrative, however, though rapid, is clear, and the ſtyle is pleaſing.

His "Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Littérature," Mr. Gibbon has himſelf reviewed, with an impartial judgment. "My ſtock of erudition at that time was ſcanty and ſuperficial; and if I allow myſelf the liberty of naming the Greek maſters, my genuine and perſonal acquaintance was confined to the Latin claſſics. The moſt ſerious defect of my Eſſay is a kind of obſcurity and abruptneſs, which always fatigues, and may often elude, the attention of the reader. Inſtead of a preciſe and proper definition of the title itſelf, the ſenſe of the word *literature* is looſely and variously applied: a number of remarks and examples, hiſtorical, critical, philoſophical, are heaped on each other without method or connection; and, if we except ſome introductory pages, all the remaining chapters might indifferently be reverſed or tranſpoſed. The obſcurity of many paſſages is often affected, *brevis eſſe laboro, obſcurus fio*; the deſire of expreſſing perhaps a common idea with ſententious and oracular brevity: alas! how fatal has been the imitation of Monteſquieu! But this obſcurity ſometimes proceeds from a mixture of light and darkneſs in the author's mind; from a partial ray which ſtrikes upon an angle, inſtead of ſpreading itſelf over the ſurface of an object. After this fair confeſſion I ſhall preſume to ſay, that the Eſſay does credit to a young writer of two-and-twenty years of age, who had read with taſte, who thinks with freedom, and who writes in a foreign language with ſpirit and elegance. The defence of the early Hiſtory of Rome, and the new Chronology of Sir Iſaac Newton, form a ſpecious argument. The patriotic and political deſign of the Georgics is happily conceived; and any probable conjecture, which tends to raiſe the dignity of the poet and the poem, deſerves to be adopted, without a rigid ſcrutiny. Some dawnings of a philoſophic ſpirit enlighten the general remarks on the Study of Hiſtory and Man. I am not diſpleaſed with the Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Gods of Polytheiſm, which might deſerve the illuſtration of a riper judgment. Upon the whole, I may apply to the firſt labour of my pen the ſpeech of a far ſuperior artiſt, when he ſurveyed the firſt productions of his pencil. After viewing ſome portraits which he had painted in his youth, my friend Sir Joſhua Reynolds acknowledged to me, that he was rather humbled than flattered by the compariſon with his preſent works; and that after ſo much time and ſtudy, he had conceived his improvement to be much greater than he found it to have been."

The "Critical Obſervations on the deſign of the ſixth book of the Æneid," and the "Vindication of ſome paſſages in chapters xv. and xvi. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," poſſeſs the higheſt merit in the controverſial ſtyle. The weapon of controverſy was never ſharpened with a keener edge, nor wielded with a more dexterous hand.

The Diſſertation on the Man in the Iron Maſk is brief, but is not one of the leaſt plauſible of thoſe which have been written on this myſterious ſubject. Mr. Gibbon ſuppoſes the unfortunate priſoner to have been the ſon of Cardinal Mazarine and of Anne of Auſtria.

The "Memoire Juſtificatif" was adopted by the Britiſh Cabinet, as its reply to the Manifeſto which the Court of Verſailles iſſued, when it threw off the maſk, and openly joined the Americans. It is one of the moſt eloquent, logical, and ſatisfactory ſtate papers of modern times. So correct and elegant is the language (it is written in French) that it was generally ſuppoſed to have been the production of a native of France. It was everywhere admired, and was even tranſlated into the Turkiſh language.

The laſt compoſition of any length in the volume, is the Antiquities of the Houſe of Brunſwick. This is, in reality, only a fragment, It was compoſed about the year 1790, and was deſigned to conſiſt of three books. Only the firſt book, relative to the Italian deſcent, was completed. It abounds with ſplendid paſſages. The character of Leibnitz, which is to be found in a preceding department of our work, is extracted from the exordium of theſe Antiquities. Others, of more than equal merit, might eaſily be quoted, but our limits will not admit of further quotation.

The volume cloſes with an Addreſs, relative to the reprinting of our Latin hiſtorians of the middle age. Death prevented the author from finiſhing this Addreſs, which was intended to recommend Mr. Pinkerton, as editor of the projected work, and which gives an elegant ſpecimen of the mode of praiſing and recommending, with delicacy and diſcrimination.

Bulky as theſe quartos are, yet, ſuch is their merit, that we cannot but regret that many others of Mr. Gibbon's compoſitions were withheld by the noble editor, in the dread that he ſhould be thought to have too far indulged his laudable partiality for the compoſitions of his friend.

The Life of Milton, *in three parts. To which are added, Conjectures on the origin of Paradiſe Loſt: with an Appendix. By William Hayley, Eſq. 4to.*

WITH all his talents, and all his virtues, and few men had more of either, Doctor Johnſon was, in many caſes, the ſlave of prejudice. He was, too, that character which he praiſed, namely, a good hater. With reſpect to our great poet, Milton, there were various circumſtances which diſqualified Johnſon from being an impartial judge. The latter had certainly no perception, or a very feeble one, of the higher graces of poetry; he had not an ear for the varied harmony of blank verſe; and he was furiouſly hoſtile to thoſe principles which were the pride of Milton. The conſequence was natural. He produced a life and a criticiſm, which are glaringly unjuſt. Yet even his writings do not diſplay the full extent of his enmity againſt the immortal bard. "You have heard him," ſays Mr. Hayley, in his dedication to Dr. Joſeph Warton, "declaim againſt the admiration excited by the poetry of Milton, and affirm it to be nothing more than the cant (to uſe his own favourite phraſe) of affected ſenſibility."

To reſcue the character of Milton, from the charges brought againſt it by Dr. Johnſon, is the purpoſe of Mr. Hayley's work; and it muſt be owned that he has accompliſhed his purpoſe with much

felicity

felicity and taſte. His narrative is perſpicuous, his ſtyle is clear and flowing; and, even when he is compelled to write with ſome ſeverity of cenſure, he never violates the decorum of language and of manners.

This volume conſiſts of a long and elegant dedication to Dr. Joſeph Warton; the life of Milton; conjectures on the origin of Paradiſe Loſt; and an appendix of tranſlations from the Italian, to illuſtrate the conjectures. The maſterly verſions of Milton's Latin and Italian poetry, many of which are introduced, are from the pen of Cowper.

Of a life ſo well known as Milton's, it would be idle to fill our pages with an abſtract, and we ſhall, therefore, confine our quotations to thoſe parts of Mr. Hayley's work, in which he refutes the aſperſions of Johnſon, introduces additional circumſtances, and gives his own conjectures on the origin of the Paradiſe Loſt.

The firſt part of the life of Milton includes the period from his birth to his return to England, after his travels in Italy. In this part Mr. Hayley controverts the aſſertions of Johnſon, that Milton hated all whom he was required to obey; that his Latin poetry is inferior to that of Cowley; that he ſuffered perſonal chaſtiſement at Cambridge; that he was not beloved at college; that he grew weary of reſidence in the country; and that with a lofty and ſteady confidence in himſelf, he was, perhaps, not without ſome contempt of others. On all theſe points, Mr. Hayley has proved that Dr. Johnſon's opinions are erroneous.

What were the purſuits and hopes, noble hopes and purſuits they were, of Milton, immediately ſubſequently to his leaving college, will in part appear from the following extract. "On quitting an academical life, he was, according to his own teſtimony, regretted by the fellows of his college; but he regarded the houſe of his father as a retreat favourable to his literary purſuits, and, at the age of twenty-four, he gladly ſhared the rural retirement, in which his parents had recently ſettled at Horton, in Buckinghamſhire; here he devoted himſelf, for five years, to ſtudy, with that ardour and perſeverance, to which, as he ſays himſelf, in a letter to his friend, Charles Diodati, his nature forcibly inclined him.

The letter I am ſpeaking of was written in the laſt year of his reſidence under the roof of his father, and exhibits a lively picture of his progreſs in learning, his paſſion for virtue, and his hope of renown.

"To give you an account of my ſtudies," he ſays, "I have brought down the affairs of the Greeks, in a continued courſe of reading to the period in which they ceaſed to be Greeks. I have long been engaged in the obſcurer parts of Italian hiſtory, under the Lombards, the Franks, and the Germans, to the time in which liberty was granted them by the emperor Rodolphus; from this point I think it beſt to purſue, in ſeparate hiſtories, the exploits of each particular city."

He ſhews himſelf, in this letter, moſt paſſionately attached to the Platonic philoſophy. "As to other points, what God may have determined for me, I know not; but this I know, that if He ever inſtilled an intenſe love of moral

beauty into the breaſt of any man, he has inſtilled it into mine: Ceres, in the fable, purſued not her daughter with a greater keenneſs of enquiry, than I, day and night, the idea of perfection. Hence, wherever I find a man deſpiſing the falſe eſtimates of the vulgar, and daring to aſpire, in ſentiment, language, and conduct, to what the higheſt wiſdom, through every age has taught us as moſt excellent, to him I unite myſelf by a ſort of neceſſary attachment; and if I am ſo influenced by nature or deſtiny, that by no exertion or labours of my own, I may exalt myſelf to this ſummit of worth and honour, yet no powers of heaven or earth will hinder me from looking with reverence and affection upon thoſe, who have thoroughly attained this glory, or appear engaged in the ſucceſsful purſuit of it.

"You enquire, with a kind of ſolicitude, even into my thoughts. —Hear then, Diodati, but let me whiſper in your ear, that I may not bluſh at my reply.—I think (ſo help me heaven) of immortality. You enquire alſo, what I am about? I nurſe my wings, and meditate a flight; but my Pegaſus riſes as yet on very tender pinions. Let us be humbly wiſe!"

This very intereſting epiſtle, in which Milton pours forth his heart to the favourite friend of his youth, may convince every candid reader, that he poſſeſſed in no common degree, two qualities very rarely united, ambitious ardour of mind and unaffected modeſty. The poet, who ſpeaks with ſuch graceful humility of his literary achievements, had at this time written Comus, a compoſition that abundantly diſplayed the variety and compaſs of his poetical powers. After he had delineated, with equal excellence, the frolics of gaiety and the triumphs of virtue, paſſing with exquiſite tranſition from the moſt ſportive to the ſublimeſt tones of poetry, he might have ſpoken more confidently of his own productions without a particle of arrogance."

The character of Milton, at the time of his reviſiting England, Mr. Hayley ſums up in the following words:—"We have now attended him to the middle ſtage of his life, at which it may not be improper to pauſe, and make a few remarks on the years that are paſſed, and thoſe that are yet in proſpect. We behold him, at the age of thirty-two, recalled to England, from a foreign excurſion of improvement and delight, by a manly ſenſe of what he owed to his country in a ſeaſon of difficulty and danger. His thoughts and conduct on this occaſion, are the more noble and becoming, as all his preceding years had been employed in forming, for the moſt important purpoſes, a firm and lofty mind, and in furniſhing it abundantly with whatever might be uſeful and honourable to himſelf and others, in the various exigencies and viciſſitudes both of private and public life. We have traced him through a long courſe of infantine, academical, domeſtic, and foreign ſtudy; we have ſeen him diſtinguiſhed by application, docility, and genius; uncommonly attached to his inſtructors, and moſt amiably grateful to his parents; in friendſhip, ardent and ſteady; in love, though tender not intemperate; as a poet, ſenſible of his rare mental endowments, yet peculiarly modeſt in regard to his own productions; enamoured of glory, yet as ready to beſtow as anxious to merit praiſe; in his perſon

ſon and manners, ſo faſhioned to prepoſſeſs all men in his favour, that even foreigners gave him credit for thoſe high literary atchievements, which were to ſhed peculiar luſtre on his latter days, and conſidered him already as a man, of whom his country might be proud."

The ſecond part of the life carries down the narrative to that epoch, when Milton, releaſed from the dread of proſecution, which hung over him on the reſtoration of the ſecond Charles, was enabled again to appear in public, and to purſue his great work. At the commencement of it Mr. Hayley animadverts, with ſpirit and juſtice, on the ſneering manner, in which the biographer has mentioned Milton's keeping a ſchool, and the ſcantineſs and little celebrity of his ſcholars. The next accuſation brought by Dr. Johnſon, is couched in the following words: "From this time it is obſerved that he became an enemy to the Preſbyterians, whom he had favoured before. He that changes his party by his humour, is not much more virtuous than he that changes it by his intereſt; he loves himſelf better than the truth." To this Mr. Hayley forcibly replies —"Notwithſtanding the air of morality in this remark, it may be queſtioned, if ever an obſervation was made on any great character more invidious or more unjust. When the Preſbyterians were favoured by Milton, they ſpake the language of the oppreſſed; on their being inveſted with power, they forgot their own pleas for liberty of conſcience, and became, in their turn, perſecutors; it was the conſiſtency of virtue, therefore, in Milton, that made him at one time their advocate, and at another their opponent: ſo far from loving himſelf better than truth, he was perhaps of all mortals the leaſt ſelfiſh. He contended for religion, without ſeeking emoluments from the church; he contended for the ſtate, without aiming at any civil or military employment: truth and juſtice were the idols of his heart, and the ſtudy of his life; if he ſometimes failed of attaining them, it was not becauſe he loved any thing better; it was because he overſhot the object of his ſincere affection, from the fondneſs and ardour of his purſuit."

The character of Bradſhaw, the preſident of the court by which Charles the Firſt was tried, has been the ſubject of ſuch bitter cenſure, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee a tranſlation of the character which was drawn by Milton. "He had, united to the knowledge of law, a liberal diſpoſition, an elevated mind, an irreproachable integrity of morals, neither gloomy nor ſevere, but courteous and mild.—In public councils and labours he is the moſt indefatigable of men, and alone equal to many; in his houſe, he, if any man, may be eſteemed hoſpitable and ſplendid, in proportion to his fortune; as a friend, faithful in the highest degree, and moſt ſurely to be depended upon in every emergency; no man ſooner or more freely acknowledges merit, wherever it may be found; no man rewards it with greater benevolence: he raiſes from indigence, at his own coſt, ſometimes men of piety, learning, and talents; ſometimes thoſe brave military men, whoſe proſperity has not been equal to their valour: ſuch perſons, if they are not indigent, he ſtill honours with his regard; it is his nature to proclaim the deſert of others, and to be ſilent on his own.—If the cauſe

of any one under oppreſſion is to be openly defended, if the influence or authority of men in power is to be oppoſed, if the ingratitude of the public towards any individual of merit is to be reproved, no want will be found in this man, either of eloquence or courage; nor can any ſufferer wiſh to find, on ſuch occaſions, a patron and a friend more ſuited to his neceſſities, more reſolute, or more accompliſhed; he already poſſeſſes ſuch a friend, and ſuch a patron as no menaces can drive from the line of rectitude, whom neither terrors nor bribes can divert from the duty he is purſuing, or ſhake from his ſettled firmneſs of mind and countenance." Such is the picture drawn by Milton. He may have coloured it too highly; but it is impoſſible that he ſhould be miſtaken in the great outlines and features. It appears, indeed, from undoubted evidence, that Bradſhaw, however blameable might be one part of his conduct, acted conscientiously up to his principles, and poſſeſſed an uncorrupt and intrepid mind.

We come now to the most virulent of Dr. Johnſon's charges, and which is made with an appropriate virulence of expreſſion. "Milton," ſays he, "having now taſted the honey of public employment, would not return to hunger and philosophy, but, continuing to exerciſe his office under a manifeſt uſurpation, betrayed to his power, that liberty which he had defended. Nothing can be more juſt than that rebellion ſhould end in ſlavery; that he who juſtified the murder of the king for ſome acts, which to him ſeemed unlawful, ſhould now ſell his ſervices and flatteries to a tyrant, of whom it was evident that he could do nothing lawful." From this baſe and bitter accuſation, Mr. Hayley has amply juſtified the immortal bard; but the whole of his reaſoning is too long to be here given entire; and to take only a ſingle link from the cloſely connected chain of argument, would give no better idea of the merit of the artiſt or his work, than the Greek pedant gave of his houſe, when he produced a ſingle brick as a ſpecimen. It muſt be mentioned, however, that Mr. Hayley has ably pointed out the inconſiſtency of Dr. Johnſon, in praiſing the ſame conduct in Blake which he vilifies in Milton.

The third part completes the life. In this part, as in the former parts, every inſinuation and aſſertion of Dr. Johnſon is fully refuted. Into the narrative is likewiſe interwoven much elegant and liberal criticiſm.

In the conjectures on the origin of "Paradiſe Loſt," Mr. Hayley is inclined to believe with Voltaire, that the ſubject was firſt ſuggeſted to the mind of Milton by the *Adamo* of Andreini; and he likewiſe gives ſome reaſons for believing that the Britiſh bard might have taken a few ideas from *La Scena Tragica d'Adamo ed Eva*, by Troilo Lancetta.

Of Andreini he ſays, "Let me obſerve, for the credit of Andreini, that although he has been contemptuouſly called a ſtroller, he had ſome tincture of claſſical learning, and conſiderable piety. He occaſionally imitates Virgil, and quotes the fathers. He was born in Florence, in 1578; his mother was an actreſs, highly celebrated for the excellence of her talents, and the purity of her life; ſhe appeared alſo as an authoreſs, and printed a volume of letters and eſſays, to which two great poets of her country, Taſſo and Marini, contributed each a ſonnet. Her memory was cele-

brated by her ſon, who publiſhed, at her death, a collection of poems in her praiſe. Having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a comedian at Milan, he travelled into France, in the train of the famous Mary de Medici, and obtained, as an actor, the favour of Louis XIIIth. The biographical work of Count Mazzuchelli, on the writers of Italy, includes an account of Andreini, with a liſt of his various productions; they amount to the number of thirty; and form a ſingular medley of comedies and devout poems. His Adamo alone ſeems likely to preſerve his name from oblivion; and that indeed can never ceaſe to be regarded as a literary curioſity, while it is believed to have given a fortunate impulſe to the fancy of Milton."

Of each of the two dramas Mr. Hayley has given an analyſis; and in conjunction with Mr. Cowper, a metrical verſion, of ſome ſcenes from the *Adamo*. Theſe analyſes, and a ſpecimen of Andreini's poetry, we will lay before our readers.

THE CHARACTERS of the ADAMO. God the Father, chorus of Seraphim, Cherubim and Angels. The archangel Michael. Adam. Eve. A Cherub, the guardian of Adam. Lucifer. Satan. Beelzebub. The ſeven mortal ſins. The world. The fleſh. Famine. Labour. Deſpair. Death. Vain glory. Serpent. Volano, an infernal meſſenger. Chorus of Phantoms. Chorus of fiery, airy, aquatic, and infernal Spirits.

Act I. Scene 1. Chorus of Angels, ſinging the glory of God.—After their hymn, which ſerves as a prologue, God the Father, Angels, Adam and Eve.—God calls to Lucifer, and bids him ſurvey with confuſion the wonders of his power. —He creates Adam and Eve—their delight and gratitude. Scene 2. Lucifer, ariſing from hell—he expreſſes his enmity againſt God, the good Angels, and Man. Scene 3. Lucifer, Satan, and Beelzebub.—Lucifer excites his aſſociates to the deſtruction of Man, and calls other Demons from the abyſs to conſpire for that purpoſe. Scene 4, 5, and 6. Lucifer ſummoning ſeven diſtinct Spirits, commiſſions them to act under the character of the ſeven mortal Sins, with the following names: Melecano - - Pride. Lurcone - - Envy. Ruspicano - - Anger. Arſarat - - Avarice. Maltea - - Sloth. Dulciato - - Luxury. Guliar - - Gluttony.

Act II. Scene 1. The Angels, to the number of fifteen, ſeparately ſing the grandeur of God, and his munificence to Man. Scene 2. Adam and Eve, with Lurcone and Guliar watching unſeen.—Adam and Eve expreſs their devotion to God ſo fervently, that the evil Spirits, though inviſible, are put to flight by their prayer. Scene 3. The Serpent, Satan, Spirits.—The Serpent, or Lucifer, announces his deſign of circumventing Woman. Scene 4. The Serpent, Spirits, and Volano. —Volano arrives from hell, and declares that the confederate powers of the abyſs deſigned to ſend a goddeſs from the deep, entitled Vain Glory, to vanquish Man. Scene 5. Vain Glory drawn by a giant, Volano, the Serpent, Satan, and Spirits.—The Serpent welcomes Vain Glory as his confederate, then hides himſelf in the tree to watch and tempt Eve. Scene 6. The Serpent and Vain Glory at firſt concealed, the Serpent diſcovers himſelf to Eve, tempts and ſeduces her.—Vain Glory cloſes the act with expreſſions of triumph.

Act III. Scene 1. Adam and Eve —after a dialogue of tenderneſs ſhe produces the fruit.—Adam expreſſes horror, but at laſt yields to her temptation.—When both have taſted the fruit, they are overwhelmed with remorſe and terror: they fly to conceal themſelves. Scene 2. Volano proclaims the fall of Man, and invites the powers of darkneſs to rejoice, and pay their homage to the prince of hell. Scene 3. Volano, Satan, chorus of Spirits, with enſigns of victory.—Expreſſions of their joy. Scene 4. Serpent, Vain Glory, Satan and Spirits.—The Serpent commands Canoro, a muſical Spirit to ſing his triumph, which is celebrated with ſongs and dances in the 4th and 5th ſcenes: the latter cloſes with expreſſions of horror from the triumphant demons, on the approach of God. Scene 6. God the Father, Angels, Adam and Eve. —God ſummons and rebukes the ſinners, then leaves them after pronouncing his malediction. Scene 7. An Angel, Adam and Eve.—The Angel gives them rough ſkins for clothing, and exhorts them to penitence. Scene 8. The archangel Michael, and Adam and Eve.—Michael drives them from Paradiſe with a ſcourge of fire. Angels cloſe the act with a chorus, exciting the offenders to hope in repentance.

Act IV. Scene 1. Volano, chorus of fiery, airy, earthly, and aquatic Spirits.—They expreſs their obedience to Lucifer. Scene 2. Lucifer riſes, and utters his abhorrence of the light; the demons conſole him—he queſtions them on the meaning of God's words and conduct towards Man—he ſpurns their conjectures, and announces the incarnation, then proceeds to new machinations againſt Man. Scene 3. Infernal Cyclops, ſummoned by Lucifer, make a new world at his command.—He then commiſſions three demons againſt Man, under the characters of the World, the Flesh and Death. Scene 4. Adam alone.—He laments his fate, and at laſt feels his ſufferings aggravated, in beholding Eve flying in terror from the hoſtile animals. Scene 5. Adam and Eve.—She excites her companion to ſuicide. Scene 6. Famine, Thirſt, Laſſitude, Despair, Adam and Eve.—Famine explains her own nature, and that of her aſſociates. Scene 7. Death, Adam and Eve.—Death reproaches Eve with the horrors she has occaſioned.—Adam cloſes the Act, by exhorting Eve to take refuge in the mountains.

Act V. Scene 1. The Fleſh, in the ſhape of a woman, and Adam.—He reſiſts her temptation. Scene 2. Lucifer, the Fleſh, and Adam.—Lucifer pretends to be a man, and the elder brother of Adam. Scene 3. A Cherub, Adam, the Fleſh, and Lucifer.—The Cherub ſecretly warns Adam againſt his foes; and at laſt defends him with manifeſt power. Scene 4. The World, in the ſhape of a man, exulting in his own finery. Scene 5. Eve and the World.—He calls forth a rich palace from the ground, and tempts Eve with ſplendour. Scene 6. Chorus of Nymphs, Eve, the World, and Adam.—He exhorts Eve to reſiſt theſe allurements—the World calls the demons from hell to enchain his victims—Eve prays for mercy, Adam encourages her. Scene 7. Lucifer, Death, chorus of Demons.—They prepare to ſeize Adam and Eve. Scene 8. The archangel Michael, with a chorus of good Angels.—After a ſpirited altercation, Michael ſubdues and triumphs over Lucifer.

Scene

Scene 9. Adam, Eve, chorus of Angels.—They rejoice in the victory of Michael. He animates the offenders with a promiſe of favour from God, and future reſidence in heaven:—they expreſs their hope and gratitude. The Angels cloſe the drama, by ſinging the praiſe of the Redeemer.

The following quotation is the ſpeech of Lucifer, on being called from the infernal regions, by the Deity, to view the newly created world. It will be ſeen that in pride, the ſpirit of revenge, and unconquerable hate, the Lucifer of Andreini has a conſiderable likeneſs to the Satan of Milton.

" Who from my dark abyſs
" Calls me to gaze on this exceſs of light?
" What miracles unſeen
" Sheweſt thou to me, O God?
" Art thou then tired of reſidence in heaven?
" Why haſt thou raiſed on earth
" This lovely paradiſe,
" And wherefore placed in it
" Two earthly demi-gods of human mould?
" Say, thou wild architect,
" Forming thy works of duſt,
" What will befall this naked helpleſs man,
" The ſole inhabitant of glens and woods?
" Does he then dream of treading on the ſtars?
" Heaven is impoveriſhed, and I, alone
" The cauſe, enjoy the ruin I produced:
" Let him unite above
" Star upon ſtar, moon, ſun,
" And let his Godhead toil
" To re-adorn and re-illumine his heaven;
" Since in the end deriſion
" Shall prove his works, and all his efforts, vain;
" For Lucifer alone was that full light,
" Which ſcattered radiance o'er the plains of Heaven.
" But theſe his preſent fires are ſhade and ſmoke,
" Baſe counterfeits of my more potent beams;
" I reck not what he means to make his heaven,
" Nor care I what this creature man may be;
" Too obſtinate and firm
" Is my undaunted thought
" In proving that I am implacable,
" 'Gainſt heaven, 'gainſt man, the angels, and their God."

Analyſis of the Drama, entitled, La Scena Tragica d'Adamo ed Eva, da Troilo Lancetta Benacenſe.

Act. I. Scene 1.—God commemorates his creation of the heavens, the earth, and the water—determines to make Man—gives him vital ſpirit, and admoniſhes him to revere his Maker, and live innocent. Scene 2. Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, and Angels—Raphael praiſes the works of God—the other Angels follow his example, particularly in regard

regard to Man. Scene 3. God and Adam—God gives paradiſe to Adam to hold as a fief—forbids him to touch the apple—Adam promiſes obedience. Scene 4. Adam acknowledges the beneficence of God, and retires to repoſe in the ſhade.

Act II. Scene 1.—God and Adam—God reſolves to form a companion for Adam, and does ſo while Adam is ſleeping—he then awakens Adam, and preſenting to him his new aſſociate, bleſſes them both; then leaves them, recommending obedience to his commands. Scene 2. Adam and Eve—Adam receives Eve as his wife—praiſes her, and entreats her to join with him in revering and obeying God—ſhe promiſes ſubmiſſion to his will, and entreats his inſtruction—he tells her the prohibition, and enlarges on the beauties of Paradiſe—on his ſpeaking of flocks, ſhe deſires to ſee them, and he departs to ſhow her the various animals. Scene 3. Lucifer, Belial, Satan. Lucifer laments his expulſion from heaven, and meditates revenge againſt man—the other demons relate the cauſe of their expulſion, and ſtimulate Lucifer to the revenge he meditates—he reſolves to employ the Serpent. Scene 4. The Serpent, Eve, Lucifer—the Serpent queſtions Eve—derides her fear and her obedience—tempts her to taſte the apple—ſhe expreſſes her eagerneſs to do ſo—the Serpent exults in the proſpect of her perdition—Lucifer (who ſeems to remain as a ſeparate perſon from the Serpent) expreſſes alſo his exultation, and ſteps aſide to liſten to a dialogue between Adam and Eve. Scene 5. Eve, Adam.—Eve declares her reſolution to taſte the apple, and preſent it to her huſband—ſhe taſtes it, and expreſſes unuſual hope and animation—ſhe ſays the Serpent has not deceived her—ſhe feels no ſigns of death, and preſents the fruit to her huſband—he reproves her—ſhe perſiſts in preſſing him to eat—he complies—declares the fruit ſweet, but begins to tremble at his own nakedneſs—he repents, and expreſſes his remorſe and terror—Eve propoſes to form a covering of leaves—they retire to hide themſelves in foliage.

Act. III. Scene 1. Lucifer, Belial, Satan; Lucifer exults in his ſucceſs, and the other demons applaud him. Scene 2. Raphael, Michael, Gabriel. Theſe good ſpirits lament the fall, and retire with awe, on the appearance of God. Scene 3. God, Eve, Adam,—God calls on Adam—he appears and laments his nakedness,—God interrogates him concerning the tree—he confeſſes his offence, and accuſes Eve—ſhe blames the Serpent—God pronounces his malediction, and ſends them from his preſence. Scene 4. Raphael, Eve, and Adam—Raphael bids them depart from Paradiſe—Adam laments his deſtiny—Raphael perſiſts in driving them rather harſhly from the garden—Adam begs that his innocent children may not ſuffer for the fault of their mother—Raphael replies, that not only his children, but all his race muſt ſuffer, and continues to drive them from the garden—Adam obeys—Eve laments, but ſoon comforts Adam—he at length departs, animating himſelf with the idea, that to an intrepid heart every region is a home. Scene 5. A cherub, moralizing on the creation and fall of Adam, concludes the third and laſt act.



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The

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